

evident, that the party of Gloucester never meant to reinstate their monarch in his prerogatives. But this was not all; they obliged the king not only to grant a commission, under his own hand and seal, for vesting this committee with the necessary powers, but also to give his assent to a statute, by which any person who should dare to propose a revocation of the powers granted to this committee should, for the first offence, forfeit his estate; and for the second be punished as a traitor.

Pusillanimous as Richard was, he, however, at the end of the session, entered a protest against these violent proceedings, declaring, in full parliament, "that the prerogatives of his crown, notwithstanding his late concession, should be deemed entire and unimpaired." But this protest had no effect on the commissioners: they proceeded to the exercise of their office; and the king found himself destitute of all authority.

After some time Richard determined to make one bold attempt for the recovery of his power. He accordingly assembled the judges and lawyers, who made no scruple of declaring, that the commission was derogatory to the royal authority; that those who procured it, or advised the king to consent to it, were punishable with death; that those who compelled him were guilty of treason; that those were equally criminal who should persevere in maintaining it; that the king had the right of dissolving parliaments when he pleased; that the parliament while they sat must proceed first on the king's business; and that they could not, without the king's consent, impeach any of his ministers and judges.

The duke of Gloucester and his party no sooner heard of this secret consultation between the judges and king, than they immediately had recourse to arms, and demanded that the persons who had seduced the king by their pernicious counsels, should be delivered up as traitors to the state. A few days after they appeared armed before the king, attended by their followers; when they accused the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brambre, as public and dangerous enemies to the kingdom. The duke of Ireland saved himself by flight, but the rest were tried, condemned, and executed; and several of the judges and lawyers, who had taken part with Richard, banished the kingdom.

During these transactions the earl of Arundel, who had received a commission as governor of Brest, and constituted lord-high-admiral of England, set sail from that port with a squadron, and, falling in with a French fleet, took fourscore of their ships, which he brought safe to England, after having reduced the islands of Rhee and Oleron, and alarmed the whole coast of France.

A. D. 1388. In the beginning of August this year the Scots, taking advantage of the great commotions in the English government, entered Northumberland with an army consisting of three hundred horse and two thousand foot, commanded by the earl of Douglas and his son, the earls of Fife, Murray and Dunbar, the most celebrated commanders in the Scottish army. They ravaged the whole country through which they passed, and advanced as far as the gates of Newcastle, where the lord Henry Percy (surnamed Hotspur from the hastiness of his disposition) son to the earl of Northumberland, first opposed them. But his troops were defeated, and himself unhorsed in single

combat by the younger Douglas, who, having seized his lance, declared he would carry it to Scotland as a trophy of his victory.

Inflamed with rage at this misfortune, Hotspur vowed revenge, and swore that Douglas should not fulfil his intention. He accordingly collected a body of six hundred horse and eight thousand foot, and putting himself at their head marched in pursuit of the enemy, without waiting for a reinforcement of troops that were hastening to join him under the command of the bishop of Durham. The Scots, elated with their late success, had undertaken the siege of the castle of Otterborn, and were lying before that fortress, when Percy, by forced marches, reached their camp. Rage had stifled prudence in the breast of Percy: he would not delay the battle a moment, though his troops were so greatly fatigued with their long marches, and night was approaching when he came up with the enemy. He attacked the Scots with all the fury of a disappointed warrior, but the darkness of the night rendered it impossible to continue the contest, and the two armies separated without either obtaining the victory. The moon, however, rising at midnight, occasioned the battle to be renewed with great fury, and at last victory declared in favour of the Scots, but not without the loss of their intrepid leader the earl of Douglas, who fell among the slain. Percy, his brother, and about an hundred officers of distinction, were taken prisoners, and twelve hundred of the English left dead on the field of battle. The bishop of Durham, who was advancing at the head of ten thousand men to join Percy, no sooner heard of this disaster than, instead of marching against the Scots, he retired with precipitation to Newcastle, and thereby allowed the Scots to retreat at leisure with their booty and prisoners.

During these transactions a commission was sent to the duke of Lancaster, who had been abroad two years, to treat with France about an accommodation for peace; and a truce was accordingly concluded between the two kingdoms.

A. D. 1389. Richard, being now in the twenty-third year of his age, resolved to free himself from that state of slavery, in which he had hitherto been kept by his uncles, and the confederate barons. He therefore, in a full council held at Easter, declared his intention of directing the affairs of his kingdom and household by his sole authority, and taking into his own hands the reins of government. Strange as it may appear, no opposition was made to this declaration; nor was it long before he carried his design into execution. He removed the archbishop of Canterbury from the office of chancellor, and bestowed it on William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester. The duke of Gloucester, the earl of Warwick, and some other lords of the opposition were removed from the council-board. The part of treasurer was taken from the bishop of Hereford, and that of high-admiral from the earl of Arundel: the keeper of the privy-seal, all the great officers of state, and the household, were changed, and every place filled with persons in whom the king thought he could repose the greatest confidence.

These changes were made without the least opposition; and Richard, by passing a general amnesty, and giving up some subsidies which had been granted him by parliament, acquired the affections of the people, who easily pass from one extreme to another.

Soon after this great change had taken place in



the government, the duke of Lancaster, returned from the continent, and effected a reconciliation between the king and the duke of Gloucester, who, in consequence thereof, was again admitted as a member of the council. Lancaster, as a recompence for his services, was created duke of Aquitaine, and invested with the ensigns of that order.

A. D. 1390. The parliament became now as great advocates for the king as they had before been for his uncles and their associates. During the session, which was opened on the 17th of January, they gave several remarkable instances of their loyalty and affection. In particular they passed an act, by which they renewed the declaration, touching the king's enjoyment of his prerogative, with this addition, "notwithstanding any statute and ordinance formerly made in derogation thereof, particularly in the reign of king Edward II."

A. D. 1391. Nor was the parliament which met in the beginning of the next year less deficient in shewing their affection and loyalty than they had been the preceding. They granted the king a whole tenth and fifteenth to defray the expences of his voyage to France, whither he was invited by Charles to effect, if possible, a lasting accommodation with that monarch. In the mean time commissioners were dispatched to treat with the French court on the business; and it was agreed that a congress should be held at Amiens, in order that the treaty might be concluded and ratified in the presence of the two monarchs.

A. D. 1392. In consequence of this agreement Charles king of France, with his brother and uncles, repaired to Amiens, and Richard proceeded as far as Dover in his way to that place; but whether or no he altered his mind of his own accord, or was diverted from his purpose by the representations of his council, is uncertain: his voyage, however, was laid aside, and he remained at Dover Castle with the duke of Gloucester, while his other two uncles, the dukes of York and Lancaster, with the earls of Huntingdon and Derby, and other noblemen, proceeded to Amiens, in quality of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries. They were met on the road by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and, during their stay at Amiens, magnificently entertained at the expence of the French king. But so many difficulties arose in the course of the conference, that nothing more was done, than prolonging the truce till Michaelmas in the following year.

A. D. 1393. The parliament met on the 20th of January, and the business first designed to be taken in hand was, the peace with France; but this was postponed on account of advice being received that Charles, from a disorder in his brains, was incapable of holding the reins of government, and that the affairs of that kingdom were in the utmost state of confusion. The commons, however, granted the king an additional supply, in case a war should take place either with France or Spain.

A. D. 1394. In the beginning of this year conferences were again opened for concluding a treaty of peace with France; but so many disputes

took place relative to the superiority of Guienne that they did not produce the wished-for effect, and the whole terminated by prolonging the truce for five years.

A. D. 1395. This year\* Richard formed the resolution of going over to Ireland, the cause of which arose from the following circumstances. The English noblemen, who possessed large estates in that kingdom chose rather to reside in England, so that Ireland was left almost defenceless, and exposed to the ravages of many of the ferocious natives, who took care to avail themselves of so favourable an opportunity of recovering their antient possessions. These they took by force of arms, and plundered all the rest of the country belonging to the English, so that the revenue, which was very considerable in the late reign, was now not sufficient to defray the expences of keeping forces in that kingdom.

Having made the necessary preparations for the expedition, Richard, after appointing the duke of York guardian of the kingdom during his absence, set out for Wales, accompanied by the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Marche, Nottingham and Rutland; and embarking at Milford-haven, landed in Ireland with an army of 50,000 men.

The arrival of Richard, at the head of so powerful an army, struck a general panic among the Irish, many of whom retired to their fastnesses for safety, while the rest immediately submitted to Richard, who treated them with the greatest clemency. He not only gave them a free pardon, but even allotted pensions to their chiefs, and, by those measures, endeavoured to allay their natural ferocity. The earl of Nottingham was empowered to receive, in the king's name, the submission and homage of all the Irish in Leinster, who accordingly gave bonds for their future peaceable behaviour. Many chiefs of other parts of the kingdom came in, and in particular O'Neal, lord paramount over the other princes in Ireland, who voluntarily tendered allegiance to the king of England, and did homage to him at Drogheda. His example was followed by most of the other princes, who engaged for themselves, and their clans, to maintain the peace of the kingdom.

Richard, in order to complete the favourable impression he had made on the minds of these people, determined to keep his Christmas in Dublin, and invited all the Irish chiefs to a grand entertainment in that city, where he conferred upon them the order of knighthood, and encouraged them to adopt the English customs, dress, and way of living. In short, he conducted himself with such moderation and prudence as to acquire the general affection and esteem of the native Irish, the greater part of whom voluntarily submitted to his government.

While Richard was in Ireland, some disturbances took place in London, owing to the conduct of the followers of Wickliff, who had acquired the title of Lollards, and were become so presumptuous as to preach, write, and openly declaim against the established religion†. Protected by some powerful noblemen, they impeached the mo-

\* On the 7th of June this year Richard sustained a great loss by the death of his queen, who paid the debt of nature at Shene. From her many excellent virtues she obtained the title of Good Queen Anne; so that it is no wonder her death was universally lamented by the whole nation. Richard

was so deeply affected at this melancholy event, that he was for some time, quite disconsolate; nor could he ever after bear the sight of the place where she expired.

† The Lollards denied the doctrine of the real presence, the merit of confession and monastic vows, and the supremacy of the



rals and doctrines of the clergy, and a writing, containing the articles of the charge, was laid before the parliament by Sir Thomas Latimer, and other members, who had adopted their principles.

Alarmed at so desperate an attack upon their order, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of London, immediately repaired to the king at Dublin, and inveighed so strongly against the Lollards, as being enemies to the church and state, that Richard declined his design of staying longer in that city, and therefore returned to England, in order to put a stop to the proceedings of those disturbers of the public peace. Accordingly, on his arrival, he issued out a proclamation, threatening the Lollards with death, if they continued to propagate their erroneous tenets; and the chancellor of Oxford was ordered to expel all those who were suspected of favouring their opinions. These measures put a check to the proceedings of the Lollards, who thought proper for their own safety, to remain silent, and not publicly endeavour to propagate doctrines so repugnant to the tranquillity of the state.

A. D. 1396. As the late queen had died without issue, it was now thought adviseable by the council that Richard should enter into a second marriage, in order to prevent those troubles which might arise should he die without a legitimate offspring. They accordingly (absurd as it must appear to every thinking person) pitched upon Isabella, eldest daughter of the French king, as the most suitable consort for the English monarch; and the archbishop of Dublin, the bishop of St. David's with several of the first noblemen were sent to demand that princess in marriage. They were ordered to insist on a considerable portion, and empowered to offer ten thousand marks a year for her jointure. These proposals being laid before the council of France, some of the members hinted how inconsistent it would be to treat of a marriage previous to the conclusion of a peace; but the duke of Burgundy wisely observed, that it was the most probable expedient to effect and consolidate a lasting accommodation. At length, all difficulties being removed, it was unanimously agreed that Richard should marry Isabella, and receive with her a portion of eight thousand franks in gold, at yearly payments: that he should absolutely renounce all claim to the crown of France, either from his own hereditary pretensions, or by virtue of his marriage: and, lastly, that the truce should be prolonged for twenty-five years.

These points being settled, the young princess, though only in the eighth year of her age, was entitled queen of England, and affianced to Richard by the earl of Nottingham as proxy. In the month of October following the king went over to Calais, where the marriage ceremony was performed in the church of St. Nicholas by the archbishop of Canterbury; and the young queen was soon after crowned with great solemnity in the abbey church of Westminster.

A. D. 1397. This strong alliance with France gave great offence to the English in general, who had contracted a violent antipathy to the people of that nation; and they were farther irritated by the indiscretion of the king, who, soon after his

return from the continent, delivered up Brest and Cherbourg into the hands of the French.

The conduct of Richard was far from being calculated to procure the respect of his subjects. Indolent in the affairs of government; and a slave to pleasure; under the dominion of favourites, on whom he profusely lavished the revenues of the crown, and the grants of the people; and fully-ing the dignity of his rank by admitting persons of very mean condition to his familiarity; he was looked upon with contempt by the people, who considered him as a person totally unworthy of wearing the English diadem.

Not only the people in general, but also many of the principal nobility, were highly incensed against the king for his injudicious conduct, but none more than the duke of Gloucester. That prince, to shew his disgust, absented himself from the court; hardly ever appeared in council but to oppose the measures of administration; and threw out the most severe invectives against the government, the long truce concluded with Charles, and the marriage of Richard with the daughter of that monarch.

The ministry were greatly alarmed at the proceedings of Gloucester, and the king, whose precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation, ordered him to be unexpectedly arrested. Accordingly, a plan being laid for the purpose, the duke was seized, hurried on board a ship lying in the river ready to receive him, and taken over to Calais, where it was thought he could be safely detained in custody. The duke's associates, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, lord Cobham, Sir John Cheney, and other persons of distinction, were also the next day arrested; and, in order to prevent any popular clamour that might be made on the occasion, a proclamation was issued out, declaring, that they were arrested on charges of treason, and should be tried by the great council of the nation, which he summoned to meet on the first day of August at Nottingham.

The parliament met according to appointment, and such was the venality of the members, that they entered with violence into the measures of the king and his dependents. They annulled the act of amnesty which Richard had voluntarily confirmed, and exhibited articles of impeachment against the duke of Gloucester, and archbishop of Canterbury; the earls of Arundel and Warwick, with other noblemen, several of whom were tried, condemned and executed, for having been engaged in former attempts against the crown, notwithstanding the pardon they had received.

Among those who suffered death was the earl of Arundel, and the king himself was mean enough to be a spectator of the tragic scene (attended by the earls of Kent and Nottingham) which he beheld with all the symptoms of brutal pleasure. When the earl came upon the scaffold, he turned to Nottingham, his son-in-law, and said, "My lord, it would surely have better become you to have been absent on this occasion; you seem to triumph in my sufferings; but remember, the time is coming, when your own misfortunes may furnish the like triumph to your enemies." The cruel treatment of this gallant nobleman excited

the pope. They maintained, that the numerous ceremonies of the church were destructive of true piety; that the scripture was the sole rule of faith; that the church was dependent on the state, and ought to possess no temporal wealth; and that

no taxes ought to be levied on the people till the riches of the ecclesiastics had been expended in the service of the kingdom.



cited a general clamour among the people, who publicly declared he fell a martyr to the liberties of his country. His life was spent in a series of brave actions. He had boldly endeavoured to preserve his country's liberty, in opposition to vice, weakness and venality, with so uniform a tenor of conduct, that he was never known to deviate, in the least point, from the principles he possessed.

As for the duke of Gloucester, it was not Richard's intention to allow him the chance of a trial. He knew that nothing of a treasonable nature could be proved against him, and as he was determined, at all events, to dispatch him, he sent a private commission to four ruffians at Calais, who smothered the unhappy nobleman between two feather-beds; after which they stripped the body, and laying it under the cloaths, pretended he died of an apoplexy. Such was the miserable and untimely end of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, who, though not exempt from avarice and ambition, was nevertheless brave, open, sincere and patriotic; and firmly attached to the constitution and interest of his country.

No sooner were the dukes of York and Lancaster informed of the cruel murder of their brother, than they immediately hastened to London at the head of a numerous body of forces, threatening to take the most severe revenge on the authors of this execrable tragedy, not excepting even the king himself. Richard had, however, taken all the precautions necessary to divert the force of the expected storm. He had not only gained over the parliament to his devotion; but also collected an army of twenty thousand veterans, and stationed them in the neighbourhood of London. Nor did he depend on these forces; he had recourse also to the milder method of negotiation, and the two brothers, finding that all opposition would be in vain, listened to an accommodation.

A. D. 1398. The parliament met at Westminster on the 29th of January, and the first point of importance that came under their cognizance was, a charge exhibited against the duke of Norfolk, by the duke of Hereford, who accused him of having spoken in private many slanderous and seditious words against the king. Norfolk gave him the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by single combat, a method of trial then authorized by the laws of the kingdom. The challenge was accepted, and the dispute ordered to be decided according to the laws of chivalry, in presence of the king and his whole court. Accordingly both the dukes appeared on the day appointed, the trumpets sounded, and they were preparing to rush against each other, when the king prevented their encountering, by ordering them to wait till he should consult his council, and determine the dispute without bloodshed. He accordingly retired, and the two combatants returned to their respective chairs, which were placed on the spot, as was customary on those occasions. Some time after a proper officer arrived from the king, and silence being proclaimed, he pronounced the determination of the council, the substance of which was to this effect. That as both the appellant and defendant had honourably appeared in the lists, their courage was sufficiently ascertained, and the king, with the advice of his council, had agreed, that the earl of Hereford should, on pain of death; within fifteen days, depart the kingdom, and go into exile for the

space of ten years, and that the earl of Norfolk should be banished for life, because he had not been able to clear himself of the accusation laid to his charge.

The earl of Norfolk, knowing he had no favour to expect from Richard, retired first into Germany, and from thence to Venice, where he soon after paid the debt of nature. The duke of Hereford, who had some favourable expectations, waited on the king to take his leave before he quitted the kingdom, and this submissive and respectful behaviour had such an effect on Richard, that he remitted four years of the time assigned for his banishment; and also empowered him, by letters patent, to enter into immediate possession of any estates that might fall to him during his exile.

A. D. 1399. The earl of Hereford had left the kingdom but a few months, when John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, paid the debt of nature, and Hereford, in consequence of his rights, and the letters patent he had received, desired to be put in possession of the estates of his father. But Richard, contrary to every tie of honour and honesty, denied his request, and not only revoked the letters patent he had given to Hereford, and confiscated all his personal estates, but likewise decreed that his banishment should be perpetual.

It is little to be wondered at that a nobleman of Hereford's rank and character should be highly exasperated at such complicated injuries. He was of a bold and enterprising spirit; had given proofs of his courage and abilities both at home and abroad; was beloved by the people, and adored by the soldiers. He was always cool, sedate and prudent; and was considered as the only English prince that deserved the public confidence and esteem. His misfortunes were lamented, and the injuries he had received complained of by all ranks of people. He was secretly invited to return to England, and assured of being sufficiently supported in the recovery of his lawful inheritance.

Hereford, now duke of Lancaster, determined to accept this generous offer; and an event soon happened which gave him all the advantages he could desire. Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, lord lieutenant of Ireland, had been lately killed in a rencounter with a small party of the Irish; and Richard, in order to reduce the rebels to subjection, and revenge the death of Mortimer, resolved to pass over into that island, and head his army in person. He accordingly embarked at Bristol, and after a short passage landed at Waterford, at the head of 2000 men at arms and 10,000 archers. Struck with consternation at seeing the king of England at the head of so powerful an army, the most considerable part of the rebels submitted, and the rest were soon reduced to obedience.

In the mean time the duke of Lancaster embraced the opportunity of returning to England. He embarked at Nantes, with a retinue of sixty persons, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, where he was immediately joined by the lords Willoughby, Ross, D'Arcy, and Beaumont, and several gentlemen of distinction, attended by a numerous body of vassals and adherents. A few days after, his party was increased by the arrival of the earl of Northumberland, with his son Hotspur Percy, and his brother the earl of Westmoreland, at the head of such a numerous body of forces, that Lancaster's small retinue was increased to an army of 60,000 men. The duke now took a solemn oath, that his sole design in that



this invasion was that of recovering the duchy of Lancaster, unjustly detained from him. At the same time, he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of equity and their country, to second him in this reasonable and moderate pretension. The duke of York, who was left guardian of the realm during the king's absence, assembled an army of 40,000 men, and marched at their head to St. Alban's; but upon reviewing his forces, the soldiers declared to a man, that they would not draw a sword against Henry of Lancaster. The guardian himself did not, indeed, seem to be well affected to the cause he had undertaken to defend: he made no difficulty of declaring, that he would second his nephew in recovering his just rights. It is, therefore, no wonder that he listened to a message sent him by Henry, who entreated him not to oppose a loyal and humble suppliant in the recovery of his legal patrimony. The guardian was so far from opposing, that he joined the party of Henry; and the soldiers joyfully followed the example of their leader.

Lancaster now finding himself master of the kingdom, marched directly to Bristol, where some of Richard's ministers had shut themselves up, in order to defend the fortrefs against the attempts of an enemy, whose favour they had no hopes of obtaining. The garrison, however, made but a poor defence: they soon surrendered, and Henry, yielding to the request of the people, ordered the earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Buffy, and Sir John Green, who were taken prisoners, to be immediately executed, without even the form of a trial.

Richard no sooner heard of these proceedings than he hastened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford-haven with an army of twenty thousand men. But his soldiers like the rest of their brethren, were so strongly attached to the fortunes of Henry of Lancaster, that the greater part deserted him; and Richard soon perceived he was in no condition of meeting the enemy. Wavering and irresolute, he knew not whom to trust, or whom to fear. At length he determined to desert the remains of his forces, and take refuge in Wales. He accordingly retired, with the dukes of Exeter and Surry, the bishop of Carlisle, and a few other attendants, to Conway-castle, proposing to take the first opportunity of embarking for Ireland or France, and there wait some favourable opportunity of recovering that crown which he was not then able to defend.

As soon as Henry knew the situation of Richard, he immediately dispatched the earl of Northumberland to Conway-castle, to make his professions of loyalty and submission to the king: but this was all a deception, and the earl of Northumberland, having made himself master of the king's person, immediately conducted him to Henry, who was then at Flint-castle. Lancaster lost no time in conveying his royal captive to London, where he was received with the most barbarous insults by the people, and committed close prisoner to the Tower.

But though Lancaster had got possession of the person of the king, he was very uneasy with regard to the best method of disposing of that unfortunate monarch, and several councils were held on that subject. At length it was resolved that the duke of York, with several of the first noblemen, should be sent to Richard, in order to persuade him to make a formal resignation of that

crown they were determined he should no longer wear. For some time Richard refused to submit to so humiliating a circumstance; but at length, finding himself abandoned by all his friends, and sensible of his incapacity to resist the torrent of popular hatred, he consented to comply with their request. Accordingly, the crown, sceptre, and other ensigns of royalty, being brought before him, Richard, in the presence of a great number of lords assembled on the occasion, surrendered up the whole; after which, taking the signet ring from his finger, he presented it to the duke of Lancaster; at the same time desiring the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Hereford, to notify to the parliament his resignation of the crown, and to acquaint them, that he wished his kinsman, the duke of Lancaster, might succeed him on the throne.

Though Lancaster had thus far gained his wishes, yet he was not perfectly satisfied. He was fearful that this resignation would appear the result of force, and therefore proposed, that Richard should be solemnly deposed in parliament, for his tyranny and misconduct. Accordingly a charge was drawn up against him, consisting of thirty-three articles, and laid before the assembly. Though many of these articles were false in fact, and all of them turned chiefly on arbitrary acts, of which the late reign furnished many stronger examples, yet the lords unanimously found them justly laid, and, with the consent of the commons, formally deposed their sovereign. The only person who had courage and virtue sufficient to stand up, and plead in defence of his oppressed master, was the bishop of Carlisle, who nobly sustained the cause of fallen majesty, amidst the general disloyalty and violence. But his eloquence was exerted in vain; and the duke of Lancaster, exasperated at the bold truths he uttered, committed him prisoner to the Tower.

As soon as Richard was formally deposed by the parliament, the members immediately declared the crown vacant; upon which the duke of Lancaster arose from his seat, and claimed his superior right to it, as being the lineal descendant, and right heir of blood, from Henry III. Though many objections might have been made to this claim, yet no enquiry was made by the parliament, who immediately accepted it, and placed Henry on the throne of England.

Thus ended the reign of Richard II. a prince who, in the beginning of it, had filled all his subjects with the most pleasing hopes of his future good government; but, in process of time, through the prevalence of base and sordid passions, and the force of a most towering ambition, forfeited a crown he might have supported consistently with dignity, and the happiness of his subjects. But, destitute of virtue, discretion, and, in short, every noble qualification, he sunk not only beneath the majesty of a king, but the dignity of a man; and remains, among many others, and incontestible proof, that moral excellence transcends the most dignified title or exalted rank in human life.

Richard acceded to the throne on the 21st of June, 1377, and his deposition took place on the 30th of September, 1399; so that he swayed the English sceptre twenty-two years, three months, and nine days.



### Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Richard II.

A. D.

- 1378 A violent plague raged in the north of England, which, in a short time, carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.
- 1381 This year bills of exchange were first used in England. A violent earthquake in different parts of Europe. In the month of December Richard's first queen, Anne of Bohemia, landed at Dover, soon after which such a tempest arose, the like of which had not been known for many years. Several ships were dashed to pieces in the harbour, and that in which the queen came over was sunk. It is further observable, that when his second wife, Isabella of France, landed in England, a like storm arose, in which the king's baggage was lost, and many ships of his fleet destroyed.
- 1383 On the 21st of May this year there happened a dreadful earthquake in London, which threw down several churches, and many other public edifices. About this time the use of cannon was projected, and Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, was the first person that used them in the English service.
- 1386 The first company of linen-weavers settle in England.
- 1387 The earl of Arundel the first person appointed to the office of lord-high-admiral of England. This year wine was so cheap, that the best sold for 20s. a tun, and the more inferior sort, at 13s. 4d.
- 1390 In the beginning of this year there happened a violent hurricane, which threw down many houses, tore up trees by the roots, and destroyed numbers of cattle, in different parts of the kingdom.

- 1391 On the 9th of July this year the sun appeared to be obscured by thick and dreary clouds between that and the earth: its beams seemed of the colour of blood, and gave little or no light from noon till it sat. These clouds rose daily for almost six weeks together. About this time the north and east parts of England were greatly afflicted with a pestilence; insomuch that in the city of York only upwards of eleven thousand persons perished in a few weeks. This year playing cards were invented for the amusement of the king of France.
- 1393 This year a dolphin was taken in the river Thames near London-bridge. Its coming so far up the river was considered as an ill omen, which was, in some degree, verified by the national confusion that happened soon after.
- 1397 Blackwell-hall purchased by the city of London. In the month of August this year Richard began repairing Westminster-hall, and caused the walls, windows and roof to be taken down and new built, with a stately porch, as it now remains. During this reign it was a custom among the men to wear their shoes long and pecked, from the ends of which were ribbands and chains of silver fastened to the knees, as well to support them, as for the sake of ornament. The ladies wore high dresses on their heads, with long train gowns, and rode on side-saddles, after the example of the princess Anne of Bohemia, Richard's first wife, who brought that fashion into this country, before which time they used to ride astride their horses like men.

## C H A P. III.

### HENRY IV. Surnamed of BOLINGBROKE.

#### *The first King of England of the Line of Lancaster.*

*Coronation of Henry IV. A conspiracy is formed to dethrone him, which proves abortive, and several of the principal persons concerned are put to death. The late king assassinated. Henry passes a law for burning heretics. The Welsh make incursions into the English territories. Hotspur Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland, engages the Scots, and obtains a complete victory. The family of Percy join the Welsh and Scots against Henry. Battle of Shrewsbury, and consequences thereof. The earl of Northumberland, and several other noblemen, take up arms against the king, but their designs are rendered abortive. The archbishop of York, who joined in the confederacy, is put to death without trial. The earl of Northumberland retires to Scotland, and from thence goes over to France. He returns, raises a large body of forces, and engages the royal army, but is defeated and slain. The king is greatly troubled at the misconduct of his eldest son the prince of Wales. Some of the king's courtiers insinuate that the prince had formed designs against his life, upon which he removes him from the council. The prince acquits himself of the accusation. Henry is seized with violent fits, and the prince, thinking him no more, takes the crown from his pillow; but the king recovering, and being told who took it, orders him into his presence, when the prince so far acquits himself to the satisfaction of his father as to receive his benediction. Death and character of Henry IV.*

A. D. **O**N the deposition of Richard II. the 1399. parliament having unanimously placed Henry of Lancaster on the throne of England, a day was appointed for his coronation, which ceremony was accordingly performed, with great magnificence, on Monday the 13th of October, by the archbishop of Canterbury. On the same day Henry created his eldest son, then in the thirteenth year of his age, duke of Cornwall, prince of Wales, and earl of Chester, and appointed him successor to the throne on his demise.

The very next day after Henry's coronation the parliament re-assembled, and the first business they did was, to repeal all the statutes enacted in the two last parliaments convoked by Richard, and to pass several new laws, tending to secure the independency of the crown, and confirming the privileges of the people. They likewise deliberated on the case of Richard, when it was unanimously agreed, that he should be kept in perpetual confinement; but in other respects, treated according

to his rank and quality. He was accordingly removed from the Tower to the castle of Leeds, and soon after to that of Pontefract in Yorkshire.

But though Henry was thus placed on the throne of England by the unanimous consent and protection of the parliament, yet he was far from being quietly seated in the regal chair. His usurpation was so palpable, and the prior right of Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche (who had retired to his estate near the borders of Wales) so clear and evident, that it required his utmost abilities to secure that crown he had so unjustifiably obtained. The citizens of London, indeed, and the inhabitants of the adjacent counties, were, in general, well affected to him; but those of Wales and its marches, where the Mortimer interest lay, and which had always been distinguished by Richard, wanted only an opportunity of breaking into open rebellion.

A. D. 1400. Nor were the inhabitants of Wales the only people who wished to dethrone the new mo-



*Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.*



*Wale delin.*

*Grignon sculp.*

*Born  
Anno. 1367.*

*Crowned  
October 13. 1399.*

*Died  
March 20. 1413.*



monarch. Many of the English nobility, who had been materially injured by the late revolution, were so dissatisfied, that they entered into a conspiracy, and determined, if possible, to deprive Henry of a crown to which he had no legal claim, and to replace on it the dethroned and captive monarch.

Several consultations were held on this business, and it was at length resolved, that in order to promote their design, and render their undertaking successful, they should endeavour to prevail on one Maudlin, a priest, who greatly resembled Richard both in shape and features, to personate him. Maudlin readily complied, in consequence of which, to make this part of their plan have the greater effect, they agreed to dress him in royal robes, and carry him to different parts of the kingdom, till the real Richard could be released from his confinement.

By this stratagem they soon obtained a prodigious number of partizans, and determined immediately to carry their design into execution. Henry was at this time in the castle at Windsor, and it was agreed, in order to assemble a sufficient number of persons without suspicion, to propose a tilting match to be held at Oxford, and to invite Henry to be a spectator of that manly exercise. If he accepted the invitation, they imagined it would be no difficult matter to seize his person; and if he refused, they were to march secretly to Windsor Castle, where they flattered themselves with obtaining an easy admittance.

Henry accepted the invitation of being present at the tournament, but before the day arrived on which it was to be held the earl of Rutland, one of the principal conspirators, went to Windsor, discovered the whole plot to the king, and obtained the promise of a pardon. On this discovery Henry immediately set out for London, where he was sure of being supported by the citizens, and would therefore be in a condition of giving the rebels battle, in case they ventured to approach the capital. In the mean time the conspirators, suspecting their design discovered, marched immediately to Windsor, and surprised the castle, but were confounded when they found that Henry had made his escape. Henry appeared next day at Kingston upon Thames, at the head of twenty thousand men, mostly drawn from the city; and the rebels, unable to resist his power, dispersed themselves with a view of raising their followers in the several counties, where their interest more immediately lay. But they were so closely pursued by the royal party, that the earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized at Cirencester by the inhabitants, and beheaded the next day without farther ceremony. The earl of Huntingdon and several other noblemen were taken prisoners, and suffered death by the express commands of the king. As for Maudlin, after being publicly exposed on the pillory to the insults of the populace, he was taken out half dead, and carried to the gallows, where he was hung up by the heels till he expired.

As Henry was conscious this conspiracy had taken place from those who were strenuous advocates for the late king, he could not think himself safe while Richard was alive. That unhappy prince was still in Pontefract Castle, where he was shewn some small remains of royal respect. Sir Pierce de Exton (one of those wretches who think nothing too barbarous for gratifying either their own ambition or that of their master) determined to

destroy Richard, and free Henry from the uneasiness that he could not conceal. Accordingly he imparted his design to eight ruffians, who all agreed to dispatch the unhappy prince, not doubting but they should receive a noble reward, as the action was too detestable for the king to seem to command, and too dangerous for any but abandoned ruffians like themselves to undertake. The horrid design being formed, Exton and his ruffians set out for Pontefract Castle, in order to execute their barbarous intentions. On the day of their arrival Richard perceived, at dinner, that his victuals was not tasted as usual: enquiring the reason, he was told by the person who used to perform that ceremony, that the king had ordered it to be omitted; upon which Richard, losing all patience, struck the taster on the face with his knife, saying, "The devil take Henry of Lancaster and thee!" Exton coming in at the instant, with five of his attendants, attempted to lay hold of Richard, who, guessing their design, wrested a pole ax out of the hands of one of them, and defended himself so bravely that he slew four of the ruffians; but at length Exton, getting upon a chair behind him, the villain discharged such a blow with an ax upon his head, that he laid him dead at his feet. And thus fell, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, the unfortunate Richard II. king of England.

Henry well knew that the death of Richard, and the execution of those distinguished noblemen, who had been concerned in the late rebellion, must give rise to animosities injurious to the royal authority; and therefore determined, if possible, to gain the clergy over to his interest. To effect this, he caused a law to be passed by the parliament, whereby it was enacted, that when any heretic, who refused to abjure his opinion, was delivered over to the secular power, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate. This sanguinary statute was the source of additional distress to the people, who were already sufficiently acquainted with misfortunes. Nor was it long before this execrable law was carried into execution. William Soutre, rector of St. Osithe's in London, having embraced the doctrines of Wickliffe, was condemned by the synod of Canterbury, and committed to the flames for entertaining principles contrary to the established religion.

A. D. 1401. Encouraged by the unsettled state of the English government, one Owen Glandower, a descendant of the antient princes of Wales, made various incursions into the English territories, and committed the most horrid depredations on the innocent inhabitants. This produced a troublesome and tedious war; which the Welsh prince long sustained by his valour and activity, assisted by the natural strength of that country, and the untamed spirit of the inhabitants. In one of the encounters between the English and Welsh, the earl of Marche, who (notwithstanding what had before passed between Henry and himself) had armed his followers in defence of the king, was taken prisoner. But the ungrateful Henry suffered him to remain in captivity; nor would he permit the earl of Northumberland to ransom him, though he owed his crown to the assistance of that powerful nobleman.

The Welsh were not the only people that made incursions into the English territories. The Scots likewise took advantage of the unsettled state of affairs in England, and committed dreadful ravages in the northern counties. The most considerable body, which consisted of twelve thousand men,



was commanded by Archibald earl of Douglas. Hotspur Percy attacked the invaders at Halydown-hill, and a desperate battle ensued, but at length the Scots were defeated, and Percy obtained a compleat victory. Above seven thousand Scots were killed on the field of battle; and the earls of Douglas, Fife, Angus, Athol, and Montith, with a great number of other officers of distinction, taken prisoners.

But this defeat, instead of being advantageous, was productive of very disagreeable consequences. Henry no sooner received intelligence of the reduction of the Scots, than he immediately wrote a letter to the earl of Northumberland and his son, which was full of the warmest expressions of gratitude for their services; but at the same time strictly enjoined them not to ransom any of their prisoners. This injunction was considered as an arbitrary usurpation of power, all prisoners being (by the military laws which then prevailed) the sole property of those by whom they were conquered.

A. D. 1402-3. Irritated at the proceedings of Henry, who, in a great measure, owed his crown to the Northumberland interest, the whole family conspired against him, and resolved, if possible, to wrest out of his hands that scepter which they now thought him unworthy any longer to hold.

Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, besides the insult offered by Henry on this occasion, had other causes to excite his resentment. He had been made vice-chamberlain and admiral by Richard; loved the person of his old master and benefactor while living, retained a grateful sense of the benefits he had received after his death, and could not but detest Henry as the author of his murder, and the usurper of his crown. He therefore joined his father and brother, to drive from the throne a person who had no title to fill it, and whose power was founded on the blood of his master.

The plan being concerted, preparations were accordingly made by the whole family of the Percies for carrying it into execution. For this purpose an alliance was concluded with Owen Glendower; and Hotspur offered earl Douglas his liberty without ransom if he would join the Northumberland army, a proposal which he readily accepted, having long borne an inveterate hatred to the whole house of Lancaster.

In a short time a very considerable army was assembled; but before the troops were ready to take the field, the earl of Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick, in consequence of which the chief command devolved upon Hotspur Percy, who led his forces to Shrewsbury, in order to join the troops of Glendower.

It happened at this time that Henry had a considerable body of forces which were collected together for the purpose of marching against the Scots; and therefore no sooner did he hear of the proceedings of the Percies, than he immediately quitted London, at the head of his troops, and marched to oppose them. On his approach near Shrewsbury, Percy, who did not so soon expect to be opposed by a royal army, was obliged to abandon the siege of that place, which he had just invested, and prepare for an engagement. He accordingly encamped at Hartlefield near Shrewsbury, where he resolved to hazard a battle, though he was not then joined by the Welsh forces commanded by Glendower.

The two armies having made the necessary preparations, the battle was begun, and the shock was at once both dreadful and bloody. Henry's infantry at first gave way, and the whole army would have been thrown into confusion, had not the impetuous valour of Percy and Douglas given the royalists an opportunity of rallying. These two chiefs fought side by side, and opened themselves a passage to the spot where the royal standard was erected, and where they knew Henry fought in person, both contending who should have the honour of encountering the royal warrior. Percy supported that renown which he had acquired in so many bloody combats; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival amidst the horrors and confusion of the battle. Their ardor, however, proved fatal to their cause; they charged with such desperate fury, and pierced with such rapidity the ranks of the enemy, that few of their men could follow them. They performed such prodigies of valour, that they soon found themselves amidst heaps of dead bodies, and the royal standard was thrown to the ground. Nor did Henry flinch from the heat of battle; he exposed his person in the thickest of the fight. His gallant son (whose military achievements afterwards became so famous) followed the example of his father; and even a wound which he received in his face with an arrow, did not oblige him to quit the field. Henry, however, in order either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his person, or to encourage his own men by the belief that he was present every where, had dressed several persons in the royal garb; and the sword of Douglas, who seemed determined that the king of England should fall by his arm, rendered that intended honour fatal to most of those who appeared in the royal attire.

But while the two armies were strenuously contending for the palm of victory, the fall of Hotspur Percy, by an unknown hand, decided the fortune of the day: the rebels were totally routed, and the royalists left masters of the field. About two thousand five hundred gentlemen are said to have perished in this sanguinary contest; but the persons of the most distinction in the royal army were the earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Gansel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Mafsey, and Sir John Calverly. About 6000 private men were slain, of whom two thirds belonged to Percy's army. The earls of Douglas and Worcester were taken prisoners, the former of whom was dismissed without ransom on account of his distinguished valour; but the latter, with several others, were beheaded at Shrewsbury.

During these transactions the earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his illness, was marching at the head of a very considerable body of troops to reinforce his son's army; but hearing that he was totally defeated and slain, and that the king was advancing against him at the head of his victorious troops, he immediately disbanded his forces, and shut himself up in Warkworth castle. Soon after the king arrived at York, whither the earl of Northumberland, attended by a small retinue, immediately repaired, in order to apologize for his conduct. Being admitted into the presence of Henry he pretended that his sole intention in raising an army was to mediate a peace between the contending parties: this was certainly a very frivolous excuse; but the king, unwilling to drive so powerful a nobleman to despair, admitted his apology, and granted him a pardon.



A. D. 1404. The rebellion being totally suppressed, Henry returned with his forces to London, whither he had not long arrived when a circumstance happened which gave him fresh alarms. A report was circulated that Richard was still alive, and this report seemed to gain universal credit. It was propagated by one Serle, formerly a domestic to Henry, who wrote letters to different persons in England, assuring them that Richard was then in being, and in good health. But this imposition was soon discovered, as also the author of it, by means of Sir William Clifford, governor of Berwick, who, in order to make up a former breach with the king, delivered Serle up to justice; in consequence of which he was tried, condemned, and executed, as a traitor to his country, and a public disturber of the peace of the kingdom.

In the month of July Henry concluded a truce with the Scots, which was to continue in force till the Easter following.

A. D. 1405. Henry now thought it adviseable to take some measures for suppressing the inroads of the Welsh, who had continued their depredations on the English territories. He accordingly raised a considerable body of forces, and gave the command to the prince of Wales, who marching against them routed the greater part of their army. He then advanced farther into the country, and soon after fought another battle in Monmouthshire, against a body of eight thousand men, commanded by Griffith, eldest son of Glendower, whose army was routed, himself taken prisoner, and his uncle Tudor killed on the spot.

The victorious arms of the prince of Wales might probably have quelled the rebellious Welsh, had they not been encouraged by the French, from whom they expected a very powerful assistance. The duke of Orleans, who bore great sway in that kingdom, regardless of the truce subsisting with England, sent an army into Guienne, which reduced several places belonging to the English. These were circumstances that greatly alarmed Henry, and he was desirous, if possible, of suppressing the Welsh rebellion before they could receive any assistance from the perfidious French. To effect this he called a council of the nobility, prelates as well as laity, in order to solicit a subsidy, which, from a liberal supply a short time before granted, he could not in reason demand of the parliament. But, to his great mortification, he met with an unanimous repulse; so that, for the present, his designs against the Welsh were entirely frustrated.

Soon after this another insurrection took place, and a powerful party was formed against Henry's person and government. The earl of Nottingham (son to the duke of Norfolk, whom Henry, while only earl of Hereford, had accused of high treason, and by that means procured his perpetual banishment) and Richard Scroope, archbishop of Canterbury (brother to the earl of Wiltshire, whom Henry, when duke of Lancaster, had caused to be beheaded) continued to harbour the most implacable rancour against that prince, and they now resolved, in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, to wreak their vengeance on the enemy of their families. They were farther encouraged in their design by the junction of the lords Bardolf, Hastings and Fauconbridge, together with a great number of gentlemen of figure and fortune in their respective counties.

The conspirators, having gathered together their

forces, marched to York, where they published a manifesto against the king, containing nine articles, the most important of which were these: That Henry, when he arrived in England, had protested and sworn, that he came for no other purpose, but to recover his private estate, without having any pretensions to the crown, which he had, nevertheless, usurped: that, like an arch-traitor, he had imprisoned his sovereign, compelled him to resign his royal dignity, and then put him to death in a very barbarous manner: that since the death of Richard, he had unjustly detained the crown from Edmund Mortimer earl of Marche, to whom it lawfully belonged; and that, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of his clergy, he had refused to pay the ransom of the earl of Marche, falsely charging that nobleman with having voluntarily surrendered himself prisoner to Owen Glendower. That these were the causes which induced them to take up arms, in order to deliver the nation from the oppression of such a tyrant, and set the lawful heir upon the throne of England. This manifesto was circulated through most parts of the kingdom, by emissaries, who had been industriously and numerously employed for that purpose.

The earl of Westmoreland (who had been appointed to watch the Scottish marches) no sooner heard of this insurrection, than he immediately advanced at the head of his forces, hoping to surprize the rebels before they were prepared for defence. In this, however, he was deceived; for, on reaching Shipton-Moor, in the neighbourhood of York, he perceived the insurgents, amounting to 17,000 men, drawn up in excellent order, and ready to engage. Knowing his army to be greatly inferior, in point of numbers, to that of the insurgents, he had recourse to stratagem, which, however unpromising in appearance, was, nevertheless, attended with the desired success. He prevailed on the earl of Nottingham and the archbishop of Canterbury to favour him with a conference between the two armies, when he heard their complaints with great patience, seemed heartily to concur with them in taking measures for the welfare of the nation, and even undertook to promise that Henry, should give them entire satisfaction.

This artful behaviour had the wished-for effect. The earl of Westmoreland easily prevailed on the two confederate leaders to dismiss their followers, who were no sooner out of sight, than the earl's guard seized the earl of Nottingham and archbishop of Canterbury before they could receive any succour from their adherents. As soon as this piece of treachery was known, and that two of their principal leaders were in custody, the insurgents were seized with the utmost consternation, and consulted their own safety by immediately laying down their arms, and betaking themselves to flight.

The earl of Westmoreland marched with his noble prisoners to York, whither the king soon after arrived, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the earl, determined to make them feel his resentment. Henry knew the trial of the archbishop, if conducted in the usual form, would prove both troublesome and tedious; therefore determined to follow the ferocious customs of the age, by putting the primate to death without the form of a trial. He accordingly applied to William Gascoigne, the chief justice, to pass the sentence of high-treason on the archbishop: but he refused to act contrary to the laws of his country. Sir William Fulthorpe was, therefore, appointed a



judge on this occasion; who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, condemned the prelate to suffer death, and the sentence was immediately carried into execution. This was the first instance in England of a capital sentence being inflicted on a dignitary of the church. The earl of Nottingham suffered the same fate with the archbishop, and heavy fines were imposed on several others who had been engaged in the insurrection.

As for the earl of Northumberland, he no sooner heard of the fate of Nottingham and the archbishop, than he immediately sought his safety by flying to Scotland, accompanied by lord Bardolf. But the unfortunate earl did not long enjoy the benefit of this asylum; an event soon after happened which obliged him to seek his safety on the continent. Robert III. king of Scotland, was by no means qualified to hold the sceptre in these ferocious times. He was a prince of a slender capacity, but very innocent and inoffensive; virtues which were then so far from being admired, that they rendered him contemptible. His brother, the duke of Albany, a prince of a more violent and boisterous disposition, assumed the reins of government; and, desirous of rendering his power perpetual, threw David, the eldest son of Robert, into prison, where he was inhumanly starved to death. James, a younger brother of David, was now the only obstacle that opposed the tyrant from mounting the throne on the death of his brother. Sensible of his son's danger, Robert embarked him on board a ship, in order to send him into France, not doubting but he would there find sufficient protection. But Robert was destined to misfortunes: the ship was taken by the English, and Henry, notwithstanding the truce which subsisted between the two crowns, refused to restore the young prince to liberty. Worn out with grief and infirmities, Robert was unable to support this last misfortune. He sunk under the weight of his distress, and left the government in the hands of his brother. Henry now saw all the importance of his acquisition: the duke of Albany was entirely dependent on the English monarch; because a single attempt to prejudice the interest of Henry would be sufficient to pull him from the throne. James was about nine years of age when he was first brought to London; and if any thing could atone for this breach of faith, it was the excellent education which Henry bestowed upon him, and which afterwards qualified him for filling the throne of his ancestors with honour to himself and happiness to his people. From these circumstances it is little to be wondered at that the duke of Albany should refuse protection to a nobleman so obnoxious to Henry as the duke of Northumberland: he therefore insisted upon his immediately quitting his dominions, with which the earl readily complied, and retired to France.

A. D. 1407. The only remarkable circumstance that happened this year worthy of recording was, the death of the famous Sir Robert Knolles, who had acquired such military renown during the reign of Edward III. He died at his country seat in Kent, and was buried in White Friars church, which himself had built. He likewise built Rochester bridge, and founded a college for secular canons at Pontefract in Yorkshire. He died at a very advanced age, after having retired privately many years, during which he lived universally beloved and respected for his benevolence and humanity.

A. D. 1408. The earl of Northumberland, who had retired to France, became now weary of

his exile; and determined to make one more effort to remove Henry from the throne. He accordingly landed in the north of England with lord Bardolph, hoping his presence would be sufficient to rouse the English to arms. This was far from being a chimerical conjecture, for he was immediately joined by a party of Scottish free-booters, and as he advanced, found his army daily increase. Pleased to find the inhabitants had not yet lost their affections for his family, he continued his march, made himself master of several castles which had been reduced after the fatal battle of Shrewsbury, and appointed Thirsk in Yorkshire as the place of general rendezvous for his army.

The government were greatly alarmed at the success which had attended the earl in this new insurrection; but there was now no royal army ready to march against the rebels. However, Sir Thomas Rokesby, sheriff of Yorkshire, thinking it his duty to stop the insurgents, raised a considerable body of forces, and advanced to meet them. The earl of Northumberland was equally desirous of coming to an action with the sheriff, being persuaded that if he could defeat Rokesby's forces, he should not only disappoint Henry of so essential a reinforcement, but also engage the city and county of York to declare in his favour. He accordingly put his army in motion, and met Rokesby on Barham Moor, where a bloody battle ensued, in which the rebels, after an obstinate resistance, were totally routed, and both the earl of Northumberland, and lord Bardolf fell among the slain. This event, together with the death of Glendower, which happened soon after, freed Henry from all domestic enemies. No more attempts were made to tear the laurel from his brow, and he enjoyed the crown he had usurped without any farther opposition.

A. D. 1409. The coasts and commerce of England had, for some time, been greatly annoyed by a number of French corsairs; to prevent which Henry ordered a strong fleet to be fitted out, under the command of the earl of Kent, who immediately directed his course to the town of Brehar, the rendezvous of the corsairs, and invested the place; but the earl was repulsed, after receiving a wound in his head, which proved mortal. This disaster so exasperated the English, that they renewed the attack with the utmost fury, and in a short time carried the place, put all they found in arms to the sword, and brought the rest prisoners to England.

A. D. 1410. The persecutions which had been carried on against the Wickliffites, or Lollards, were far from producing the intended effect: they continued to increase daily, and many of them held places of trust and power under the government. The clergy, alarmed at their progress, determined to carry the laws against them into execution with the utmost severity, and, by some distinguished example, prevent them from extending that influence which threatened the foundation of the established religion. One Bodby, a taylor, took upon him to exclaim violently against the absurdity of the real presence in the sacrament. This person, therefore, was singled out by the clergy for exemplary punishment. He was accordingly tried, and condemned to the stake; and the prince of Wales had the curiosity to be a spectator of the execution. When the flames first reached the body of the criminal, he cried out in so horrid a manner, that the prince ordered the fire to be removed, and offered the man his life, together with a pension out of his private purse,



(as the flames had disabled him from following his business) on condition he would renounce his opinion. Bodby, however shocked when he first felt the flames, refused the offered pardon: he loved his opinions better than his life, and was accordingly committed again to the fire, in which he resigned his breath as a forfeit to his faith.

A. D. 1411. In the beginning of this year the Scots renewed their depredations on the northern borders of England; and with their cruizers interrupted the navigation and trade of the English. But they were soon stopped in their proceedings by the courage and abilities of Robert de Umfreville, vice-admiral of England, who entered the Frith of Edinburgh with ten capital ships, and not only destroyed the greater part of their naval force, but ravaged the whole coast, and brought off immense plunder.

The parliament this year met on the 12th of November, when they petitioned the king that a general amnesty might be passed in favour of all his majesty's subjects. Henry readily complied with their request, in consideration of which they very liberally granted him the necessary supplies. At the same time his three sons, John, Thomas and Humphry, were created dukes, the first of Bedford, the second of Clarence, and the third of Gloucester; and Henry's own brother was created duke of Dorset.

A. D. 1412. Henry had now neither foreign or domestic enemies to contend with, and tranquillity prevailed throughout his dominions. But the king could not enjoy that satisfaction which was possessed by his subjects. His days were embittered as a parent by the irregular courses of his eldest son the prince of Wales, whose court was the common receptacle for libertines, and every other character that could disgrace human nature. In short, he plunged himself, with the utmost violence, into all the extravagancies of debauchery, and blushed not for a conduct the most disorderly and licentious.

But these outrages proceeded less from a depraved disposition, than the natural violence of his temper; and many gleams of spirit and magnanimity were observed to break through the cloud which a wild conduct had thrown over his character, and of which the following is an instance. One of young Henry's favorites having been indicted for some misdemeanor, was condemned, notwithstanding all the interest the prince, who was present at the trial, could make in his favor. Young Henry was so incensed at the issue, that he struck Sir William Gascoigne, the judge, as he sat on the bench. But the magistrate was not to be intimidated; he acted with a spirit suitable to his character, and instantly ordered the prince into custody. This sally of passion in the prince was immediately succeeded by a sudden return of reason; he suffered himself, with the utmost resignation, to be conducted to prison by the officers of justice. When the king was informed of this transaction, he said, "I thank God I have a judge possessed of so much courage to execute the laws, and a son endowed with so much obedience as to submit to such chastisement."

But notwithstanding this instance of modesty and submission in the prince, Henry, who was naturally of a jealous and suspicious disposition, too readily listened to the base suggestions of some officious courtiers, who insinuated that his eldest son had formed unnatural designs against his crown and life. These insinuations filled his mind with

anxious fears, and he might probably have proceeded to some extremities, in order to secure his safety on the throne, had not his suspicions been removed by the prudent conduct of the prince.

Young Henry was no sooner informed of these base and treacherous aspersions, than he immediately dressed himself in a mourning habit, and repaired to court, in order to request a private audience of the king. Being admitted into his father's presence, he immediately fell on his knees, and addressed him in words to this effect: "Most dread sovereign, and honoured father! It gives me the greatest concern to find that I am suspected by your majesty of an unnatural design against your crown and person, which I, more than any other subject, am bound to reverence and defend. I confess, indeed, with shame and contrition, that my irregularities and excesses have given sufficient cause for your displeasure. But I call upon God (who knows the inmost secrets of the heart, and never fails to punish those who dare invoke him to sanctify a falsehood) to witness, that I never harboured a single thought inconsistent with that duty. I owe your majesty as my sovereign and my father. Those who charge me with contrary intentions, seek only to disturb your tranquillity, and to alienate your affections from your son and successor. I would willingly remove those anxieties from your mind; I came for no other purpose. Let me beseech you, therefore, to let my actions be tried by the utmost rigor, with the same severity as if I was the meanest of your subjects; and if I am found guilty, in any respect, of the atrocious crime laid to my charge; if I have ever used any expression that indicated disloyalty or want of affection, let me be punished as the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the name of son or subject. I will readily submit to any punishment you may think proper to inflict. I again, therefore, beseech you with the utmost humility, both for the ease of your own mind, and the vindication of your injured son, to issue the necessary orders for making the rigorous scrutiny I now demand."

It is little to be wondered at that so ingenuous and pathetic an address should greatly affect the king. He was unable, for some time, to speak, but at length, recovering himself, raised the prince from the ground, embraced him with tears, and assured him, that all his suspicions were entirely removed, and that he would never, for the future, harbour a thought prejudicial to his honour and loyalty.

A. D. 1413. But Henry did not long survive this affecting interview. His health had, for some months, been violently declining, and he was greatly afflicted with fits, which returned at certain intervals, and for a time, bereaved him of his senses. In consequence of this dangerous complaint, (together with some scruples of conscience concerning the means he had employed to obtain the crown, and an idle prophecy, implying that he should die in Jerusalem) Henry wholly dedicated his time to devotional duties, and assumed the cross, resolving to consecrate the remainder of his days to a war against the infidels. He imparted his resolution to a grand council assembled for that purpose, and began to make preparations for the expedition, when his fits increased to so violent a degree, that he was obliged to decline his resolution, and prepare himself to take a final leave of the world.

Henry had been so frequently in danger of losing his crown, that his imagination seems to have



have been strongly impressed with that idea, which increased, as his strength and reasoning faculties decayed, even to a degree of childish anxiety. He would not sleep unless the royal diadem was laid on his pillow: One day he remained so long in a swoon, that his servants thought him actually dead; and the prince took the crown from the pillow, and carried it into his own apartment. The king recovering the use of his senses, and observing the diadem was removed, asked who had dared to take it from his pillow? and being told, he ordered the prince to be brought into his presence. When young Henry appeared, the king with an angry countenance, said, "What! would you deprive me of my crown before my death?" "No," replied the prince, "I took it, thinking your majesty was really dead, as my lawful inheritance; but now, happily perceiving my mistake, return the diadem with far greater pleasure than I took it." He accordingly re-placed the crown on the king's pillow; and having received his father's benediction, retired.

A few days after this Henry was seized with a more violent fit than ever while at his devotion before the shrine of Edward the Confessor in Westminster-abbey, from whence he was removed to the Jerusalem Chamber. As soon as he had a little recovered, finding himself in a strange place, he desired to know where he was, and being informed, immediately concluded that his dissolution was at hand, and that the prophecy relative to his dying in Jerusalem would be, in some degree, fulfilled. Possessed with this notion, he desired to see the prince of Wales, to whom he gave several important instructions relative to his future government, and having recommended him to the protection of hea-

ven, soon after expired; on the 20th of March, in the 46th year of his age, and 14th of his reign. His remains were interred in the cathedral at Canterbury.

Henry was in person of a middling stature, well proportioned, and had a graceful and pleasing countenance. He was of a very sedate but at the same time, easy disposition, being neither elated with prosperity, or dejected by adversity. His personal courage and military prowess were indisputable, and he possessed a solid judgment, with a deep penetration into human nature. In a word, except the circumstances of his usurpation, and the murder of Richard, he seems to have been qualified for the high station to which he was exalted; and had he obtained the crown by a just and lawful title, might have passed his life with as much honour to himself, and as much advantage to the nation, as any other monarch that ever filled the English throne.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Henry IV.

##### A. D.

- 1407 A great plague broke out in London, which raged with such violence, that, in a short time, it carried off no less than 30,000 of the inhabitants.
- 1408 A little before Christmas began a violent frost, which lasted fifteen weeks, and being accompanied with abundance of snow, prodigious numbers of birds perished with cold and hunger.
- 1409 This year a play was acted at Skinner's-well, near Clerkenwell, London, representing the principal transactions that had taken place in the world since the creation. It lasted eight days, and the greater part of the nobility and gentry of England were present.
- 1411 The Guildhall in the city of London, which was but a mean place before, was this year rebuilt, as it now appears, at the expence of the city.

## B O O K X.

### From the Accession of Henry V. to the Death of Henry VII.

#### C H A P. I.

### H E N R Y V. surnamed of MONMOUTH.

*Accession and coronation of Henry V. Prudent conduct of the king. Sir John Oldcastle is condemned to the flames for favouring the principles of the Lollards. He makes his escape from the Tower, but is afterwards taken and hanged as a traitor. Distractions in the court of France. A conspiracy against the king. Henry goes over to the continent with a powerful army. Battle of Agincourt, and consequences thereof. Henry returns to England, but soon after goes again to the continent, and lays siege to Rouen. Marches to Paris, and obliges the court to move to Troyes. Makes a treaty with the French, by which he obtains the sovereignty of France, and marries Catharine, the daughter of Charles VI. Henry returns to England, in order to obtain a supply from the parliament. Goes again to the continent with a large army, to oppose the measures of the dauphin. Lays siege to Meaux, reduces it, and hangs the governor for his cruelty to the English. Is seized with the bloody flux while in France, and finding his end approaching, gives some particular instructions to his attendants. His death and character.*

A. D. 1413. **O**N the death of Henry IV. his eldest son, Henry, surnamed of Monmouth, was immediately proclaimed king, and on the 9th of April following, was crowned at Westminster, amidst the universal acclamations of the people, who, notwithstanding the loose he had given to

his passions during the latter part of the late reign, formed great expectations of happiness under his government.

Nor were their expectations ill founded; for no sooner did the young king assume the reins of government than he so changed his conduct, as to prove himself worthy of the high station to which he



Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.



Wale delin.

Grignon sculp.

Born  
Anno. 1388.

Crowned  
April 9. 1413.

Died  
August 31. 1422



he was advanced. He immediately discarded all his profligate companions, but at the same time allowed them liberal pensions for their future subsistence. He published a general amnesty for all crimes that had been committed, except rapes and murders; chose a new council composed of the wisest and best men in the kingdom; and made a thorough reform in the courts of justice, by removing ignorant and corrupt judges, and supplying their places with men of real abilities and integrity. Sir William Gascoigne, the chief justice, was received with particular marks of esteem, and, instead of reproaches (as he had expected for his conduct in the late reign) was loaded with favours, for his strict and impartial administration of justice.

Young Henry gave convincing proofs of the deep sorrow he felt for the fate of the unhappy Richard II. whose remains he caused to be removed from Langley to Westminster-abbey, where they were solemnly interred by those of his queen, Anne of Luxembourg, Henry himself walking as chief mourner. He afterwards, by way of atonement for his father's usurpation, founded three monasteries near Shene (now Richmond) in Surry, in which prayers were to be read, at certain times, for the soul of Richard.

In order to make some recompence to the unfortunate earl of Marche, who had been so ill treated by his father, Henry paid him so much respect, that he almost forgot his right to the sceptre of England, to which he had, by birth, an undoubted title; and for which kindness that nobleman ever after served him with sincere loyalty. Henry likewise expressed a generous concern for the Percy family, and invited the son and heir of Hotspur to come from Scotland, that he might be restored to the honours and estates of his ancestors. In short, Henry seemed desirous of burying all animosities in the grave of oblivion, and of approving himself at once the king and father of his people.

The first act of a public nature that took place after Henry's accession to the throne was, the farther prosecution of the Lollards, who, notwithstanding the severities that had been exercised against them in the late reign, were every day increasing in the kingdom, and not only appeared exceeding dangerous to the church, but even formidable to the civil power. The convocation of the clergy unanimously agreed, that the only method to extirpate these schismatics would be to make examples of the principal propagators of their doctrines, and therefore determined to

begin with Sir John Oldcastle, styled, in right of his wife, Lord Cobham, who was considered as the head of the Lollards. This nobleman was remarkable for his personal courage and military prowess; and had, by his gallant behaviour, greatly recommended himself to the favour of Henry. The archbishop of Canterbury was no stranger to the situation of Cobham, and therefore thought it advisable to wait on the king, and (after representing to him the public injuries which arose from Cobham's protection of the Lollards) request his permission to proceed against him as an heretic. Henry, who was no friend to ecclesiastical severity, represented to the primate, that reason and persuasion were the best means of supporting truth, and correcting error: that every gentle method should be used in order to bring back those deluded people to the bosom of the church; and that himself would endeavour to reconcile Cobham to the catholic faith. Henry, however, found all his arguments fruitless: Cobham, though greatly attached to his sovereign, would not sacrifice his principles to conciliate the favour of majesty; on which the king gave the primate permission to proceed against him with the utmost severity.

The violence of ecclesiastical authority was now exerted, and the primate, assisted by his three suffragans, the bishops of London, Winchester and St. Davids, tried Cobham as an heretic, and condemned him to the flames. He was accordingly committed prisoner to the Tower of London; but before the day arrived, which was fixed for his execution, he found means to effect his escape.

Irritated at this severe treatment, Cobham was no sooner at liberty than he formed a design of seeking revenge on his enemies. He assembled his partizans, who were exceeding numerous, and began an open rebellion against the government; but by the vigilance of Henry all his designs were rendered abortive. The conspirators assembled in St. Giles's fields near London, whither Henry marched with a small body of forces, and soon obliged them to disperse. Great numbers of the Lollards were seized, tried, hanged and burnt on the spot where they assembled; among whom were Sir Roger Aston, and one Beverly their preacher. Lord Cobham made his escape and fled to Wales, nor was he taken till about four years after, when he was first hanged as a traitor, and afterwards burnt as an heretic, pursuant to the sentence which had been passed on him by the convocation of the clergy\*.

The

\* The persecutions against the Lollards, which took place in this and the late reign, gave rise to those horrid cruelties which were afterwards exercised on the Protestants in England; for a full account of which the reader is referred to an excellent book lately published, intitled,

"The Rev. Dr. SOUTHWELL'S

NEW BOOK OF MARTYRS;  
Or, Complete Christian Martyrology. Containing an authentic and genuine Historical Account of the various Persecutions against the Church of Christ, in ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD, by Pagans, Papists, Turks, Jews and Others; from the earliest Ages of the Church to the present Period. Including the Life, Sufferings and Martyrdom of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The Martyrdoms of the Apostles, Evangelists, and other Primitive Christians. The ten great Persecutions under the Roman Emperors. The Persecution in Persia under Sapor; and the Persecutions under the Roman Vandals.—The horrid Persecutions under the Papacy; particularly the Martyrdom of the Waldenses and Albigenses in France; the Persecutions in Germany and Poland; the Cruelties exercised in Bohemia, and Lusatia; and the Martyrdoms in Italy.—The shocking Barbarities practised by the Inquisition of Spain, Portugal, &c. and the Popish Persecutions of the Protestants during the Massacre of Paris.—A full Account of all the English Martyrdoms, particularly those in the Times of King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary.—The Persecutions in Holland, Flanders, Scotland, &c.—The bloody Irish Massacre.—The Gunpowder Plot; and the horrid Conspiracies in 1678.—The Martyrdom of the Missionaries in China; the Persecutions in the East-Indies; the Barbarities exercised in America; the Cruelties practised on the Christians of Abyssinia and Georgia, &c. &c. Embellished with a great Number of Copper-plates, representing the various Modes of cruelly torturing Christians for their Constancy, and putting them to Death for their Faith: also displaying some general Scenes of Pagan Barbarity and Popish Cruelty, the whole taken from the Paintings and Drawings of the most ingenious Masters. — This admirable Work, which makes a handsome Volume in Folio, may be had of J. COOKE, No. 17, *Pater-noster Row*; Price One Pound Six Shillings, neatly bound in Calf and lettered; or, in forty Numbers, price Six-pence each, so that those who do not chuse to purchase the whole at once may have it by One or more Numbers at a time, as may best suit their convenience.—Every One of the Numbers being enriched with One or more beautiful Copper-plates.



The king, not satisfied with having suppressed this rebellion, procured the parliament to pass some very severe laws against the Lollards. Among others, it was enacted, that none should, under pain of losing life and fortune, read the scriptures in English, and that those who did should have no benefit of sanctuary.

A. D. 1414. Henry had, ever since his accession to the throne, formed the design of engaging in a war with France, and from the confused state of that kingdom, determined now to make preparations for carrying it into execution. Charles VI. had been seized with a fit of phrenzy, which rendered him incapable of exercising his authority; and though he recovered from this disorder, he was so subject to relapses, that his senses were gradually but insensibly impaired; so that he was incapable of pursuing any settled plan of government. This misfortune gave a full career to the rage of parties. The duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and the duke of Burgundy, his cousin-german, (after maintaining the most violent quarrels, by which the country had been deluged with the blood of its inhabitants) agreed to enter into a strict friendship, and swore at the altar to the sincerity of their intentions. But little regard was paid to this solemn engagement: the duke of Orleans was soon after assassinated in the streets of Paris by order of the duke of Burgundy, who had even the insolence to avow openly and defend the justice of the action. The dreadful consequences of this horrid deed were soon displayed. It was utterly impossible to effect a reconciliation between the adherents of the deceased duke and his assassin, and the whole kingdom formed a general scene of anarchy and confusion.

In the mean time Henry, in order to conceal his real designs against France, sent over a splendid embassy to that court, proposing a lasting peace, and an alliance between the two crowns. To effect this he demanded the French king's daughter in marriage, with two millions of crowns for her portion. He likewise demanded the payment of one million six hundred thousand pounds as the arrears of the late king John's ransom; as also the immediate possession and full sovereignty of Normandy, and the other provinces, which Philip Augustus had wrested from the crown of England, together with the superiority of Britany and Flanders.

But the finances of France were in too impoverished a state, and the kingdom in too much confusion, for the French court to comply with the demands of the English monarch. They, however, offered, to give him the princess in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred crowns; to invest him with the entire sovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province those of Perigord, Bouvergne, Angoumois, and other territories.

These were terms far greater than might have been expected; but they were peremptorily rejected by Henry, who publicly declared his intentions of erecting his standard in the fields of France. The parliament granted him very liberal supplies for this purpose, and several of the principal noblemen raised a number of troops at their own expence; so that Henry soon found himself at the head of a very considerable army.

While Henry was making the necessary preparations for his expedition to the continent, a hor-

rid conspiracy was formed to rob him of the English diadem. The principal persons concerned were, Richard, earl of Cambridge, younger brother to the duke of York; the lord Scroop, treasurer of England, and Sir Thomas Grey, a knight of Northumberland. The design of these conspirators was, to place the earl of Marche on the throne, as soon as Henry was embarked for France with his army. But the plot being discovered before it was ripe for execution, the conspirators were seized, and tried by a special commission directed for that purpose to the duke of Clarence, as lord-high steward of England. The prisoners were all found guilty on the clearest evidence, and immediately received sentence of death. The earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey were beheaded; but lord Scroop (having received particular marks of favour from Henry, and thereby added ingratitude to his crime) was sentenced to be drawn, hanged and quartered.

A. D. 1415. The conspiracy being effectually quelled, Henry continued his preparations for invading France with the utmost alacrity; and on the 11th of August embarked with his forces (which consisted of 50,000 men) at Southampton, leaving his brother, the duke of Bedford, regent of the kingdom. After a short and safe passage, he landed at the mouth of the Seine in Normandy, a few miles from Harfleur, whither he immediately marched with his army, and invested the place. The garrison, for some time, made a resolute defence, but as they were weak in numbers, and the fortifications in bad repair, they were obliged to capitulate, on condition of surrendering on the 18th of September, if not relieved in the interim. A detachment under the command of the marshal d'Isle-d'Adam, made an attempt to succour the town, but were repulsed; so that the time prescribed being expired, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and Henry immediately took possession of the place.

While Henry was investing Harfleur, the French were busily employed in collecting an army to check the progress of the English monarch. Private animosities were laid aside, and all parties joined in endeavouring to oppose an army that threatened destruction to the state. The dauphin himself took the field in person, at the head of an army of 14,000 men at arms, and was soon joined by the new duke of Orleans, the dukes of Berry, Bourbon and Brabant, the constable d'Albert, the counts of Nevers, Vendome, and Richemont, the flower of the French nobility, and above 40,000 men, all of whom seemed eager to signalize themselves in the defence of their country.

The fatigues of the siege of Harfleur, and excessive heat of the season, had greatly reduced the English army, no less than 2000 common soldiers, besides many persons of distinction, having been carried off by the bloody flux. But this was not the only calamity that befel Henry: his fleet had been dispersed by storms, and provisions began to grow scarce in his camp, so that the only resource he had for the safety of his forces was, to march by land to Calais. He accordingly moved towards that place, but met with many difficulties in his march, all the bridges over the Somme being broken down, and all the passages defended by strong detachments of the enemy. He, however, at last effected a passage near St. Quintin, and directed his rout towards Blagny, from the heights of which he beheld the whole French army



*Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.*



*Walsley delin.*

*Orignion sculp.*

*Born  
Anno. 1133.*

*Crowned  
December 19. 1154.*

*Died  
July 6. 1189.*



army drawn up on the plains of Agincourt to oppose his passage.

Henry now saw himself in the most imminent danger, and began to repent of the rashness of his conduct. His army was reduced to almost half the number that landed near Harfleur, and even these were distressed for want of provisions, and many of them debilitated by sickness and continual duty. In this alarming situation, Henry dispatched a messenger to d'Albert, the constable of France, offering to give up his conquest of Harfleur for a safe conduct to Calais; but the French generals prided themselves so much on the superiority of numbers, that they rejected his proposals with contempt, and sent an herald to inform him, they should engage the English army on the 25th of October.

Finding it impossible to avoid an action, Henry accepted the challenge, and gave a pecuniary compliment to the herald. During the interval, which was three days, Henry employed every means, which prudence could suggest, in order to prepare his men for the approaching combat. He procured them the best refreshment their situation would afford; ordered their weapons and armour to be repaired; rode almost the whole day through the ranks of his army to animate his soldiers, and superintend the regulation of his camp. He reminded the men of the renown of their forefathers, and gave them plainly to understand, that they had no resource from death or captivity, but in the extraordinary efforts of their own valour. This produced the desired effect: the spirits of the English were raised to the highest pitch; they seemed to have forgot the superiority of numbers in the enemy, and only wished for the opportunity of signalizing their courage, and proving themselves Englishmen. This was evinced in the answer given by one of them to the king, who had sent him to take a private view of the enemy, and to bring him an account of what he thought might be their number. When the man returned, and the king asked him the question, he replied, "there are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away."

When the important day arrived that was pitched on to determine the contest, both armies made the necessary preparations for battle. The French troops were divided into three lines, the first of which, besides a great number of other troops, was composed of eight thousand gentlemen, commanded by the constable d'Albert, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendôme and Richemont, the famous marshal Boucicaut, David Rambure, grand-master of the cross-bowmen, and several other officers of distinction. The second line was led by the duke of Alençon, assisted by the duke of Barre, the counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, and Grand Pré. The third body was under the command of the counts of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauquenberg, and the fleur de Lannoy.

While the French officers were employed in drawing up their troops, Henry detached 400 men with lances to take post in a wood on the right; as also a party of 250 archers to lay in ambush on the left, in a low meadow covered with bushes. The right wing of Henry's army was commanded by the duke of York, assisted by the lord Beaumont, Willoughby and Stanhope. The center was commanded by Henry in person, attended by his brother the duke of Gloucester, the earl-marshal,

the earl of Oxford, and the young earl of Suffolk. The rear, which consisted wholly of archers, and such as were armed with spears, halberds, and bills, was led by the earl of Dorset. The chief strength of the English army consisted of infantry; and Henry, fearing that the French horse would break them by the fury of the first charge ordered the archers to fix into the ground piles, or stakes, pointed at both ends with iron, and six or seven feet long, in their front, and also on their flanks, or intervals between the horse and foot. These formed a kind of temporary fortification, behind which the archers were not only secure themselves, but had the opportunity of annoying the enemy as they advanced.

In these situations the two armies remained for some time, without coming to action, the English not caring to advance, lest they should lose the advantage of the ground; nor the French, for fear of being more crowded than they were already. At length Henry advanced at the head of his main division, the two wings moving at the same time, till he came very near the village of Agincourt; when the French horse moved forwards to attack the English archers. Upon this the latter halted, pitched their stakes, interweaving them together, and bending them a little toward the enemy. Guarded by this fence, they discharged a shower of arrows which nothing could resist: the ranks of the enemy were thinned, and the line thrown into great disorder. The archers who lay in a meadow, charged the French in flank, and made a dreadful slaughter. The English infantry took advantage of the enemy's disorder, fell upon them with their battle-axes, and cut them to pieces, almost without resistance. The constable of France, perceiving the distress of his advanced party, hastened to their assistance, but under terrible disadvantages; for the soil being wet and miry, both horse and foot moved with the greatest difficulty; and continuing still to press more closely upon one another, presented a defenceless front to the English, who soon threw the whole line into irretrievable disorder; and their business was rather that of executioners than soldiers. The field was now covered with the dismounted, the slain, and the wounded; men and horses were blended in one dreadful confusion. The whole body was totally defeated, and the constable himself, together with the principal commanders of the first line, fell among the slain.

No sooner did the duke d'Alençon, who commanded the second line perceive the route of the first division, than he immediately advanced to repair the disgrace of his countrymen. Henry met him at the head of his center, and a dreadful contest ensued. D'Alençon, in order, if possible, to snatch the victory from the enemy, commanded eighteen French knights of approved valour to watch attentively the motions of the English monarch, and use their utmost efforts either to kill, or take him prisoner.

But the genius of Henry saved him from this imminent danger. Animated with the amazing success of his archers, and desirous of distinguishing himself by actions worthy of an English monarch, he alighted from his horse, and advanced at the head of his division, with a confidence which seemed to insure the victory. He charged the enemy with such fury as was almost irresistible, and was met by d'Alençon with a spirit worthy of his rank. He received the attack with a firmness that deserved a better fate. The French knights, who had



had never lost sight of Henry, cut themselves a passage to the spot where he fought in person; and rushing upon him with the utmost violence, would, probably, have made themselves masters of his person, had not David Gam, a Welsh captain, and two other officers, perceiving the danger that threatened their sovereign, flown to his assistance; and all the eighteen knights soon fell, breathless on the field; but Gam, and his two gallant countrymen, were also mortally wounded. Henry now darted into the thickest part of the battle; but his ardour and impetuosity again involved him in the most imminent danger. His brother, the duke of Gloucester, who had fought by his side, was struck to the ground, and the enemy pressed in crowds to avail themselves of the incident. Henry was again surrounded by a host of foes, but being a stranger to fear, he covered the body of his brother with his shield, and defended him with his sword. In this situation he received so violent a blow on his helmet with a battle-axe, that he fell on his knees, and would, possibly, have been seized by the enemy, had not the duke of York advanced to his assistance, at the head of a fresh body of troops. This intimidated the enemy; they fell back, and Henry and his brother had time to recover from their alarming situation. Another reinforcement immediately followed that led by the duke of York; and Henry again attacked the French with such fury, that they were unable to support the shock; they fell into disorder, and a dreadful slaughter ensued.

D'Alençon, driven to despair at seeing the defeat of his division, determined to make one furious effort; and either retrieve the battle, or spare himself the mortification of surviving the disgrace of his country. He therefore put himself at the head of a chosen band of volunteers, and, cutting his way to the spot where Henry fought in person, rushed upon the monarch, killed the duke of York by his side, and, with a furious stroke of his sword, cleft the crown on Henry's helmet. The English monarch returned the blow with such violence, that d'Alençon fell to the ground, and was immediately dispatched; the consequence of which was that the French forces, who had been under his command, immediately consulted their safety by a precipitate flight.

The third line of the enemy, which still stood firm, were more numerous than the whole English army, and might have renewed the battle with some prospect of success, had they not been seized with a general panic. But the destruction of their countrymen had deprived them of all thoughts of resistance; they refused to obey the command of their generals, and, instead of advancing to the charge, retired, leaving Henry sole master of the field. The scattered remains of the two first lines had now rallied themselves, and seemed to advance with a resolution of making another effort for the palm of victory. At the same time, some gentlemen of Picardy having collected about six hundred peasants, had fallen on the English baggage, and were destroying the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, on seeing the enemy both in front and rear, began to entertain apprehensions lest his prisoners should also join in the attempt to tear the wreath of laurel from his brow; and therefore thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death. Having done this he marched towards the enemy, who, on his approach, fled with the utmost precipitation, and Henry, per-

ceiving there was no further danger to be apprehended, immediately put a stop to the slaughter.

This battle proved fatal to the French nobility, many of whom were slain, and others taken prisoners. Among the former was the constable d'Albert, the dukes of Brabant, Barre, and Alençon, the count of Marle, and the archbishop of Sens. Among the prisoners the most remarkable were, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, and the marshal de Boucicaut. Ten thousand of the French are said to have been slain in this battle, and as the slaughter fell chiefly on the cavalry, it was computed that eight thousand were gentlemen. The loss of the English was very inconsiderable; and the only persons of note that fell were, the duke of York, and the earl of Suffolk.

After a public thanksgiving had been held in the English camp for this signal victory, Henry sent for Montjoy, a French herald, who had been dispatched from the dauphin to obtain permission to bury the dead, and desired to know the name of a castle, to which he pointed with his hand. Being told it was called the Castle of Agincourt, he said, "Let this action be hereafter remembered by the name of, The Battle of Agincourt."

Though Henry had, by this conquest, obtained great advantage over the French, yet he did not think proper to profit any farther by his victory. He pursued his route, by easy marches, to Calais, without meeting with any obstruction in his way. Having staid there about three weeks to recruit his troops, he embarked for England, on the 16th of November, and landed the same evening at Dover. The next morning he set out for London, where he was joyfully received amidst the universal acclamations of the people.

A. D. 1417. Though the disturbances in France had been discontinued on Henry's invading that kingdom, he no sooner left it, than the factions were renewed with more violence than ever. All the principles of honour, and all the motives of interest, were sacrificed at the altars of ambition and revenge. The duke of Burgundy redoubled his efforts to reinstate himself in the possession of the government. Isabella of Bavaria, (wife of the unfortunate Charles VI.) detestable in her character, and capable of the greatest crimes, having been banished to Tours, entered into a strict alliance with him against the dauphin, who was attached to the opposite party. The duke of Burgundy entered France at the head of an army, reduced several strong places, released the queen from her confinement, and made himself master of the king's person.

A. D. 1418. The whole kingdom of France was now in the most horrid state of confusion: the metropolis itself was deluged with blood, and nothing but an invasion from England was wanting to complete the ruin of that divided kingdom. Nor was this long delayed; for, on the 28th of July Henry again embarked with a large army for the continent, and, on the first of August, landed at Beville in Normandy.

Having soon possessed himself of Falaise, Cherbourg, Evreux, and Caen, Henry laid siege to the city of Rouen; but the place being defended by a numerous garrison, he was obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. While Henry laid before Rouen, several negotiations for a peace were carried on between him and the leaders of the French factions, but neither of them turned to any advantage.



A. D. 1419. The garrison of Rouen having held out till the beginning of this year, were reduced to such extremity by famine, that they desired to capitulate. Henry very readily listened to their proposals; and it was agreed, that on paying a stipulated sum, the city should be preserved from plunder, and the garrison walk out with all the honours of war.

The surrender of Rouen was followed by that of all the towns and fortresses in Upper Normandy. But a sudden reconciliation taking place between the dauphin and the Burgundian faction, greatly checked, for a time, Henry's expectations of farther success. This reconciliation, however, was soon blasted; for the duke and dauphin having agreed to an interview on the bridge of Montereau, the former was there assassinated by some noblemen in the train of the latter, who had embraced this opportunity of revenging the assassination of the duke of Orleans. This desperate act was followed by the most dreadful consequences. The dauphin was accused of the crime, because it was perpetrated in his presence, and by his most intimate friends. The new duke of Burgundy and the queen threatened the prince with destruction, and conspired the ruin of the kingdom. In short, every sentiment of honour, patriotism, and even personal interest, gave way to the fury of revenge.

During these transactions Henry made himself master of Pontoise and Gifon, and was marching with all expedition towards Paris, which struck such a terror in the French, that the court removed from the capital to Troyes. Amidst these successes Henry had the satisfaction to find, that the French, instead of uniting their joint efforts to oppose his progress, were ready to espouse his cause, and to employ him as the instrument of wreaking their vengeance on each other.

While Henry lay with his army before Paris, the queen of France, in conjunction with the duke of Burgundy, sent messengers to him with proposals for a general peace. The terms being approved of by Henry, he immediately repaired to Troyes, accompanied by his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, where the treaty was concluded and signed on the 24th of December, in the presence of the principal nobility of France.

The chief articles of this famous treaty were the following: 1. That Henry should espouse the princess Catherine: 2. That Charles, during his life, should enjoy the title and dignity of king of France: 3. That Henry should be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entrusted with the present administration of the government: 4. That the crown of France should descend to his heirs: 5. That France and England should be for ever united under one king; but should still retain their several usages, customs, and privileges: 6. That all the princes, peers, vassals, and communities of France, should swear, both that they would adhere to the future succession of Henry, and also pay him present obedience as regent: And lastly, 7. That Henry should unite his arms to those of Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to subdue the adherents of the dauphin; and that those princes should make neither peace nor truce with him, but by common consent and agreement.

A. D. 1420. This treaty of peace was ratified by the parliament at Paris on the 21st of May, and the members swore obedience to Henry, who

assumed the reins of government as regent of the kingdom; and the treaty was sent to England, to be recorded in the court of Exchequer at Westminster.

On the 2d of June following, Henry married the princess Catherine, who was esteemed one of the most beautiful women of her age. The ceremony was performed at Troyes, and celebrated with great magnificence. Henry was attended by forty English noblemen, and the royal bride by the duke of Burgundy and forty of the principal nobility of France. At this meeting the peace was again sworn to by both parties, and the agreement between Henry and the duke of Burgundy mutually renewed. The duke promised to obey Henry as regent of France, and heir to the crown; while Henry engaged to deliver up into his hands all who could be found that had any concern in the murder of his father.

During these transactions the dauphin conducted himself with great spirit and resolution. He had dispatched the count of Vendôme to solicit assistance from the Scots, and those people, wisely considering that if Henry became absolute master of France, Scotland would certainly be the next victim to his ambition, readily listened to his request, and immediately sent him a supply of 7000 men, under the command of the earl of Buchan. Assisted by these forces, the dauphin made himself master of Pont de l'Esprit and Nîmes, in Languedoc; and placed strong garrisons in Melun, Montereau, Montargis, Meaux, and Compeigne.

Alarmed at the progress of the dauphin, Henry resolved immediately to take the field, in order to oppose him. He accordingly marched against Sens, which submitted after a very faint opposition. Montereau opened its gates at the first summons, and several small towns followed the example. But the reduction of Melun was attended with some difficulty. Great part of that city was encompassed by the river Seine, and the whole defended by a strong wall, flanked with bulwarks and towers. De Barbason, one of the best officers in France commanded the garrison, and made a noble defence. The place was invested on the 12th of July, and did not surrender till the 18th of November, when famine compelled the garrison to submit. Henry promised to spare the lives of all, except such as had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy. The governor himself was strongly suspected of having been one of the assassins, and the then duke insisted on his being immediately put to death; but by the intercession of Henry, his life was spared, and he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

A. D. 1421. Henry's coffers being now almost exhausted, and the supplies granted by the states of France not sufficient to answer the complicated exigencies of the state, Henry found it necessary to return to England, in order to procure a supply from the parliament. Having, therefore, placed English governors in the fortresses he had reduced, and committed the government of Paris to his uncle the duke of Exeter, and the command of the army to the duke of Clarence, he embarked towards the latter end of January with his young queen, who, on the 9th of February following, was crowned at Westminster with great magnificence.

Soon after Henry's arrival in England he received advice of a disaster which obliged him with all expedition to return to the continent. The



dauphin, assisted by the Scots under the command of the earl of Buchan, engaged the English forces at Baugé in Anjou, and obtained a complete victory. The duke of Clarence was slain in the battle, and the earls of Somerset, Huntingdon and Suffolk were taken prisoners. This was the first action that terminated in favour of the dauphin, who, in order to attach the Scots more firmly to his interest, and reward the bravery of the earl of Buchan, created that nobleman constable of France.

Alarmed at this advantage gained by the dauphin, Henry, having obtained the necessary supplies from his parliament, went over to the continent with an army of four thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers. He landed at Calais, and immediately marched to the metropolis, which he entered amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, who seemed to be heartily reconciled to the English government.

On Henry's return to the continent, the dauphin, knowing it would be madness to meet him in the open field, retired beyond the Loire, with the resolution of acting on the defensive. Henry soon recovered the places he had lost during his stay in England, and made himself master of Dreux, Tilliers, and several others castles, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis.

The garrison of Meaux had, for some time, greatly harassed the inhabitants of Paris, at whose particular request Henry invested that place, which was strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison under the command of the bastard of Vaurus. This siege lasted upwards of seven months, at the expiration of which the garrison were compelled to surrender at discretion, and Henry took possession of the place. The governor was equally remarkable for his courage and cruelty against the English, being accustomed to hang, without distinction of age or quality, all the English who unfortunately fell into his hands. Henry, therefore, highly incensed at such a horrid and barbarous practice, determined to inflict that punishment on him which his cruelty justly merited; and accordingly ordered him to be hanged on the same tree which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions.

After the reduction of Meaux Henry made himself master of Compeigne, St. Valery, and most of the principal places on that side of the Loire next the capital; having done which he returned to Paris, and put his army into winter quarters.

Henry's affairs were now in a most prosperous situation. By his mild and gentle government he had secured the internal tranquillity of England: by keeping the young king of Scots in his custody, he prevented those people from making incursions into the northern counties: by his undaunted valour, and a concurrence of favourable circumstances, he had subjected, in a short space of time, the greatest part of the extensive kingdom of France; and to consummate his felicity, and perpetuate his glory, his queen was delivered of a prince on the 6th of December at Windsor, who was baptized by the name of Henry, and lived to succeed his father on the English throne.

A. D. 1422. But the glory of Henry had now nearly reached its summit: the king of terrors interrupted him in his career, and all his mighty projects vanished into air. The dauphin had laid siege to Cosne, and Henry marched with his forces to the relief of the place; but being seized with a violent flux at a place called Soulis, he returned to Vincennes, where his disorder continuing to increase,

he was soon reduced to such a state, that there were no hopes of his recovery. Finding his end approaching, he sent for his brother the duke of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, and the English nobility who happened to be near him. As soon as they surrounded his bedside, he delivered to them, with great tranquillity, his last instructions, the substance of which was to the following effect:

He began with observing, that though his life had been short, it had been replete with glory, and employed in promoting the happiness of his people; that though his pretensions to the crown of France had proved the destruction of many thousands, yet those calamities ought not to be imputed to him, but to those whose obstinacy and injustice had forced him to have recourse to arms, by refusing to accept of a reasonable peace: that he should have beheld the approach of death without concern, had not his last moments been somewhat embittered by the reflection, that he had not been able to finish a war he had so happily begun; but hoped they would continue toward his infant son the same fidelity and attachment which they had professed during his life, and which had been cemented by so many mutual good offices. He added, as his last advice, that if they found themselves unable to place his son on the throne of France, they would never at least make peace with that kingdom, unless the duchy of Normandy was for ever annexed to the crown of England; and earnestly requested that they would assiduously cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and never give liberty to the French princes taken at the battle of Agincourt, till his son was of age, and able to hold the reins of government. He left the regency of France to his eldest brother the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger brother the duke of Gloucester, and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick.

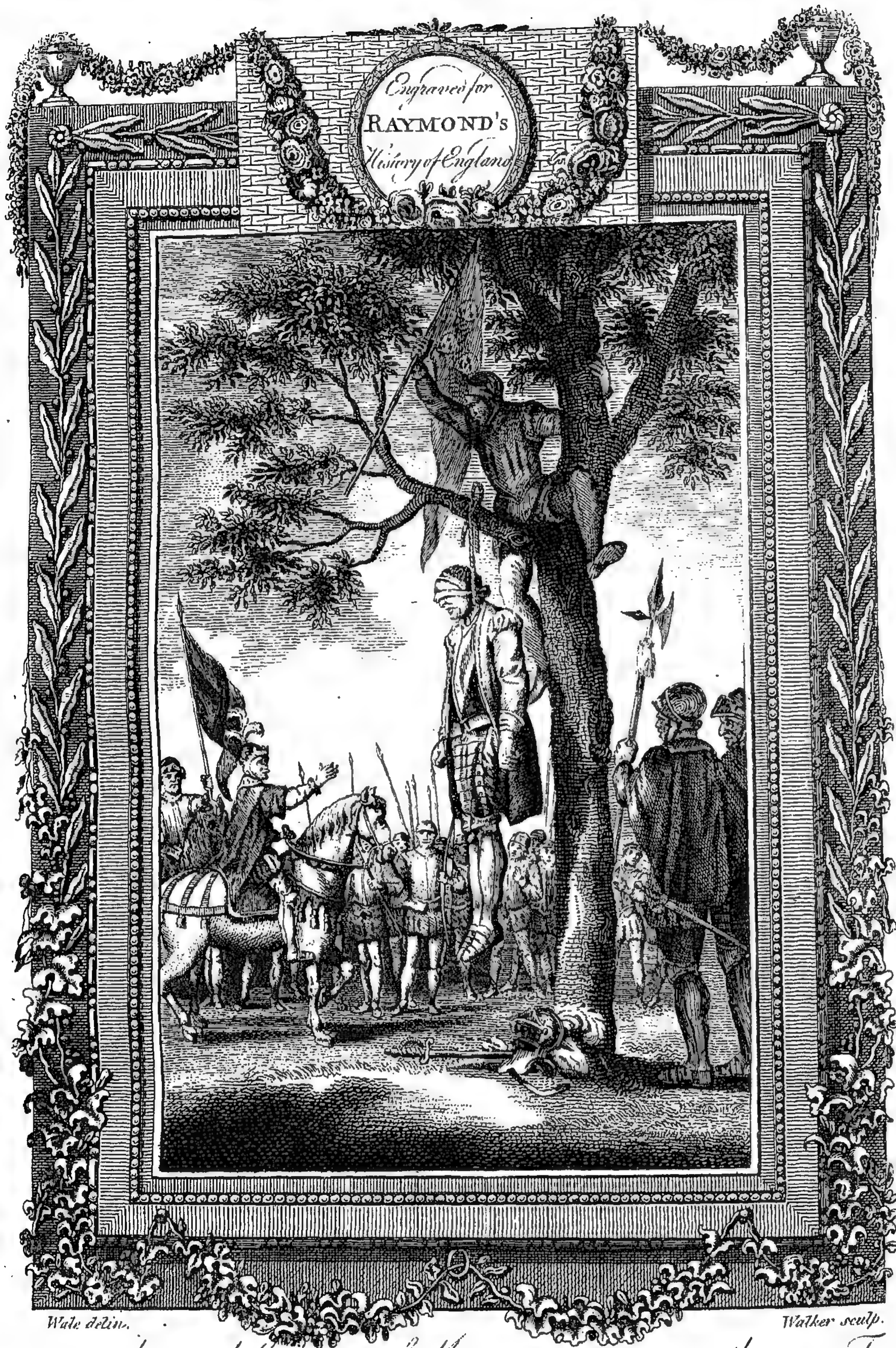
Having thus delivered his instructions concerning the management of public affairs, and received a promise of their being faithfully fulfilled, Henry enquired of his physicians how long they thought he could live? when one of them falling on his knees by the bed-side, with tears in his eyes, declared, that without a miracle two hours would put an end to his life. This alarming information he heard with the greatest apparent serenity of mind, and made immediate preparations for his approaching dissolution. Having conversed some time with his confessor, he ordered his chaplain to recite the seven penitential psalms; and when he came to that passage, "Build thou the walls of Jerusalem," he interrupted him, declaring on the word of a dying prince, the design he had formed of engaging in a crusade against the infidels, as soon as he should have established a solid peace with France.

Soon after performing this exercise of devotion, Henry paid the debt of nature, on the 31st of August, in the 34th year of his age, and tenth of his reign.

His remains were brought over to England, and interred with great pomp in Westminster-abbey, near the tomb of Edward the Confessor. His queen, to perpetuate the memory of so illustrious a consort, erected over him a monument of grey marble, and on it was placed his statue in silver as large as life, and which remained there till about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII.

Henry V. was in person tall and slender, had an engaging aspect, and limbs delicately proportioned.





Wale delin.

Walker sculp.

VARUS the cruel Governor of Neauux EXECUTED, on the same Tree  
whereon he used wantonly to HANG his ENGLISH PRISONERS,  
in the Reign of Henry 5.



Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.



Born at Windsor (Crowned at Westminster) (Crowned at Paris) Died  
 Dec.<sup>r</sup> 6. 1421. } Nov.<sup>r</sup> 6. 1429. } Dec.<sup>r</sup> 17. 1430. } June 20. 1447.



tioned. He excelled all the youth of his age in agility and the exercise of arms; was hardy, patient, laborious, and more able to endure cold, hunger and fatigue than any general in his army. His valour was such as no danger could startle, and no difficulty oppose: nor was his policy inferior to his courage. He managed the dissensions among his enemies with such address as made him consummate in the arts of the cabinet. He fomented their jealousies, and converted their mutual resentment to his own advantage. He possessed a self-taught genius, which blazed out at once without the aid of instruction or experience; and a fund of natural sagacity that made ample amends for those defects. He was chaste, temperate, modest and devout; scrupulously just in his administration, and severely exact in the discipline of his army, upon which he knew his glory and success, in a great measure, depended. In a word, it must be acknowledged that Henry V. was without an equal in the art of war, policy and government.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Henry V.

A. D.

1414 This year the greatest part of the city of Norwich was reduced to ashes by an accidental fire.

1416 On the 30th of November this year seven dolphins were seen in the river Thames, four of which were taken and presented to the king.

1417 That part of the city of London, now called Holborn, was this year paved by order of the king.  
1420 The officer, entitled, Garter King at Arms, first appointed.

The first commission of array, which occurs in the English history, was issued in the course of this reign. The military part of the feudal system was then abolished, and could no longer serve for the defence or security of the kingdom. For this reason, when Henry went to France in the year 1415, he empowered certain commissioners to take a review of all the freemen in each county able to bear arms, to form them into companies, and to keep them in constant readiness to oppose any attempts that might be made by an enemy.

It was during this reign that the dreadful schism, which had so long disturbed the Roman church was terminated by the council of Constance, who deposed John XXIII. for his crimes, and elected Martin V. in his place. The authority of a general council over the pope was established in this assembly; and John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who had adopted the opinions of Wickliffe, were burnt alive as heretics, notwithstanding they had received a safe-conduct from the emperor of Germany. This act of cruelty and treachery occasioned a bloody war in Germany, where Zisca, general of the Hussites, rendered himself remarkably distinguished for his great abilities as a man, and his courage as a warrior.

## C H A P. II.

### H E N R Y VI. surnamed of WINDSOR.

*Henry VI. succeeds his father on the throne of England. Is proclaimed king of France at Paris. Prudent conduct of the duke of Bedford. Battle of Vernueil. The duke of Gloucester espouses the counsels of Hainault. The war carried on in France with various success. The remarkable siege of Orleans, with the consequences thereof. Young Henry crowned in the church of Notre Dame at Paris. Unhappy fate of the Maid of Orleans. The English lose the advantages they had gained in France. Divisions in the English council. The duke of Orleans ransomed. A truce with France. Henry marries Margaret, daughter of Regnier, duke of Anjou. Death of the duke of Gloucester. Charles VII. of France recovers most of the places which had been taken by the English, and annexes Normandy to his dominions. Disturbances in England. The duke of Suffolk tried for high-treason, and condemned to banishment; but on his passage to the continent is beheaded in a long-boat near Dover. Jack Cade's rebellion. Disputes relative to the pretensions of the houses of Lancaster and York. The duke of York enters England at the head of a powerful army. An accommodation takes place between him and the king. The duke of York is admitted into the council, and appointed protector of the kingdom; but soon after removed from his office. He retires to Wales, raises a considerable body of forces, and returns to England. Battle of St. Alban's. Civil wars. Queen Margaret leads an army against the duke of York, who is defeated and slain. She engages and defeats the earl of Warwick, after which she retires into the north. Henry VI. is dethroned, and Edward, duke of York, chosen to the sovereignty.*

A. D. A S soon as the English parliament re-

1422. **A** received advice of the death of Henry V. they immediately caused his son, then an infant, to be proclaimed king; and proceeded to take such measures as they thought most advisable for the good order and government of the nation. They did not, however, comply with the verbal will of the late king, who had desired that the duke of Gloucester might be made regent of the kingdom; for, instead thereof, they appointed his elder brother the duke of Bedford (then in France) to that office, and changed his title from regent to that of Protector, though at the same time, they permitted the duke of Gloucester to act in his absence. Nor did they think it prudent to trust this power wholly in the hands of either; they therefore appointed a

a council, without whose advice and concurrence no measures of importance could be determined; and the care of the infant king was entrusted to the bishop of Winchester.

About two months after the death of Henry V. his father-in-law the unfortunate Charles VI. of France paid the debt of nature; in consequence of which the young prince, his son, then about twenty years of age, was proclaimed and crowned king at Poitiers, the city of Rheims, where that ceremony was usually performed, being then in the hands of the English.

This circumstance greatly increased the numbers of the French king's partisans, which being observed by the duke of Bedford, he took every method that human prudence could suggest to prevent the consequences. He immediately proclaimed



ed Henry VI. king of France, and himself assumed the title of regent of that kingdom. He assembled all the nobility attached to the English interest at Paris, and exhorted them to acknowledge young Henry for their sovereign. They readily complied with his request, swore allegiance to Henry as king of France, and did homage to the duke as representative of the young monarch.

The duke of Bedford was one of the most accomplished princes in Europe, whether considered as a soldier or a statesman. He well knew that every foreign assistance would be necessary, before an English regent could hope to complete the conquest of France. He accordingly applied himself with great diligence to increase the number of his friends on the continent, and for that purpose entered into alliances with the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, with the former of whom he added private to political interest, by marrying one of his sisters.

A. D. 1423. The first military expedition of the French monarch after the death of his father was, against the town of Meulan, which he took by surprize. As this place lay in the neighbourhood of Paris, the duke of Bedford was highly irritated, and resolved to retake it at all events. He accordingly invested the place, which was resolutely defended for some time, till at length the garrison, finding themselves too weak, and being disappointed of receiving a reinforcement from Charles, as they had reason to expect, delivered up the place; the surrender of which was followed by several other fortresses in the neighbourhood of the capital.

During these transactions the English ministry, in order to strengthen the interest of Henry in France, proposed to release from confinement James, the young king of Scotland, who had remained a prisoner in London ever since the reign of Henry IV. They communicated their intentions to the duke of Bedford, who highly approved of the plan, imagining that much might be expected from James's friendship when laid under this obligation for his crown and liberty. Accordingly, conferences were opened at York in the beginning of September, when the commissioners of both nations signed a truce for seven years, and the Scottish king was restored to his liberty and crown, on condition of promising, as soon as possible, to recall his troops from the French service.

During these transactions in England, the French monarch received considerable assistance from the duke of Milan, who sent him a reinforcement of a thousand men at arms and five hundred lances; but his chief reliance was upon the Scottish auxiliaries, whom he called his guardians, and of whom he had no less than fifteen thousand in his service.

A. D. 1424. In the month of June this year the duke of Bedford received advice that one of Charles's partizans had reduced Ivry on the frontiers of Picardy. As this was a place of very considerable importance, the duke determined, if possible, to regain it, and accordingly marched at the head of his army, and invested the place. The governor, perceiving it would be impossible to defend the town for any length of time, agreed to capitulate, if not relieved by a certain day. This proposal was accepted, and no army appearing within the limited time, the place was delivered up to the besiegers. Charles had not, however, neglected the necessary means for succouring a place of so much importance. He had dispatched the earl of Buchan, constable of France, assisted by

the earl of Douglas, and several French noblemen, at the head of a detachment of twenty thousand men, to relieve Ivry; but before they reached the neighbourhood of that place, the term had been, for some days, expired, and the town was in possession of the English.

Knowing that an attempt to retake the place must prove fruitless, the earl of Buchan marched at the head of his army to Vernueil, which the inhabitants delivered up to him in spite of the garrison. The duke of Bedford, anxious to make the best use of his time, immediately followed him at the head of 15000 men; and on his arrival near the camp of the enemy took possession of an advantageous spot of ground flanked by a hill, on which he posted a body of two thousand archers and furnished all his infantry with sharp stakes, like those used with so much success at the battle of Agincourt, to check the fury of the French cavalry.

The earl of Douglas, having surveyed the disposition of the English camp, called a council of war, and declared that, in his opinion, the French army should stand upon the defensive, and not begin the battle, as the enemy had chosen their own ground, where they could not be attacked without great disadvantage. This prudent advice, which was highly approved of by Buchan and every officer of experience in the army, appeared to Aymer, viscount of Narbonne (an headstrong, imprudent man) as the effect of timidity; nor did he fail to upbraid the commanders, in express terms, with pusillanimity, and of dishonouring, by their meanness, the arms of France. No answer being made to these invectives, Narbonne was so highly exasperated, that, snatching up one of the standards, he exclaimed, "Let all those who love their sovereign follow me;" and rushing from the council, accompanied by those young noblemen who approved his advice, drew up his men in order of battle, and commanded them to advance to the charge.

Douglas and Buchan, finding their advice despised, and seeing the general confusion that prevailed in their army, determined to follow the rash example of Narbonne, and accordingly followed with their troops, though they were conscious that nothing but destruction could be the consequence of such headstrong rashness.

The duke of Bedford had given orders for all his cavalry to dismount and to place their horses in the rear, forming round them a kind of barricade with the carriages of the army. The attack of the enemy, though made in the utmost disorder, was so furious, that a body of the French horse on the right wing, broke the opposite wing of the English, and advanced to the barricade which surrounded their horses, and behind which were placed a body of archers. These discharged such a shower of arrows at the French horse that they were obliged to fall back, after sustaining considerable loss; and that party of archers, who had been posted on the hill, so galled those who were marching up in another line, that they fled with the utmost precipitation.

In the mean time the main bodies of both armies maintained the fight with such equal courage and obstinacy, that the victory for the space of three hours, remained doubtful, when the reserved body of archers coming up to the assistance of the English, put an end to the contest. The French horse were driven back upon their foot, and a dreadful slaughter ensued. Douglas and Buchan, perceiving their defeat inevitable, determined



mined not to survive the disgrace, and rushing into the thickest of the battle, together with the headstrong Narbonne, fell among the slain. The other general officers were so dangerously wounded, that they could no longer exercise command; so that the soldiers, being destitute of their leaders, fought at random, until they were entirely routed, with a most terrible slaughter. Upwards of four thousand Scots and French fell in this action, and great numbers were wounded and taken prisoners, among the latter of whom were several persons of the first distinction.

The next day the duke of Bedford laid siege to Vernueil, which, after a resistance of three days, surrendered on capitulation. In this place the English found all the baggage belonging to the French and Scottish generals, together with the money destined for the soldiers.

The French monarch was now in the most deplorable situation. He had lost the bravest of his troops, and the flower of his nobility, in the fatal battle of Vernueil. His party was dispirited, and he had hardly money sufficient to purchase the necessities of life, much less to pay an army; nor could he raise any among his subjects without exciting a general discontent, which, in his then circumstances, it was necessary to avoid.

But while every thing seemed to threaten the total ruin of Charles, an incident happened, which saved him from the impending danger, and deprived the English of a most favourable opportunity for completing the conquest of France. Jacqueline, countess of Hainault, having a violent antipathy to her husband, the duke of Brabant (cousin-german to the duke of Burgundy) determined to dissolve her marriage. She was a princess of a masculine spirit, and had an uncommon understanding; and her husband of a sickly constitution, and weak intellects. She knew her husband's family would exert all their power to prevent the pope from dissolving the marriage; and therefore, to effect her purpose with more facility, repaired to England, and put herself under the protection of the duke of Gloucester, who soon became enamoured both of her person and fortune. That prince, though possessed of many excellent qualities, was naturally of a very hasty and impetuous disposition: he therefore, without waiting for a papal dispensation, or attempting to gain the consent of the duke of Burgundy, married Jacqueline, and immediately repaired to the Low Countries, in order to take possession of her paternal dominions.

The conduct of Gloucester gave great offence to the duke of Burgundy, who persuaded his cousin, the duke of Brabant, to oppose him by force of arms, prevailed on many of Jacqueline's subjects to espouse the cause of that prince, and sent a body of troops to his assistance; so that a war was immediately commenced in the Low Countries.

These were circumstances which gave great uneasiness to the duke of Bedford, who used his utmost efforts to restrain the impetuous temper of his brother; but all his endeavours were fruitless; nor was he able to soften the resentment of the duke of Burgundy. To add to these disagreeable circumstances, the absence of the duke of Gloucester had occasioned violent contentions among the English ministry; so that Bedford, instead of pursuing the advantages he had gained at Vernueil, left the continent, and embarked for England.

While the duke of Bedford was employed in adjusting the differences that had taken place in

the English council, Charles laboured assiduously to gain the friendship of the French princes of the blood, whose revolt had almost occasioned the total ruin of that monarchy. The duke of Britany listened to proposals made by Charles for an accommodation, and entered into alliance with him against the English; and the count of Richemont accepted of the dignity of constable of France.

A. D. 1426. As soon as the duke of Bedford received intelligence of the defection of the duke of Britany, and the perfidy of his brother the count de Richemont, he declared war against them by public proclamation, and dispatched messengers to the continent with orders to the earl of Warwick immediately to take the field. These orders were strictly observed by the earl, who first laid siege to Pont Orson which he carried by assault. He then took and fortified Beauvron, where he fixed his head quarters, and from thence extended his ravages over the adjacent country, to the very gates of Rennes.

In the mean time Richemont, having raised an army of twenty thousand men, put himself at their head, and marched against Warwick. In consequence of this, the earl, whose troops did not amount to more than eight thousand, shut himself up in Beauvron, which the constable invested, and proposed to reduce by famine. His design, however, was frustrated by means of Giac, prime minister to Charles, who, hating the constable, neglected to send him the necessary supplies of men and money. Irritated at this disappointment, and vexed to think of being baffled in his first attempt, Richemont rashly resolved to make a general assault. The garrison behaved with the most distinguished resolution: the besiegers were repeatedly repulsed; and the earl of Warwick, perceiving a general disorder in the ranks of the enemy, suddenly sallied out, fell upon their rear, cut the greater part to pieces, and obliged the rest to seek their safety by a precipitate flight.

Encouraged by this success, the earl of Warwick determined to undertake the siege of Montargis, as being a place of the utmost importance for facilitating the duke of Bedford's designs of carrying the war beyond the Loire. He accordingly invested the town, and reduced the garrison to the utmost extremity, when the bastard of Orleans resolved to march to its relief. That general (who was natural son to that duke of Orleans who had been assassinated by the duke of Burgundy, and who afterwards acquired great renown under the title of the count de Dunois) boldly approached the English camp at the head of no more than sixteen hundred men, and attacked them with such impetuosity, that he not only forced his way into the place, but gave so severe a blow to the English, that the earl of Warwick was obliged to abandon the siege. This was the first distinguished proof of the military genius of Dunois, and laid the foundation of that high character he afterwards attained.

A. D. 1427. During these transactions the duke of Bedford, having settled affairs in England to his satisfaction, returned to the continent, and immediately formed a plan, which was both wisely concerted, and fortunately accomplished. He assembled a numerous army on the frontiers of Britany, and entered so unexpectedly into that province, that the duke, unable to oppose his progress, requested an interview with Bedford, which being complied with, a treaty of accommodation was formed and signed on both sides. By this treaty



the duke of Britany renounced his alliance with Charles, promised to adhere to the treaty concluded at Troyes, owned Bedford as regent of France, and engaged to swear fealty to young Henry for his territories.

A. D. 1428. The next plan concerted by the duke of Bedford was of such a nature as, if attended with success, must have secured the total conquest of France. This was the taking of Orleans, a city of the utmost importance, as it was the only barrier that opposed his entrance into the southern provinces. The management of this siege was committed to the earl of Salisbury, one of the most able generals in the English service. He marched from Paris about the latter end of July, at the head of 16,000 men, and was accompanied by the earl of Suffolk, the lord Talbot, Sir John Fastolf, and other excellent officers. He advanced through the country of Beauce, and made himself master of all the towns that lay in his route to Orleans, passed the Loire, and invested the city on the 12th of October.

This important place was commanded by the count de Gaucourt, an officer of great courage and experience, and inviolably attached to the family of Orleans. The troops that formed the garrison were all veterans, and long acquainted with danger; and the citizens themselves were well qualified to assist the regulars in the defence of the place. Many new fortifications were raised, the old ones repaired, and the greater part of the buildings in the suburbs pulled down, that they might not be used by the English in carrying on the siege.

The earl of Salisbury began his operations against a strong bulwark erected to cover the castle of Tourelles, which defended the head of the bridge over the Loire. The English artillery soon demolished the parapets, and made a breach sufficiently large for storming it. The French took all the measures they could for defending the place, and the earl made every necessary preparation for reducing it. The first attempt did not succeed; the English were obliged to retreat, leaving two hundred and fifty men dead in the breach. But this repulse served only to encrease the ardour of the besiegers, who continued to batter the place with such fury, that it was soon abandoned by the French, and the English took possession of it without farther opposition.

After this success forts were erected above and below the bridge, for the better convenience of battering the city. But still the place was invested only on one side: that towards the Beauce was entirely open; and the bastard of Orleans found means to get into the city at the head of eight hundred men.

The earl of Salisbury clearly perceived that while the city could be supplied with troops and provisions, it would be impossible to reduce it. He therefore ordered sixty small forts, or redoubts, to be built at proper distances round the city; but while he was pointing out the proper spots where they should be erected, a ball discharged from a cannon in the place put a period to his existence.

In consequence of this accident the command of the English army devolved on the earl of Suffolk, who, assisted by the lord Talbot, pushed the siege with the most unremitting vigour. Sallies were frequently made by the garrison, and the most astonishing acts of valour daily performed both by the besiegers and besieged, though the former could not reap any real advantage, notwith-

standing they had received a considerable reinforcement of English and Burgundian troops.

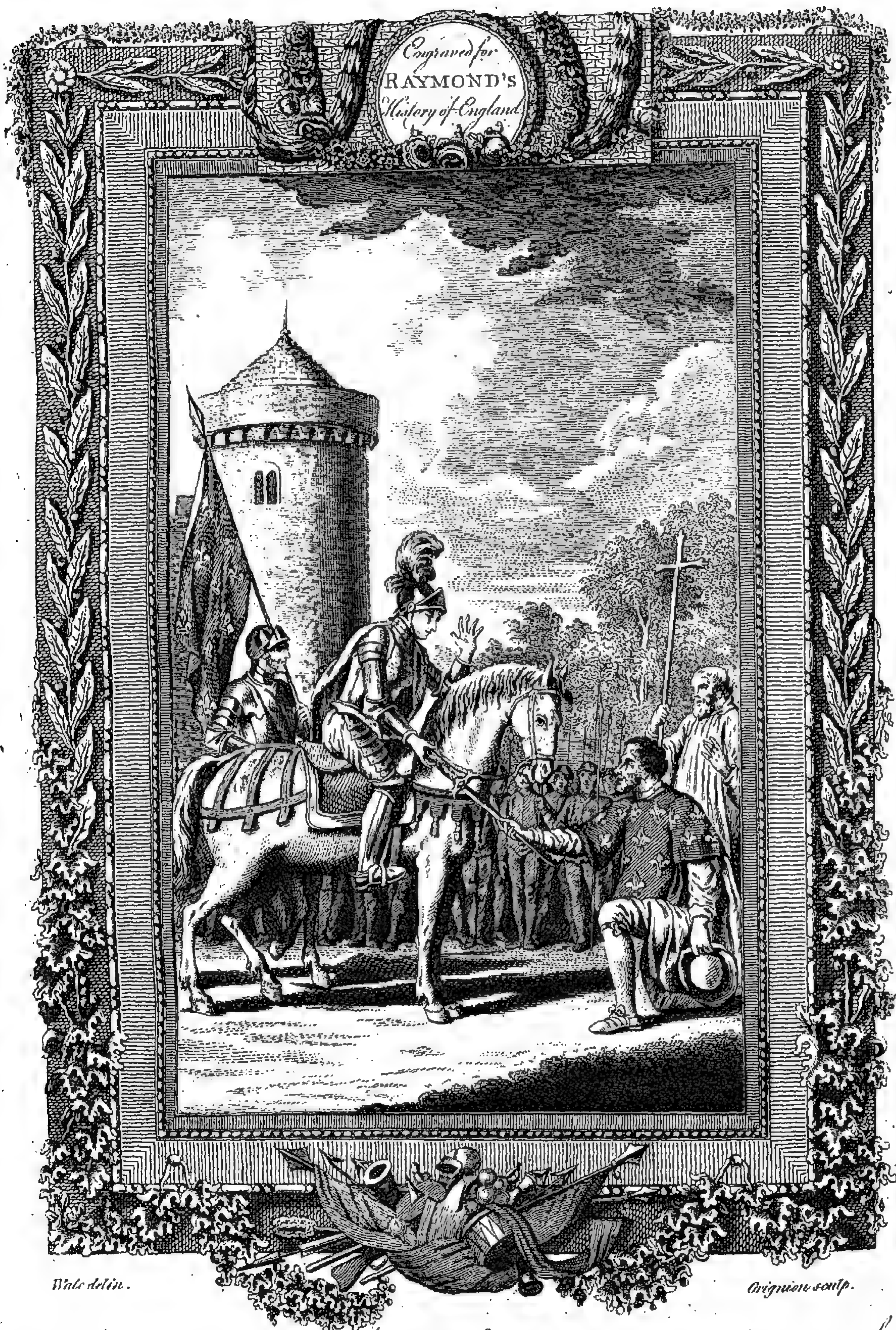
A. D. 1429. The siege of Orleans had now been carried on near four months, when the duke of Bedford sent from Paris a large quantity of salt-fish, herrings, and other provisions of a similar kind, for the use of the besiegers during Lent. These provisions were convoyed by a guard of seventeen hundred men, under the command of Sir John Fastolf, an officer of approved valour and great experience. Charles, who had advanced to Chinon (a town in Touraine, about eighty miles from Orleans) receiving intelligence of the march of this convoy, sent the count de Clermont at the head of three thousand men, to attack the English in their route. The count came up with the convoy at a place called Rouvrai St. Denis on the 12th of February. Fastolf, apprized of his approach, and knowing himself too weak to sustain the shock of the French in the open field, drew up his men behind a barricade of his waggons, and in this position received the attack of the French, which was made with their usual fury; but they were not able to force the temporary fortification. At the same time they met with so warm a reception, that they were thrown into the utmost disorder. Fastolf, perceiving this circumstance, suddenly sallied from behind the barricade, and routed the enemy with prodigious slaughter; so that the convoy reached the English camp, without meeting with any farther opposition. In this action, generally called "The Battle of the Herrings," no less than one hundred and twenty French noblemen and persons of distinction lost their lives, besides a great number of common soldiers.

The French monarch was so discouraged at this disaster, that he began to give up all hopes of being able to retrieve his ruined fortune; but, not to neglect any expedient which might conduce to the preservation of Orleans, he dispatched a messenger to the duke of Bedford at Paris, with a proposition that the city might be sequestered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, till the expiration of the war. This proposal was treated with contempt by the duke, who observed, "that he was not in an humour to beat the bushes while others ran away with the game;" at which sarcastical expression the duke of Burgundy was so offended, that he immediately recalled all his troops from the English service. But notwithstanding this defection, the place was every day more closely invested by the enemy. The utmost scarcity prevailed in the city; and Charles, giving way to despair, formed the resolution of seeking his personal safety by retiring into Dauphine.

At this dangerous crisis, when the restoration of his affairs seemed almost impossible, and when, indeed, he had given up all designs of making any farther efforts, Charles unexpectedly received encouragement and assistance from the daughter of a peasant, named Joan D'Arc, who laid the foundation of one of the most remarkable revolutions recorded in the annals of any country whatever.

Joan D'Arc (afterwards better known by the name of the Maid of Orleans) was born in the village of Dom. Remi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine. She was then about twenty years of age, of an irreproachable character, and had never been distinguished for any singularity. She, indeed, possessed a genius superior to most in her class of life, but had been wholly employed in country business. A continued recital of the cala-





JOAN of ARC, commonly called the MAID of ORLEANS (receiving the SWORD of St. Catherine) previous to raising the Siege of that City, and defeating the English Forces.



calamities of France had made so deep an impression on her mind as to make her fancy she heard angelic voices, and doubted not but she was called upon by heaven to undertake the defence of her country.

Possessed with these notions she repaired to Vaucouleurs, and communicated her visions to the governor of that place, who at first treated her with neglect; but, on her repeated applications, he was prevailed upon to send her to the king. She supported before the court the character of an inspired person with an astonishing candour and firmness; and an assembly of divines, who examined her on the subject of her mission, declared there was something in her supernatural. She promised to deliver Orleans, and conduct Charles to Rheims, there to be crowned and anointed. She demanded of the king, as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was preserved in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen, it is said she described with so many particular circumstances as plainly proved her supernatural knowledge.

It was considered as an object of policy by the French court to make Joan's predictions publicly known, and accordingly every method was taken for that purpose. This had the desired effect: the minds of the vulgar were impressed with a conviction of the truth of her mission, and they believed her expressly sent from heaven to rescue the kingdom from impending destruction. She was accordingly the object of universal adoration, and the soldiers were impatient to retrieve their honour under the auspices of this distinguished amazon.

In the mean time the siege of Orleans was pushed with the utmost vigour, and the besieged still continued to make a noble resistance; but the want of provision increasing every day, it became absolutely necessary to send the garrison a supply, and Charles determined that this service should be Joan's first effort in war, and a proof of the truth or falsity of her mission. She was accordingly armed cap-a-pie, and mounted on a fine horse richly caparisoned; and, according to her request, the sword of St. Catharine was sent for, and delivered to her with great formality. Thus arrayed, she immediately proceeded to Blois, where the provisions for the relief of the garrison were collected, and which was appointed as the place of rendezvous for the troops to convey them safe to Orleans.

Such was the infatuation of the people in favour of Joan, that in a few days an army was collected of twelve thousand chosen men, at the head of whom she marched to the relief of Orleans, carrying in her hand a consecrated banner. As soon as she approached the city, the count de Dunois, who commanded the garrison, made a vigorous sally on the English, in order to favour the entrance of Joan into the city. This had the desired effect; for the French, animated with the confidence they entertained of the supernatural abilities of Joan, fell on with such enthusiastic fury, that the English, after a long resistance, were defeated, and the convoy passed with safety into the city.

Joan was considered by the inhabitants of Orleans as a tutelar angel: the whole success was attributed to her; and her presence dispelled every thought of danger. The garrison believed themselves invincible under her influence, and the frequent and successful sallies which they made completed the consternation of the English, who, on

the 12th of May, raised the siege of Orleans, and retired.

The English acted in a very indiscreet manner after their departure from Orleans, of which the French did not fail to take advantage. Instead of keeping their forces together in one body to act powerfully against the enemy, they distributed great part of them into places near the Loire, which they had subdued when they first passed that river. Being thus separated, the French met with little resistance in the places they attempted to take. Joan d'Arc still headed their troops; and wherever she appeared, the English were struck with a panic, while the French believed themselves supported by an invisible agent. Gorgeau, a small fortress, into which the earl of Suffolk had been so imprudent to throw himself with only four hundred men, was obliged to surrender at discretion, and the earl himself was taken prisoner. Meulan suffered the same fate, as did also several other towns and castles that had been garrisoned by the English.

On the imprisonment of the earl of Suffolk the command of the English forces devolved on lord Talbot, who found that his whole force did not exceed six thousand men. He therefore endeavoured to avoid a general engagement with the enemy, who were at least double that number: but being overtaken at a place called Potay, a battle became inevitable, and the event was what might have been expected. The English were totally defeated: above two thousand fell in the action, and about two hundred were taken prisoners, among whom were the lords Talbot, Scales and Hungerford, with several other officers distinguished for their military abilities.

Joan d'Arc, having fully executed the first part of her engagements, now determined to proceed in the execution of the second, namely, that of conducting Charles to Rheims, in order to his being there crowned and anointed. Charles had never exposed his person to danger, but he now suffered himself to be carried away by the torrent of his successes, and the prevailing remonstrances of the female warrior, with whom he marched, at the head of twelve thousand men, through the midst of his enemies, towards Rheims. Troyes, Châlons, and several other towns in his way, opened their gates at his approach. The inhabitants of Rheims no sooner heard that he was advancing to that city, accompanied by Joan, than they immediately drove out the English garrison, and sent him the keys of their city, which he entered in triumph. The ceremony of his coronation was immediately performed in the presence of Joan, who, on this occasion, attended with her consecrated banner in her hand. Thus was Charles in possession of the city of Rheims, to which his subjects (who now looked upon him in a very respectable light) repaired from all quarters, and readily joined his standard.

After the ceremony of Charles's coronation was over, Joan d'Arc (who had acquired the title of The Maid of Orleans) considering her commission fully accomplished, was desirous of returning to the place of her nativity, affirming that she had executed the design of her mission; but her influence was so great over the troops, that count de Dunois prevailed on her to continue in the army till the English should be entirely driven from the country.

During these transactions the duke of Bedford, who had remained in Paris, found means to renew his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, and having



ing raised a very powerful army, determined to take the field, in order to oppose the rapid progress of the French monarch. He accordingly advanced as far as Montereau, from whence he sent an herald to Charles, offering to give him battle in any place he should name, in order to put a final period to the war by a general engagement. But Charles, not chusing to hazard his crown on the uncertain event of a single battle, refused the offer, and continued with his troops in the neighbourhood of Rheims.

A. D. 1430. While these things were transacting on the continent, the English parliament resolved to send young Henry into France, in order that he might be crowned at Paris. In consequence of this resolution, he embarked at Dover with a splendid retinue, and landed at Calais on the 19th of May. But the French army being then in the neighbourhood of Paris, it was thought adviseable to conduct the young king to Rouen, till the enemy should be removed farther from the capital.

To effect this purpose the duke of Bedford laboured assiduously to induce the duke of Burgundy to act with more vigour than he had done after recalling his troops from the siege of Orleans. He accordingly ceded to him all the places possessed by the English in Champagne and Bria; and the duke immediately entered France at the head of a powerful army. He soon reduced Troyes and Soissons, and, being joined by fresh reinforcements under command of the earl of Arundel, invested Compeigne, the garrison of which was commanded by one Flavi, a brave and experienced general.

As soon as this enterprize was known, the Maid of Orleans, with Xaintrailles, a celebrated French officer, threw themselves into the place, which gave fresh spirits to the garrison. The next day Joan, at the head of a considerable body of forces, made so desperate a sally on the quarters of John of Luxemburg, the Burgundian general, that he was driven from his post. But the fury of that enthusiastic leader carried her too far: her retreat was cut off, and, after making the most desperate resistance, she was taken prisoner, and delivered up to the Burgundian general, who sent her under a proper guard to the duke of Bedford. The garrison of Compeigne, however, continued to make a noble defence, and a large detachment arriving from Charles's army, the English were obliged to abandon the siege.

The English monarch had, during these transactions, continued at Rouen; but it was now determined to perform the ceremony of his coronation. He accordingly repaired to Paris, attended by the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, and a splendid train of nobility of both nations. Sunday, the Seventeenth of December, was appointed for the ceremony, which was accordingly performed with great magnificence in the church of Notre Dame, when the cardinal of Winchester placed the crown on the head of Henry, and the French nobility swore allegiance to his person and government.

A. D. 1431. The first step taken by the duke of Bedford after young Henry's coronation was, to dispose of the person of the Maid of Orleans, who was then his prisoner. As this woman had been the cause of that astonishing revolution, which almost ruined the affairs of the English in France, the duke determined to undeceive the world with respect to the divinity of her mission, hoping, by these means, to revive the drooping spirits of his

countrymen, and deprive the enemy of those advantages that had resulted from this ridiculous but successful delusion. To effect this he sent Joan to Rouen, in order to be tried for witchcraft; and, after a tedious examination, the ecclesiastical judges condemned her as an heretic, to do penance all the rest of her life on bread and water. Soon after the same judges, on pretence that she had relapsed into her former errors, delivered her over to the secular power to be burnt alive, which cruel sentence was executed in the old market-place of Rouen on the 30th of May.—Such was the end of the famous Maid of Orleans, whose actions had struck the English with terror, and who saved her country from impending destruction.

A. D. 1432. The English monarch, after his coronation at Paris, left that city, and returned to Rouen; where he continued till some time after the execution of the famous Maid of Orleans. But thinking it now adviseable to return to England, he proceeded to Calais, where he embarked, and arrived safe at Dover about the middle of February, from whence he immediately proceeded to London, amidst the universal acclamations of the people.

A. D. 1433. It had been conjectured that the death of the Maid of Orleans would have enabled the English to recover those advantages which they had lost through her means. But they were still unfortunate, and their affairs grew daily worse and worse. In this alarming crisis an event happened which gave a fatal blow to the hopes of the English. The duchess of Bedford, sister to the duke of Burgundy, paid the debt of nature, and was buried in the church of the Celestines at Paris. This unfortunate event dissolved the close connection that had subsisted between her brother and the duke; and the marriage of the latter, about four months after her death, with Jaqueline of Luxemburg, occasioned a breach between them. The cardinal of Winchester endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between these princes, and brought them both to St. Omers for that salutary purpose. But a point of honour rendered the whole abortive. Bedford expected the first visit, as he had condescended to come into the duke of Burgundy's territories, in order to have an interview with him. But Philip, proud of his great power, and independent dominions, refused to pay this compliment, upon which the duke of Bedford retired with disgust.

A. D. 1434. In the beginning of this year Isabella, queen dowager of France, observing the great success of her son Charles, (against whom she maintained an implacable hatred) and the declining state of the English interest, died of grief at Paris, very little regretted by the French, who considered her as the principal cause of the ruin of their country.

The death of Isabella was of very little consequence to either party: but this was not the case with respect to that of the duke of Bedford, who expired in the castle of Rouen on the 14th of September universally regretted by the English, who considered him not only as the chief support of the interest of France, but an honour to the country that gave him birth. It is difficult to determine whether this prince shone more in the field or the cabinet; whether he was the greater hero or politician: but, to add honour to his name, it is evident, that he was a truly honest man, and a sincere lover of his country.

A. D. 1435. On the death of Bedford, the duke of York was appointed regent of France in his stead; but such parties were formed in the English coun-





King HENRY the Sixth CROWNED in the Cathedral Church  
of Notre Dame, in PARIS.



cil that it was seven months before the commission, (empowering him to hold that office,) passed the seals. In the mean time Charles took every advantage for extending his conquests, and had made a most rapid progress in establishing his authority when the new regent arrived on the continent. The capital had been some time reduced, so that the territories of the English then chiefly consisted of Guienne and Normandy.

A. D. 1437. In the spring of this year Philip, duke of Burgundy (who had some time joined in alliance with Charles) attempted to reduce Calais with an army of 50,000 men, and made himself master of several small castles in the neighbourhood of that city. The Flemings (who were then much more famous for manufacture than war) vainly imagined that the appearance of their numerous army would be sufficient to intimidate the garrison, and the gates would be opened at their approach. But they soon found themselves deceived; for the garrison, instead of being intimidated, dreadfully harassed their camp with successful sallies.

In the mean time the duke of Gloucester, at the head of fifteen thousand men, landed at Calais, and sent an herald to the duke of Burgundy, offering him battle. Philip accepted his challenge; but his Flemings had so severely felt the effects of the valour of the English, that they could not be prevailed upon to meet them in the open field; they therefore quitted their camp, and made a precipitate retreat. Philip, fearing lest the garrison of Calais might take advantage of this confusion in his army, drew up his regular troops to secure his retreat, and retired in good order to Gravelines, leaving all his baggage and artillery, which, of course, fell into the hands of the English.

Irritated at the proceedings of the duke of Burgundy, Gloucester led his army into Artois, and after laying the whole country waste with fire and sword, returned to Calais loaded with plunder.

A. D. 1438—40. During the course of these three years the war was carried on by both parties in a very languid manner. The two nations were drained by the expences of the different campaigns, and their troops were at length obliged to subsist by plundering and oppressing the countries both of friends and enemies. Terms of peace were often proposed and as often rejected; both parties insisting on such as could not be granted. At the same time both the English and French courts were filled with factions. The duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester continually opposed each other, and the interest of the nation was sacrificed to their perpetual enmities. The dauphin of France headed a faction against his father. He was of a restless and ambitious disposition, and found means to bring over to his interest the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, with the counts of Vendôme and Dunois. Charles perceived his danger, and was desirous of procuring the release of the duke of Orleans (who had continued a prisoner in England, ever since the battle of Agincourt) as the only person whose merit and rank could balance the credit of the dauphin's party. After a tedious negotiation, which was strenuously opposed by the duke of Gloucester, it was determined to set him at liberty on his paying a ransom of thirty-six thousand pounds. The duke of Burgundy displayed a noble instance of generosity on this occasion, by renouncing his former resentments, and paying the ransom of a prince, who had been his most inveterate enemy.

A. D. 1441. The dissensions in England be-

tween the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester still continued with the utmost violence; nor could any thing less than the destruction of the former satisfy the malice and ambition of the latter. The cardinal, however, was unable to attack the duke in person, and therefore formed the most horrid plot that could be devised by human invention. He caused the duchess to be accused of witchcraft, and it was pretended that a waxen image of the king was found in her possession, which she and her associates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Margaret Jordon, of Eye in Suffolk, melted before a slow fire, with a design of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by the like insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to effect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain credit among the illiterate people. The duchess and her supposed confederates were accordingly brought to trial, the two former of whom were acquitted, and the latter found guilty. She was condemned to do public penance for three days successively, by walking barefooted and bareheaded, with a wax taper in her hand, from the Tower of London to St. Paul's cathedral, and then to be imprisoned for life; which sentence was executed with the utmost rigour. But these violent and base proceedings did not produce the intended effect; for instead of making Gloucester appear contemptible in the eyes of the public, it only increased their hatred against his enemies.

A. D. 1443. The cardinal of Winchester had been, for some time, averse to continuing the war on the continent; and he now alledged the impossibility of the English either extending their conquests, or even retaining those they then had in their possession. He likewise observed, that the power of the French king was daily increasing, and that it would be absolutely necessary to stop the progress of the enemy's arms by a temporary suspension of hostilities, which would allow the English time to retrieve their ruined fortunes. The duke of Gloucester, who was naturally brave and daring, highly disapproved of these measures; he could not be persuaded to resign all hopes of reducing the power of France, nor could he patiently endure to find his own advice over-ruled by the superior power and interest of his rival the cardinal of Winchester. But all his opposition had no effect: the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman blindly attached to the cardinal's party, was sent to Tours, in order to treat with the French ministers. Conferences were accordingly opened; but the parties disagreeing concerning the terms, the sole result was a truce for two years.

A. D. 1444. Having executed this part of his commission, the earl of Suffolk proceeded to finish another matter of no less importance, and which was planned by the cardinal of Winchester. He proposed a match between the king his master and Margaret daughter of Regnier, duke of Anjou, and nominal king of Sicily; and, instead of demanding a dower with her, promised, in the name of his master, that the province of Maine (then in the hands of the English) should be ceded to her uncle, Charles of Anjou, who was prime minister to the French king.

As soon as the duke of Gloucester was informed of these proceedings, he exerted his utmost efforts to prevent the intended match; but in spite of all his opposition, the contract was ratified in London, and the ceremony of marriage performed at Tours, the earl of Suffolk acting as proxy for



the English monarch. On the 18th of April following, Margaret arrived in England, and was re-married in the priory of Southwark, from whence she proceeded to Westminster, and on the 13th of May was crowned with great magnificence.

A. D. 1445. The new queen had not been long in England before she sufficiently indicated her intentions of being mistress of her husband's conduct as well as his affections. The opposition made by the duke of Gloucester to her marriage had filled her mind with envy, and induced her to enter into a close correspondence with the cardinal of Winchester and the earl of Suffolk, who, strengthened by her friendship, and animated by their common hatred against the duke of Gloucester, resolved to effect the ruin of that patriotic nobleman. He was accordingly stripped of all his preferments, and even entirely removed from the council board. But this unjustifiable method of proceeding raised such commotions in the nation, that the authors of this disgrace thought it absolutely necessary for their own safety, to colour over their base proceedings with a shew of justice. They accordingly declared their intentions of impeaching the duke before the parliament, and the members being summoned to meet at St. Edmundsbury, the duke was cited to appear, to answer the accusations alledged against him; but before the day appointed for his trial arrived, he was found dead in his bed. It was, indeed, pretended that his death was natural, and his body was accordingly exposed to public view without exhibiting any marks of external injury, though no one doubted his having fallen a sacrifice to the vengeance of his enemies.—Thus fell Humphrey of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the most learned person of his age. He founded at Oxford one of the first public libraries in England, and was a generous patron to men of science, and able artists of every profession \*.

A. D. 1446. The cardinal of Winchester did not long triumph over the fall of Gloucester. He died about six weeks after with all the horrors of a guilty conscience, and his name was execrated by the populace, who had as much revered Gloucester for his virtues, as they had detested Winchester for his infamy.

By the death of the cardinal, the queen, and her favourite Suffolk, were deprived of the great support they had derived from his experience, his birth, his riches, and his order; and left exposed to the effects of those unpopular measures they afterwards pursued. The minister, however, did not immediately feel the resentment of an injured people. He, for some time, enjoyed his power, and the next sessions of parliament was created duke of Suffolk.

A. D. 1447. During these transactions in England, the French king employed his time in prosecuting such measures as might be most conducive to the happiness of his people, and the welfare of his kingdom. He was then in a condition to act with vigour in recovering those places which were still in the hands of the English; and an accident soon happened which gave him a pretence for recommencing hostilities.

It had been agreed, by the treaty of marriage between Henry and Margaret of Anjou, that the province of Maine should be ceded to her uncle

Charles; but the English ministry, fearful that the cession of that place should occasion popular clamours, had hitherto postponed discharging this part of the treaty. At length, however, orders were sent to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, the capital of the country, to deliver that city into the hands of Charles of Anjou. Surienne (who was a native of Arragon, but had served the English with great fidelity above twenty years) disputed the authenticity of the order, and absolutely refused to deliver up the place. The count de Dunois was therefore sent, at the head of a numerous body of troops, and a large train of artillery, to reduce it by force. Surienne made a noble defence, but was at length obliged to capitulate; by which the garrison, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, were suffered to march out with their effects, and all the honours of war. They retired into Normandy; but being refused admittance into any of the fortified towns, and falling into great distress, Surienne led his troops into Britany, and procured subsistence by extending his depredations over the whole province.

At this time the duke of Somerset was governor of Normandy, from whom the French king demanded satisfaction for the outrages committed by Surienne in Britany, that province being included in the late truce made with France. The duke apologized, by returning for answer, that he was greatly concerned at the illegality of his proceedings; but that the whole had been executed without his privity and consent, nor had he any authority over the troops that had committed the ravages of which he complained.

This was far from being satisfactory to Charles, who now determined to take advantage of the superiority he had gained over the English. He accordingly, in the spring of the year 1448, declared war against Henry, soon made himself master of the principal places in possession of the English, and, in a short time, was so successful, as to annex both Normandy and Guienne to his dominions.

A. D. 1449. But these were not the only misfortunes that now beset the English. The sword of civil war was ready to be drawn, in order to drench the fields with the blood of their owners. The duke of York (first prince of the blood) was descended by his mother, from the house of Mortimer, which enjoyed an incontestible title to the crown of England after the demise of Richard II. when the rights of sovereignty were usurped by the house of Lancaster. His personal merit was great, and he had contracted a powerful alliance by marrying the daughter of Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, one of the most considerable and respected noblemen in the kingdom. The earl of Warwick was also one of that family, and his hospitality and munificence had gained him such respect as to render his authority over his numerous partizans almost absolute.

The duke of York, who had commanded with great applause in France, was deprived of his commission, without any reason being assigned for so imprudent an exertion of power. On his return to England some dark hints with respect to the pretensions of his family to the crown were dropped by his partizans, and had the desired effect. The virtues of the duke of York, and the great services he had performed for his country, were strongly im-

\* The remains of this prince were interred in the old church of St. Alban's, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory, a great part of which is still to be seen. Some few years ago the vault was discovered where his remains were de-

posited, when the body was found in a stone coffin, with the flesh then but little decayed. The only remains now are his bones, which have been carefully preserved, and may be still seen by the curious.



pressed on the minds of the people, who spared no pains to testify their respect for so distinguished a character.

The increasing popularity of the duke of York greatly alarmed the queen and Suffolk; and a commotion having happened in Ireland, it was thought advisable to invest him with the title of lord-lieutenant, and send him into that kingdom, as the only person capable of restoring peace and tranquillity.

Though the duke of York well knew the true reason for his being sent out of the kingdom, yet he made no hesitation to accept the commission. He accordingly went over to Ireland, where his mild and gentle behaviour had such an effect on the inhabitants of that kingdom, that they not only returned quietly to their duty, but likewise became strongly attached to him and his family.

A. D. 1450. The conduct of Suffolk, in conjunction with his royal patroness, had now become so enormous, that they incurred the universal hatred of the people, and the popular clamours arose to such a height, that the House of Commons determined to impeach the favourite minister. Accordingly an accusation was laid against the duke of Suffolk for high-treason. They ascribed to him the loss of the English dominions on the continent; and even insisted, that he had entered into a design to dethrone the king. The violence of faction had, however, carried the Commons too far: their allegations would not bear examination, there being no evidence to support them. A new charge was, therefore, drawn up against him, the substance of which was chiefly confined to the perversions of that authority with which he had been invested.

Henry was now alarmed for his favourite minister. He had reason to think that the parliament were determined to carry on the prosecution against him with the utmost vigour; nor was he mistaken, for both lords and commons found him guilty. As soon as Henry heard of the issue of his trial, he immediately sent for all the lords spiritual and temporal to his palace, produced Suffolk before them, and asked him, what he could say in his own defence. He denied the charge exhibited against him, but submitted himself to the mercy of the king, who sentenced him to five years banishment.

In consequence of this sentence the duke made immediate preparations for leaving the kingdom, not doubting but, as he still enjoyed the queen's favour and confidence, he should be soon recalled. But his enemies were determined that his life should pay the forfeit of his crimes. They accordingly employed a captain of a ship to cruise off Dover, and intercept him in his passage to the continent. The captain, who had imbibed the common prejudices, performed his commission with great severity. He seized the duke near Dover, took him into his long-boat, and, with the assistance of his men, struck his head off on the side of the vessel, and afterwards threw his body into the sea. Thus fell the duke of Suffolk, a victim to his own ambition and perfidy.

On the death of Suffolk the duke of Somerset succeeded in all his power and credit with the queen; and as he was the person who commanded on the continent when the French provinces were lost, the people, who always judge by the event, made him the object of their animosity and detestation. The consequence of this was that commotions took place in most parts of the kingdom,

and at length an insurrection was raised which threatened to overturn the whole system of government.

One John Cade, a native of Ireland, having been outlawed for a rape and murder committed in Suffex, had taken sanctuary, and was forced to abjure the kingdom. He, however, soon after returned into Kent, and, observing the discontents of the people, determined to turn them to his own advantage. He took upon himself the name of John Mortimer, pretending he was the son of the late Sir John Mortimer, uncle to Edmund earl of Marche, and thereby made himself a near relation to Richard duke of York, the person from whom the people hoped for redress of all their grievances. The very mention of that popular name was sufficient to procure him multitudes of followers, and he soon found himself at the head of twenty thousand men. The arch-rebel, perceiving that great numbers daily flocked to his standard, advanced to Blackheath, giving out that he was going to make a reform in the government, and redress the grievances of the people, by delivering them from the burthen of taxes.

The ministry no sooner received intelligence of these disturbances, than they immediately dispatched a messenger to the insurgents, demanding the reason of their assembling in so tumultuous and hostile a manner. Cade, in the name of the whole body, returned for answer, that they had not the least design of offering any violence to the person of the king: they only desired to present a petition to the parliament, that the ministers who oppressed the people might be removed from the royal presence. At the same time he delivered to the deputies two papers enumerating the grievances of the nation. Among other particulars they prayed that the duke of Somerset might be punished as the principal author of the loss of Normandy; that the king's council might consist of the princes of the blood, and other prudent and distinguished personages, instead of vicious and profligate wretches, who were totally destitute both of honour and abilities.

But the ministry were so far from paying any attention to these remonstrances, that they determined to have recourse to violent methods for quelling the insurgents. Accordingly, an army of fifteen thousand disciplined men, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, was sent against them. Cade artfully affected to be terrified at the general's approach, and retired, with the main body of the rebels, to Sevenoak, placing a strong detachment in ambuscade to intercept Stafford in his march. The royal army followed without observing the necessary cautions, and were so furiously attacked by Cade's concealed forces, that great numbers were slain, among whom was their leader, and the rest obliged to save themselves by a precipitate flight.

Animated by this success, Cade returned to Blackheath, from whence he sent another remonstrance to the king and council, demanding, "That the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham and Norfolk, should be recalled to court: and that the murderers of the duke of Gloucester, together with all those who had contributed to the loss of the English territories on the continent, should be brought to condign punishment." The government, alarmed at the late defeat of their forces, and knowing that the secret friends of the duke of York were on the point of declaring themselves, resolved, if possible, to purchase their safety by sacri-



sacrificing some individuals to the fury of the populace; and accordingly, the lords Say and Cromer, who had rendered themselves very unpopular, were committed to the tower.

The next day the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham were sent to treat with the insurgents. Cade received them with the greatest complaisance; but told them he was absolutely determined not to lay down his arms till the king came in person, and granted their requests. The effect of this conference was reported to the council, and the king, persuaded he had every thing to fear from the fury of the insurgents, determined to leave London, and accordingly set out, with his whole court, for Kenelworth castle in Yorkshire.

No sooner was Cade informed of the absence of the king than he immediately marched, at the head of his troops, to the capital, where the citizens, alarmed at his great success, immediately opened their gates, and Cade entered with all the triumph of the most distinguished warrior. He had even the insolence to strike his sword against Londonstone, crying out, "Now is Mortimer lord of London." He, however, maintained, for some time, great order and discipline among his followers. He always led them out at the approach of night where they continued till morning, when they again returned into the city. But the rebels being resolved, in order to gratify their malevolence against Say and Cromer, to put those ministers to death, Cade could no longer restrain their riotous dispositions. They plundered the houses of the more opulent citizens, and committed so many disorders, that the inhabitants perceived there was a necessity for joining the regular troops, in order to prevent the destruction with which they were threatened. Accordingly, after Cade had marched out of the city as usual in the evening, they seized the gates, and put the detachments that guarded them to death. On the return of Cade and his followers the next morning, they found the gates of the bridge shut and barricadoed against them. They attempted, however, to force a passage, the consequence of which was, that a battle ensued, and the contest continued till night, without either party gaining any material advantage.

The rebels were greatly dispirited at not being able to open themselves a passage into the city; and the ministry took advantage of their timidity. They drew up a general pardon for the insurgents, provided they would lay down their arms; and another for Cade in particular, on condition of his abandoning his rebellious projects. These pardons were issued under the great seal, and prudently published during the night in the camp of the insurgents. The effect was astonishing. The morning no sooner appeared than Cade found himself deserted by the greater part of his followers, and retreated to Rochester, where the rest dispersed, notwithstanding all his remonstrances and artful speeches, by which he endeavoured to persuade them, that the pardon they had received was of no effect, as it had not received the sanction of the parliament. Perceiving that all his arts were exerted in vain, he fled into the woods of Suffex, with a few of his friends who were determined to share his fate. A price was now set upon his head by the government, and he was slain by one Alexander Iden or Eden, a gentleman of Suffex, who sent his head to London; and for which service he was rewarded with the government of Rochester castle.

The duke of York was strongly suspected of

being materially concerned in exciting and supporting the late insurrection, in order that he might form some idea of the sentiments of the people with regard to his title and family. He was then in Ireland, where his judicious conduct had entitled him to the public esteem and confidence; but he now determined to return to England, persuaded that his personal security depended upon the timely vigour of his future measures.

The council no sooner heard of the duke of York's design of returning to England, than, jealous of the pretensions he might make, and suspecting he would come with an armed force, they issued out orders, in the king's name, to oppose him wherever he should endeavour to land. But the duke eluded all their designs, by coming attended with no more than his ordinary retinue: and this impolitic precaution of the ministry served only to indicate their apprehension of his power and interest, and their own distrust of the affections of the people.

A. D. 1451. A few days after the duke of York arrived in England, he wrote a very submissive letter to the king, in which he pointed out the grievances so much complained of by the people, and offered his best services to remove those abuses which had crept into the government. The ministry perceived the duke's real intentions; but their then situation obliged them to act cautiously, and it was resolved to return a civil answer. Accordingly, the king, in a letter to the duke, told him, "That he had, for some time, been sensible of the necessity of reforming the government, and intended to nominate a council for that purpose, and constitute him as their president, adding, that, till this could be done, such precautions should be taken, that the duke of Somerset might be ready to take his trial whenever it was thought necessary."

The ministry imagined that this remarkable condescension in the king would totally deprive the duke of York of all pretensions for taking up arms; but they soon found themselves mistaken: the offers were declared unsatisfactory by the duke's friends, and it was resolved to proceed in the scheme that had been long formed by the duke of laying open his pretensions to the English diadem.

The whole kingdom soon became one continued scene of commotion. The people were divided in opinion with regard to the pretensions of the houses of Lancaster and York. Many plausible reasons were urged by the advocates on both sides, and their arguments appeared weaker or stronger in proportion to the prejudice of the party.

A. D. 1452. But no measures seemed likely to be efficacious in healing the animosities of the people, and deciding this important contest, except that of the sword. As soon, therefore, as the spring was considerably advanced, the duke of York, who was then in Wales, where he had joined his friends, entered England at the head of a formidable army. But no acts of hostility were committed: they marched peaceably forwards, and published a manifesto, declaring that their sole intent was, to promote the good of the nation; to release the oppressed subject from a burthen he was unable to bear; and to bring to justice a corrupt and debased administration.

These plausible reasons produced the desired effect. The people, who groaned under enormous taxes, gladly joined the duke's standard; he soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men, and directed his march towards London, not expect-



pecting to meet with any opposition from the royal army. But in this he was mistaken; the queen and Somerset had exerted all their power to raise a number of forces sufficient to meet the duke in the open field, and their attempts were successful. The king marched from London against him; but before the two armies met, York, being informed of his danger, changed his route, and, by forced marches, reached the capital, before Henry knew that he intended to evade a battle. The duke, however, soon perceived that he had placed too much confidence in the promises of the Londoners; for, instead of receiving him with open arms, they shut their gates against his army, and would not even permit himself to enter the city.

As soon as Henry received advice of the duke of York having changed his route, and marched to London, he immediately returned with the utmost expedition towards the capital. On his arrival the duke of York crossed the Thames at Kingston, where, being joined by Thomas Courtney earl of Devon, and the lord Cobham, he marched at the head of his forces into Kent, and encamped on a spacious and convenient spot of ground near Dartford.

Young Henry followed the duke with all expedition, and marching his forces over London-bridge, encamped on Blackheath. The duke of Somerset, who attended the king on this occasion (and seems to have been an able politician) advised Henry to crush the rebellion in its bud, and not wait till it had gathered strength, and become formidable. But Henry did not think proper to follow the advice of Somerset: he totally neglected his prudent counsel, and, listening to some timorous, perhaps treacherous, noblemen, determined to have recourse to negotiation.

In consequence of this resolution certain prelates and noblemen were sent to know the reasons for the duke's appearing in arms, and upon what terms he was willing to lay them down, and use his endeavours for restoring tranquillity to the nation. The duke, with the greatest appearance of respect and moderation, told the messengers, that the prosperity of his country was his sole intention, that he desired nothing more than to reform the government, by bringing to justice the duke of Somerset, and others of the counsel, who had trampled on the laws of the kingdom, and oppressed the people; adding, that he was willing to disband his forces, and to throw himself at Henry's feet, if the persons he had mentioned were taken into custody, and brought to answer the charges he was ready to exhibit against them in parliament.

Henry made no hesitation at complying with the duke's request. Somerset was put under arrest, and the duke of York, by this condescension, deprived of all excuses for keeping up a body of forces. He saw his error, but determined to keep his word. Accordingly he dismissed his army, and repaired to court without arms, and without a passport.

As soon as the duke came into the presence of the king and council, he openly avowed the cause of his taking up arms, and insisted that the duke of Somerset should be immediately brought to trial; when, to his great astonishment, that minister came from a private closet in the presence-chamber, and bitterly reviled him for his treasonable practices. A virulent contention ensued, and a torrent of the most indecent invectives were

poured out, without the least regard to the presence of the sovereign. Somerset insisted on putting the duke of York to death on the spot; but the more dispassionate members of the council, fearful of carrying matters to such extremes, would not permit the least violence to be offered to his person. The duke was accordingly dismissed, after making a formal submission to Henry, and, upon oath, acknowledging him the legal sovereign of the kingdom.

A. D. 1453. In the spring of this year the earl of Shrewsbury was dispatched to the continent with an army of eight thousand men, in order to assist the Gascons in throwing off the French yoke. He made himself master of Bourdeaux, and several other places; but being at length attacked by a superior force, himself, together with his gallant son the lord Pile, fell among the slain. Thus was the plan of reducing that province to the English government rendered abortive: and thus fell the valiant Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, one of the best of men, and most illustrious heroes of the age, in which he lived.

On the 23d of October the queen was delivered of a son, named Edward, who was immediately created prince of Wales, and earl of Chester. This circumstance gave great satisfaction to Henry; but at the same time it re-kindled the flame of civil discord among the people, and greatly increased the activity and zeal of the partizans of the house of York.

A. D. 1454. Henry, from the natural weakness of his capacity, was totally incapable of managing the affairs of government; and, to add to this imperfection, he was at this time seized with an illness which deprived him of the power even of maintaining the appearance of royalty. On this account the meeting of the parliament had been several times postponed; and the friends of the duke of York, thinking it a convenient opportunity, determined to use their utmost efforts for replacing that nobleman in his seat at the council-board, from which he had been some time excluded. They accordingly insinuated to the queen and Somerset, that, from the then disposition of the people, it could not be doubted, but whenever the parliament should meet, the first thing they did would be to appoint a new ministry. That such an incident must, of course, be productive of disagreeable consequences, and that the only sure method of preventing it would be to admit the duke of York, the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, with some other popular noblemen, into the council. This advice appearing plausible to the queen and her favourite (who dreaded the effects of a parliamentary censure) they readily embraced their proposal, and those noblemen accordingly took the seats at the council-board.

The re-admission of the duke of York into the council greatly animated his party, who continued daily to increase, and the queen soon found herself unable to oppose the power of his influence. The whole management of public affairs was changed: prosecutions were renewed against Somerset; and the duke of York, even in the queen's presence, caused him to be seized, and sent prisoner to the Tower.

Henry, still continuing in a state which rendered him incapable of directing the affairs of government, the council thought it advisable to appoint the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, and to invest him with power to hold the next session of parliament in the king's name.



This was accordingly done; and, to add to his power, the parliament soon after changed his title of lieutenant to that of Protector of England.

A. D. 1455. But the duke of York did not long enjoy that elevated station to which he had been raised by the parliament. The king recovered from his indisposition, the duke's commission was superseded, and himself, with the earls of Warwick and Salisbury, dismissed from the council. The duke of Somerset was released from his confinement, restored to his former power in the administration, and, in conjunction with the queen, directed all the affairs of government.

Irritated at these proceedings, the duke of York immediately left London, and retired into Wales, in order to procure those rights by force of arms, which he found could not be obtained by more lenient measures. The popular clamour against Somerset had spread itself through all parts of the kingdom, so that the people flocked in great numbers to the duke's standard. In consequence of this he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable body of forces, with which he advanced towards the king, who had marched from London, at the head of an army, to give him battle.

The duke of York was assisted on this occasion by the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, who sent a letter from Royston to the king, professing their attachment to his person and government, and desiring admission to his presence, that they might clear themselves from the aspersions of their enemies, and make him sensible of the misconduct of his ministers, who, they insisted, should be brought to a legal trial, and punished or acquitted according to their deserts.

But this letter was treated with the utmost contempt, and the parties who sent it threatened with the penalties of high-treason. In consequence of this the malcontents continued their march, and the two armies met in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's, where a desperate battle ensued, which terminated in favour of the Yorkists. The duke of Somerset, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, with several other distinguished personages, and above eight hundred common soldiers, were killed on the spot. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who, instead of looking upon him in the light of a prisoner, treated him with every mark of respect due to royalty. Both the duke and his associates fell on their knees before him and declared that, as the enemy of the public was no more, they were entirely devoted to the service of their sovereign.

In consequence of this judicious and submissive conduct in the duke and his associates, the parliament, which met soon after the battle of St. Alban's, granted to the Yorkists a general indemnity, and restored the protectorship to the duke; but at the same time renewed their oaths of fealty to the king, whose disorder having greatly increased, prevented his directing the affairs of government.

This distinguished elevation of the duke of York highly incensed the queen, who, with her associates, determined to exert their utmost endeavours to remove him from the seat of power. But their designs were greatly checked by the prudent conduct of the duke, whose great care was, to conduct himself in such a manner as to obtain the general affections of the people. Desirous of convincing them that his conduct was not influenced

by passion or interest, he paid the utmost attention to the affairs of the royal family; established the household of the prince of Wales, and settled on him a decent maintenance, and, at the same time, left the king and queen at liberty to act as they thought proper; being persuaded it was not in their power to divest him of the dignity of Protector, because his patent could not be revoked without the consent of parliament.

A. D. 1456. But Margaret was of too active and enterprising a spirit to suffer any obstacles to divert her from her intended purposes. The king had again recovered from his indisposition, and the duke of York being absent, his enemies, with the queen at their head, determined to take this opportunity of removing him from the seat of power. The parliament met on the 12th of February, when Henry (at the instigation of the queen and her associates) went to the house, and declared his resolution of putting an end to the power vested in the duke of York, and taking the administration of affairs into his own hands. As the duke's party were not apprized of this measure they were not prepared to oppose it, so that the duke was removed from his office, and the king restored to his sovereign authority. The duke was not a little surprized when he heard of this sudden revolution, but making a virtue of necessity, quietly submitted to the decree of parliament.

A. D. 1457. Elated at having thus far obtained her ends, though far from being satisfied at the great popularity of the duke and his associates, Margaret now resolved to secure her future repose by arresting the persons of York, Salisbury and Warwick. With this view the court was removed to Coventry, where the queen thought she could execute her purpose with greater probability of success than in London; and these three noblemen were required, by letters under the privy seal, to attend the king at that place about some affairs of importance. The duke of York made no hesitation at complying with this order, and accordingly set out with his associates for the place appointed; but being apprized on the road of the queen's intentions, they immediately parted. The duke of York retired to his castle of Wigmore in Herefordshire; the earl of Salisbury to his seat in Yorkshire; and the earl of Warwick embarked for Calais, having been some time appointed to the government of that place.

The treacherous designs of the queen produced general commotions throughout the kingdom. The animosity that took place between the partisans of the houses of York and Lancaster arose to the utmost height, and a bloody civil war seemed likely to be the inevitable consequence. In this critical juncture the archbishop of Canterbury, with several other persons of distinction, enforced their good offices to bring about a reconciliation, and it was at length proposed, that the principal leaders of both parties should meet in London, on a day appointed for that purpose, to adjust their differences.

A. D. 1458. This meeting was held about the middle of January, and after some controversy between the contending parties, an apparent reconciliation was effected. The terms of agreement were notified to the public by a solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral, in which the duke of York conducted queen Margaret, and a chief of one party walked hand in hand with a chief of the opposite, the whole exhibiting every appearance of the most cordial friendship.



But this was nothing more than show: the same enmity still prevailed in the minds of both parties, and the confederate lords, instead of taking their seats at the council-board, retired from court, and took up their residence in those parts, where they thought their respective interests were the most considerable.

From the conduct of both parties, it was evident that they only waited for an opportunity of re-kindling the flames of dissention. Nor was it long before an incident happened which fully proved the truth of this conjecture. The earl of Warwick coming to London assisted occasionally, during his stay, at the council, and one of the king's servants happening to insult a domestic belonging to the earl's train, a fray ensued, in which some of Warwick's followers were killed on the spot. Suspecting this was a scheme formed by the court against his person, and being at the same time informed that Henry had granted a warrant to commit him to the Tower, the earl left London, and embarked with all expedition for his government of Calais.

A. D. 1459. The Yorkists were highly enraged at so direct a violation of the late agreement, and the Lancastrians were equally vexed at the miscarriage of their scheme; the consequence of which was, that both parties made preparations for deciding the contest by the sword. Armies were raised in different parts of the kingdom; and it was expected, that when the respective forces of each party were joined, the dispute would be determined by a general battle.

The earl of Salisbury, having raised a number of troops, marched to join the duke of York; but was met on Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordshire, by lord Audley, at the head of a much superior body of forces. The river Stow, a small stream, but of considerable depth, ran between the two armies, and its banks were lined with lord Audley's troops. Salisbury well knew his forces were not able to engage those of the enemy in the open field, and therefore had recourse to stratagem. He ordered a detachment of his best archers to advance briskly to the banks of the river, and pour a shower of arrows upon the royalists; which being effected, he sounded a retreat, and his forces retired with the appearance of precipitate confusion. This produced the desired effect. The royalists were deceived; and thinking the Yorkists flying before them, began to pass the stream with great precipitation; but when part of the royal army had passed the brook, Salisbury suddenly turned about; and partly by surprise, and partly by the division of the enemy's forces, totally routed them, and lord Audley, with several of his principal officers, fell among the slain. The rest of the army being seized with a panic, fled in the utmost disorder, so that the earl of Salisbury obtained a compleat victory.

Having now nothing to interrupt him the earl marched with his forces to Ludlow, where he found the duke of York at the head of a numerous army. In a few days after they received a very powerful reinforcement by the arrival of a choice body of veterans, whom the earl of Warwick had brought over from the continent, under the command of Sir Andrew Trollop and John Blunt, two officers of great reputation and experience.

The duke of York being thus formidably situated, no longer concealed his design, but publicly avowed his pretensions to the throne. This alarmed the king's adherents, who exerted them-

selves with such vigour in his interest, that in a very short time the royal army far exceeded in number that of the Yorkists; and a resolution was formed immediately to march to Ludlow, where the malecontents were encamped.

The royal army accordingly marched with all expedition, and on their arrival within sight of the Yorkists drew themselves up in order of battle. But when they came near to each other, and a general action was momentarily expected, Sir Andrew Trollop deserted with the whole detachment under his command; and his example was followed by such a number, that the Yorkists, fearful of the consequences, dispersed, thinking it the only expedient whereby they could procure their safety. The duke of York repaired to Ireland; and the earls of March, Salisbury, and Warwick fled to the continent.

A. D. 1460. But this disappointment was far from dispiriting the leaders of the Yorkists, who determined to take the first opportunity they could of endeavouring to retrieve their fortunes. The earl of Warwick was greatly beloved both by the soldiers and seamen, and such numbers of the former daily flocked to his standard, that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable army. Thus powerfully supported, he determined to make one effort more in favour of the house of York; and accordingly, having fitted out a fleet, and made some captures at sea, he landed in Kent at the head of his forces, accompanied by his father the earl of Salisbury, together with the earl of March, eldest son to the duke of York.

The earl of Warwick, on his arrival at Sandwich, was joined by the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Cobham, and others of the nobility, and directing his rout towards London entered the city amidst the universal acclamations of the people. Having increased his army with a strong body of Londoners, he determined to march against the royalists, who were hastening with all expedition, from Coventry to attack him. The two parties met in the neighbourhood of Northampton, and a furious battle ensued. For some time the palm of victory remained doubtful; but at length the lord Grey of Ruthin (who commanded the van-guard of the royal forces) deserting to the enemy in the heat of the battle, the rest of the army were so dispirited that they immediately fled, and Warwick obtained a compleat victory. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Egremont and Beaumont, Sir William Lucy, and several other persons of distinction, fell among the slain. The pusillanimous Henry (who had remained in his tent during the whole time of the action) was taken prisoner, but treated by the victors with every mark of tenderness and respect due to royalty.

In consequence of this defeat, the king no sooner arrived in London, than the parliament were immediately assembled, in order to take into consideration the necessary measures to be pursued at so alarming a crisis. On the third day after the opening of the session, the duke of York arrived from Ireland. He immediately repaired to the House of Lords, and advanced towards the throne; but was stopped by the archbishop of Canterbury, who asked him if he had yet paid his respects to the king. The duke replied, "he knew of no person to whom he owed that title." He then complained of the various calamities his family had suffered since the deposition of Richard II. enumerated the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster

had



had paved their way to the seat of power; and exhorted them to do justice to the lineal successor to the throne.

Struck with these observations, and the manner in which they were made, the assembly examined, with the utmost calmness and tranquillity, the duke's pretensions. At last they pronounced a decision, calculated, as far as possible, to please both parties. They declared, that the duke's title was undeniable; but as Henry had now enjoyed the crown so many years without any opposition being made to his title, they determined he should continue to possess both the title and dignity during his life; but that the administration of the government should, in the mean time, remain with Richard duke of York, who should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy, and succeed to the crown immediately on the decease of Henry: that every one should swear to maintain his succession: that it should be high treason to attempt his life; and that all former acts for settling the succession of the crown, during the two last reigns, should be null and void. These terms were agreed to by the whole assembly, and the accommodation celebrated by a solemn procession to St. Paul's cathedral, in which the king and both houses of parliament assisted.

Henry was not in the least concerned at the great change made in his affairs by the parliament. It was immaterial to him who directed the helm, so that he could but be indulged in that state of supineness to which he was naturally addicted. But this was not the case with the ambitious and aspiring Margaret. After the battle of Northampton she had taken refuge in Scotland, accompanied by the dukes of Somerset and Exeter; and she was now exerting all her talents to bring the inhabitants of the northern countries over to her interest, being still determined, if possible, to overthrow all the schemes and successes of Richard.

The duke of York was no stranger to the proceedings of Margaret, and, fearful of the consequences, determined, with all expedition to take such measures as might render her designs abortive. To effect this, he sent a summons to the queen, requesting her to repair immediately to London, the design of which was to procure a pretence for banishing her the kingdom. But, instead of any attention being paid to this summons, intelligence was soon received that Margaret was advancing towards the capital at the head of twenty thousand men.

In consequence of this intelligence, Richard, whose forces consisted only of about five thousand, immediately marched at their head to stop the progress of the queen; while his son, the earl of Marche, repaired to the borders of Wales, the only parts of the kingdom where he could hope for assistance. This part of Richard's plan was known to the queen, who in consequence thereof, determined to attack him before he could obtain any reinforcements from his son. She therefore hastened her march; and the duke of York, conscious of being unable to meet in the open field an army so superior in numbers, threw himself into Sandal Castle, in the neighbourhood of Wakefield in Yorkshire.

As soon as Margaret was informed of his situation, she immediately advanced with her forces to the gates of the fortress, and used every method in her power to provoke the duke to battle; but all her endeavours proving ineffectual, she had recourse to stratagem. Towards the evening she

marched at the head of her forces in the way to London, leaving only a small detachment in the neighbourhood of the castle; but during the night she separated the main body of her forces into two divisions, and placed them in ambush on the sides of Wakefield-green.

This scheme produced the intended effect; for early in the morning after the queen's departure, the duke of York drew out his forces in order to give battle to the detachment she had left behind. But just as he was going to commence the action, the two bodies suddenly rushed out from their ambuscades, and attacked him with the utmost violence both in flank and rear. The duke now perceived his error, but it was too late to retrieve it, and he resolved to sell his life as dear as possible. He therefore fell on the enemy with a fury rather bordering on despair than arising from courage. The contest did not last more than half an hour; but that short interval of time was crowded with destruction. Near three thousand of the duke's forces were cut to pieces, and himself fell among the slain. His son, Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Rutland was, after the battle, inhumanly massacred in cool blood, at the instigation of the implacable lord Clifford. The earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner, and beheaded at Pomfret, as were also several other persons of distinction. The body of the duke of York being found among the slain, his head was cut off by lord Clifford, and sent to Margaret, who ordered it to be fixed on the walls of York, encircled with a paper crown, in derision of the pretensions he had made to the throne. Thus fell, in the fiftieth year of his age, Edward Plantagenet, duke of York, a prince endowed with many great and amiable qualities, and who lost his life by adhering to principles, which rather recommend him to pity, than expose him to contempt.

A. D. 1461. After the battle of Wakefield, queen Margaret, elated at her great success over the Yorkists, determined to pursue her conquest with the utmost vigour, and, if possible, totally reduce them. But the measures she took to effect this were ill concerted; for instead of keeping her whole force together, she separated her army into two divisions. One of these she sent under the command of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, against young Edward (now duke of York) who had been some time raising forces on the borders in order to assist his father; while herself marched with the other division towards the capital, where the earl of Warwick had been left to command the Yorkists.

In the mean time young Edward had been so successful in his levies, that he found himself at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, at the head of whom he set out on his march towards London, in order to join the earl of Warwick, resolving, if possible, severely to retaliate on Margaret the death of his father, and the cruelties she had exercised on his principal adherents.

When Edward had advanced with his army as far as a place called Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire, he there met with the royal forces which had been sent by the queen to oppose him under the command of the earl of Pembroke, and a desperate battle ensued; but as Edward's forces were greatly superior in point of numbers, he obtained an easy victory over the enemy, who were soon routed, with the loss of four thousand men. The earl of Pembroke escaped by flight; but his father, Sir Edward Tudor, was taken prisoner, and,



and, with several other persons of distinction, put to death.

The news of this defeat was far from dispiriting the queen, who still continued her march towards London. She imagined that as soon as her army should appear, the citizens would expel Warwick, and receive her with demonstrations of joy. But in this she was greatly mistaken; for her troops having plundered the country through which they passed, and committed most shocking disorders, the citizens were so incensed, that they flocked to Warwick's standard, and resolved to assist him in chastising such lawless ravagers.

Thus reinforced the earl of Warwick no sooner heard of the queen's approach towards London, than he immediately marched with his forces to meet her, having in his possession the person of Henry. The two armies met and engaged on Bernard's Heath, near St. Alban's, and notwithstanding the queen's forces were greatly superior in numbers to those of Warwick, yet the courage and conduct of the earl rendered the fortune of the day for a long time doubtful: but at length the lord Lovelace, who commanded one of his wings, having treacherously withdrawn from the combat, the Yorkists were defeated with the loss of two thousand men, and the person of the king himself fell into the hands of his own party. Lord Bonneville and Sir Thomas Kyriel, to whose care the king had been entrusted, continued with him after the defeat of the army, relying on the royal promise of protection. But the queen, regardless of her husband's honour, ordered them both to be beheaded the next day at St. Alban's.

This, with several other acts of barbarity, which the queen had committed, so incensed the citizens of London, that they absolutely refused to supply her troops with provisions. The mayor, indeed, in compliance with her personal request, ordered several waggons, laden with provisions, to be conveyed to her camp; but they were stopped at Newgate by the populace, who declared, that the city should not furnish provisions for an army, who came not to defend, but invade their properties.

In the mean time the duke of York continued his march towards the capital, and on his arrival at Chipping-norton was joined by the earl of Warwick at the head of the remainder of his forces. In consequence of this, and the hatred which Margaret knew the citizens bore her, she thought it imprudent to remain any longer in the neighbourhood of London. Accordingly, having broke up her camp, she retired into the north, hoping to increase her army to so formidable a number as would ensure success against all opposition.

The duke of York, accompanied by the earl of Warwick, arrived in London, in the month of February, and was received by the people with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Prodigious numbers flocked to the duke's standard from all parts, but more especially from Kent and Essex. The spirits of the aged seemed to revive at the success of the heir to the third Edward's crown; and the brave were proud to serve under a prince, who had conspicuously distinguished himself for his military prowess.

Possessed of the public favour, and elated with that spirit natural to youth, Edward resolved to assume the title and dignity of king; to insist openly on his claim; and, from that moment to

treat the opposite party as traitors and rebels to his authority. But he well knew that before this could be done with any propriety, it was necessary to procure a national acknowledgment of his title to the crown, or, at least, something that had the appearance of it. The calling a parliament would have occasioned too much delay; and therefore he ventured to proceed in a less regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw any obstacles in his way to the throne.

The army was ordered to assemble in the fields near Clerkenwell, in consequence of which a prodigious number of people flocked to the place in order to gratify their curiosity. The earl of Warwick, placing himself in the center of the multitude in an elevated situation made a long harangue, in which he displayed Edward's right to the throne, and inveighed against the usurpation and tyranny of the family of Lancaster. After this the people were asked, whether they were still desirous that Henry of Lancaster should continue to hold the sceptre of England? The whole multitude exclaimed against the proposal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, duke of York, for their king? when the answer returned was a loud and general acclamation of applause.

The unanimous consent of the people being thus obtained a great council was called at Bernard's Castle, where the popular election was confirmed; and the next day (March 5, 1461) the duke was proclaimed king, in the streets of London and Westminster, by the title of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. a prince who possessed many virtues as a man, but without one single qualification to distinguish him as a monarch. Though he had held the crown even from his cradle, yet he never interfered with the administration of public affairs. Having weak and narrow intellects, he had not sagacity to discern the course he ought to have pursued; and being of an irresolute temper was easily drawn into the measures of an ambitious and cruel queen, and a selfish and wicked ministry. But notwithstanding these imperfections, he possessed many amiable qualities. He was a total stranger to cruelty and revenge; on the contrary, he could not, without reluctance, consent to the punishment of those malefactors who were sacrificed to the public safety; and frequently sustained personal indignities of the grossest nature, without discovering the least mark of resentment. He was chaste, pious, compassionate and charitable; and so inoffensive, that the bishop, who was his confessor for ten years, declared, that in all that time he had never committed any sin that required penance or rebuke. In a word, he would have adorned a cloister, though he disgraced a crown; and was rather respectable for not being addicted to vices, than for the virtues he possessed.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Henry VI.

A. D.

1428 On the 30th of September a dreadful earthquake happened in London between two and three o'clock in the morning, which was attended with dreadful claps of thunder, and the most awful flashes of lightning.

1436 This year a violent frost began on the 24th of November, which continued till the 10th of February following. This frost was so severe that the Thames was frozen over as far down as Gravesend; by which means all goods brought thither in ships were conveyed to London by carriages.



1439 On the 25th of November there happened a most violent hurricane of wind, which blew off the leads of the Grey Friars church, and threw down almost all the houses in the street called the Old Exchange.

1440 This year there was so great a dearth, that in some parts of the kingdom the distresses of the people were so great, that they made bread of fern-roots and ivy-berries.

1446 This year Sir Simon Eyre, lord-mayor of London, built Leadenhall, and allotted it as a common granary for the city.

1453 Sir John Norman, who was this year chosen lord-mayor of London, went by water to Westminster to take his oath before the barons of the Exchequer. He was the first mayor that ever went in that manner, all his predecessors having rode on horseback.

In the course of this reign queen Margaret began Queen's College, Cambridge, which was afterwards finished by Edward IV.

There were several eminent men who particularly distinguished themselves for their literary abilities during the reign of Henry VI. the most remarkable of which were the two following:

Richard Snettisham, a theologist, who acquired

such reputation at Oxford, that, though not more than twenty-five years of age, he was elected chancellor of that university. He was indefatigable in his endeavours to expound the Holy Scriptures in the public schools, and reckoned one of the best disputants of the age in which he lived.

William Lyndwood was one of the greatest canonists this nation ever produced, and at the same time a most consummate statesman. He was keeper of the privy seal to Henry V. and employed by him in many important negotiations, particularly to the courts of Portugal and Spain. He was sent by Henry VI. to the council of Basil, and in the year 1434 was made bishop of St. David's. He died in 1446 universally lamented both as a man, a statesman, and a divine. His great work, and, indeed, the only one of the kind composed by an Englishman, is, his *Provinciale seu Constitutiones Angliæ*; in which the provincial decrees of forty archbishops are digested into order, with large and learned commentaries.

### C H A P. III.

## E D W A R D IV.

*Edward IV. begins his reign with an act of cruelty. Marches at the head of a considerable army against queen Margaret. Battle of Towton. Edward is crowned at Westminster, and the parliament recognize his title to the throne. Queen Margaret obtains assistance from France. Battle of Hexham. The late king Henry VI. taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower. Edward falls in love with lady Elizabeth Gray whom he privately marries, and she is soon after crowned at Westminster. An insurrection in the north. The duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick engage in open rebellion. They go over to the continent, and engage in a treaty with Queen Margaret. The earl of Warwick returns, and marches at the head of a considerable army against Edward, whom he meets in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. The earl's brother suddenly attacks the royal forces in the night, and the king retires to Lynn in Norfolk, from whence he makes his escape to Holland. Henry VI. is released from confinement, and replaced on the throne. The duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick direct the affairs of government. Edward receives assistance from the duke of Burgundy, and returns to England with a body of two thousand men. Marches to London, which he enters in triumph, and Henry is again dethroned, and committed prisoner to the Tower. Battle of Barnet, with the consequences thereof. Queen Margaret lands at Weymouth with a considerable body of French troops. Battle of Tewkesbury. Margaret is defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to the Tower; and her son prince Edward assassinated. Death of Henry VI. Edward is replaced on the throne, and his title again recognized by the parliament. He forms a treaty of alliance with the duke of Burgundy against the French monarch, and goes over to the continent at the head of a powerful army. Concludes a treaty of peace with Lewis, and returns to England. The duke of Clarence arrested and committed to the Tower. Is tried by the parliament, and, being condemned to death, is, by his own choice, drowned in a butt of malmsey. Death and character of Edward IV.*

A. D. 1461. **A**T the time of Edward's accession to the throne, the whole kingdom was in one general state of commotion. The people were divided into two implacable factions, and distinguished by the names of the Red and White Roses, the former being the badge worn by the partizans of the House of Lancaster, and the latter by those of that of York. And hence the civil wars that followed were known throughout Europe by the name of "The quarrel between the two Roses."

Edward was naturally prudent, brave and enterprising, but these qualities were greatly sullied by the severity of his disposition, which arose to such a height as to render him almost a stranger to the tender feelings of compassion. He had obtained the crown by violence, and he was too much disposed to preserve his authority by acts of cruelty; and of which he gave an instance only eight days after his elevation to the throne. One Walker, a grocer, in the city, whose shop was known by

the sign of the Crown, having told his son, in a jocular manner, that he would make him "heir to the crown," the expression was considered as a sarcasm on Edward's title, and the particulars being related to the king, he ordered him to be immediately put to death; and the innocent but unfortunate man was accordingly beheaded in Smithfield.

While Edward was pursuing every method he could project for securing himself on the throne, queen Margaret was assiduously employed in concerting measures for hurling him from it. She had retired to the north, where she exerted all her abilities to recruit her army; and her endeavours were attended with such success that she soon found herself at the head of 60,000 disciplined troops. Thus strengthened she marched into Yorkshire, with a determined resolution of engaging the usurper of her husband's throne.

The proceedings of Margaret were no sooner known than Edward, accompanied by the earl of War-



*Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.*



*Born*  
*April 29. 1443.*

*Crowned*  
*June 28. 1461.*

*Died*  
*April 9. 1483.*



Warwick, set out for London with an army of 40,000 men in order to check her progress. On their arrival at Pontefract they dispatched a body of troops under the command of lord Fitzwalter to secure the pass at Ferry-bridge, on the river Aire, and that nobleman executed his orders with equal celerity and success. But he was not able to defend the place against lord Clifford (one of Margaret's generals) who attacked him with superior numbers, cut the greater part of his men to pieces, and Fitzwalter himself fell among the slain.

But this defeat was far from dispiriting Edward: he immediately dispatched lord Fauconbridge, at the head of a considerable detachment, to recover the pass in possession of lord Clifford. He accordingly passed the Aire about three miles above Ferry-bridge, and marched with such secrecy, and expedition that Clifford was surprized, his detachment routed, and himself slain in the action.

In consequence of this success Edward, early the next morning, led his troops against the enemy; and the two armies met at a place called Towton, where a bloody battle ensued. The queen's forces were commanded by the duke of Somerset and the earl of Northumberland; and Edward's by the earl of Warwick, lord Fauconbridge and himself in person. While the Yorkists were advancing to the charge there happened a heavy fall of snow which being driven by a brisk wind in the faces of the Lancastrians prevented them from discerning the real distance between themselves and the enemy. Lord Fauconbridge, who led the van of Edward's army, taking advantage of this incident, ordered his archers to advance as near as possible to the enemy, and after discharging a single flight of arrows, to retire, with the utmost expedition, to their former post. This scheme produced the desired effect. The Lancastrians, finding by the force of the arrows that the enemy was very near, emptied their quivers by repeated discharges, without producing any material effect, and then advanced sword in hand to decide the contest. On their approach the Yorkists, who had kept their arrows, poured in so dreadful a discharge that the advanced line fell back on the main body; in consequence of which the earl of Northumberland pressed forward with the utmost resolution, and the battle soon became very obstinate, each party seeming determined either to conquer or perish.

The dreadful contest continued near ten hours with the most unremitting fury, and without any perceivable advantage on either side; when the Lancastrians began to give ground, and retreat, in tolerable order, towards Tadcaster. The Yorkists, animated with the appearance of victory, redoubled their efforts, and fell with such fury on the enemy that they were unable to support the charge. Their ranks, which they had maintained with surprising firmness, were soon broken, and a precipitate flight ensued. Edward had issued orders to give no quarter, so that the carnage was shocking to humanity. Above 36,000 persons perished that day by the swords of their countrymen; among whom were the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Wells, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonshire was taken prisoner; and Henry, his queen Margaret, and the young prince escaped to Scotland.

After the battle Edward marched to York, where

the earl of Devonshire, who had lately espoused the cause of Henry, was beheaded; and the king ordered his father's head to be taken down from the walls, where it had been placed; and the earl of Devonshire's put in its stead.

Having taken every necessary measure for preventing farther insurrections in the north, Edward returned to London, and was crowned with great magnificence at Westminster on the 28th of June following. The parliament met on the 4th of November, when Edward's title to the crown was unanimously acknowledged, and they even declared that he was properly possessed of the throne from the very moment he assumed the government tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They reversed several acts made in the late reign, and passed an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry, queen Margaret, prince Edward, and all their principal adherents.

A. D. 1462. Edward made no hesitation in committing acts of the most horrid cruelty, so that they did but appear likely to secure his safety on the throne. As a proof of this John de Vere, earl of Oxford, a nobleman venerable for his years, and valuable for his virtues, was arrested on the bare pretence of having engaged in a correspondence with the queen, and, without form of trial, beheaded on Tower-hill, together with his eldest son Aubrey de Vere, and three baronets; all of whose estates Edward distributed among his own partisans.

While Edward was pursuing these unpopular measures in England, queen Margaret repaired to France, in order to obtain assistance from Lewis XI. who had lately succeeded his father on the throne of that kingdom. She proved successful in her embassy, for, on promising to put Lewis in possession of Calais on the restoration of Henry to the English throne, that monarch furnished her with 2000 men at arms, and the duke of Brittany supplied her with 12000 crowns to defray the expences of the war.

Thus strengthened, queen Margaret embarked with her forces for England, landed at Bamburgh in Yorkshire, and took possession of the castle; but on receiving advice that Edward was advancing against her at the head of a numerous army, she retired with her forces to Scotland; and Edward, after reducing the castle of Bamburgh, and not finding any enemy to oppose him, returned to London.

A. D. 1463. Queen Margaret was so diligent and successful while in Scotland, that she soon found herself at the head of a very numerous army. With these she entered Northumberland in the beginning of April, surprized the castle of Bamburgh, and (being joined by the duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Percy with their followers) took several places in that part of the country.

The first opposition the queen met with was from lord Montague, who routed a detachment of her forces on Hedgley Moor, where Sir Ralph Percy, their leader, was slain. Elated with this success Montague determined to give battle to Margaret's army, without waiting for the reinforcements he expected from Edward, who was marching with all expedition, into the north, at the head of a powerful army. Montague accordingly advanced against the queen's forces, who were encamped on a plain near Hexham. He made a furious attack during the night, and was opposed with equal resolution by the queen's troops; but at length, he forced the trenches of the Lancastrians,



trians, put them to flight with great slaughter, and obtained a compleat victory. The duke of Somerset, the lords Hungerford, Ross and Moleyns, Sir Thomas Hufsey, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Sir John Finnerne, were taken prisoners. The duke of Somerset was immediately conducted to Hexham, and beheaded; and the rest suffered the like fate a few days after at Newcastle.

The defeat at Hexham gave a terrible blow to the affairs of the Lancaster family, whose fate after that misfortune, was attended with very singular circumstances. Margaret with her young son, fled into an adjacent forest, where she fell into the hands of robbers, who stripped her of her rings and jewels. Fortunately for her, the richness of the booty occasioned a quarrel among them; and while they were thus engaged with each other, Margaret and her son made their escape, into the thickest part of the forest, where they wandered for some time, spent with hunger and fatigue, and oppressed with terror and affliction. In this wretched condition the queen perceived another robber approaching with a naked sword in his hand. There was now no possibility of effecting an escape, and she trembled for the life of her son. But happily recollecting, that the robber might possibly be one of those persons who had been unfortunately proscribed for adhering to the interest of her husband, she approached the robber with an air of majestic confidence, and presenting to him the young prince, called out, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of my son, the son of good king Henry." Struck with awe at the name of his prince, and penetrated with compassion at beholding persons of the highest rank reduced to such melancholy distress, the robber, who was not wholly lost to humanity and virtue, vowed to devote himself to her safety and protection. He accordingly conducted the queen and her son out of the forest to a village near the sea-side, from whence they embarked in a vessel for Flanders, where they were hospitably received by the duke of Burgundy, from whose court they repaired to that of Margaret's father, Regnier, count of Anjou.

But Henry was far from effecting so successful an escape as Margaret. Some of his friends, indeed, found means to conduct him safe into Lancashire, where he continued for some time in obscurity; but being at length discovered he was delivered up to Edward, who ungenerously committed him close prisoner to the tower.

A. D. 1464. From the captivity of Henry, the exile of Margaret, and the execution of the most considerable of the Lancastrian party, Edward now seemed to be firmly established on the throne; to secure which he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his subjects, whose attachment he had reason to doubt from his late severities. He published a general amnesty in favour of all the Lancastrians, who, within a prescribed term, should take the oath of alliance, and submit to his government. These measures contributed greatly to increase his popularity, and became the means of strengthening and securing his authority.

A. D. 1466. As Edward now seemed to possess the general affections of the people, his counsellors advised him to turn his thoughts on marriage, that he might have the satisfaction of seeing the succession to the throne settled on his own issue. Edward readily acquiesced with their opinion, and three matches were proposed for his choice. The

first was Margaret, sister to the king of Scotland; the second, Isabella, sister to Henry IV. of Castile; and the third, Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and sister to the queen of France. The last was chosen, and the earl of Warwick appointed ambassador extraordinary to demand that princess in marriage. He accordingly repaired to Paris in the spring, and settled the articles of a marriage contract between king Edward and the princess Bona: and Lewis appointed the count of Damartin, his plenipotentiary at the court of London, to finish the negotiation.

But just as matters were brought to a crisis, the whole was rendered abortive by the indiscreet conduct of Edward. Being at a hunting-match in Northamptonshire, the king took the opportunity of paying a visit to the duchess of Bedford, who then resided at Grafton-manor, near Stony-Stratford. The duchess soon after her husband's death, married Sir Richard Woodville, by whom she had a daughter named Elizabeth, at once remarkable for beauty of person and mental accomplishments. This lady married Sir John Gray, of Groby, by whom she had several children; but her husband having joined the Lancastrian party, and falling in the dispute between the two Houses, his estate was forfeited to the crown, and Elizabeth, retired to her father's seat, where she lived in quiet retirement.

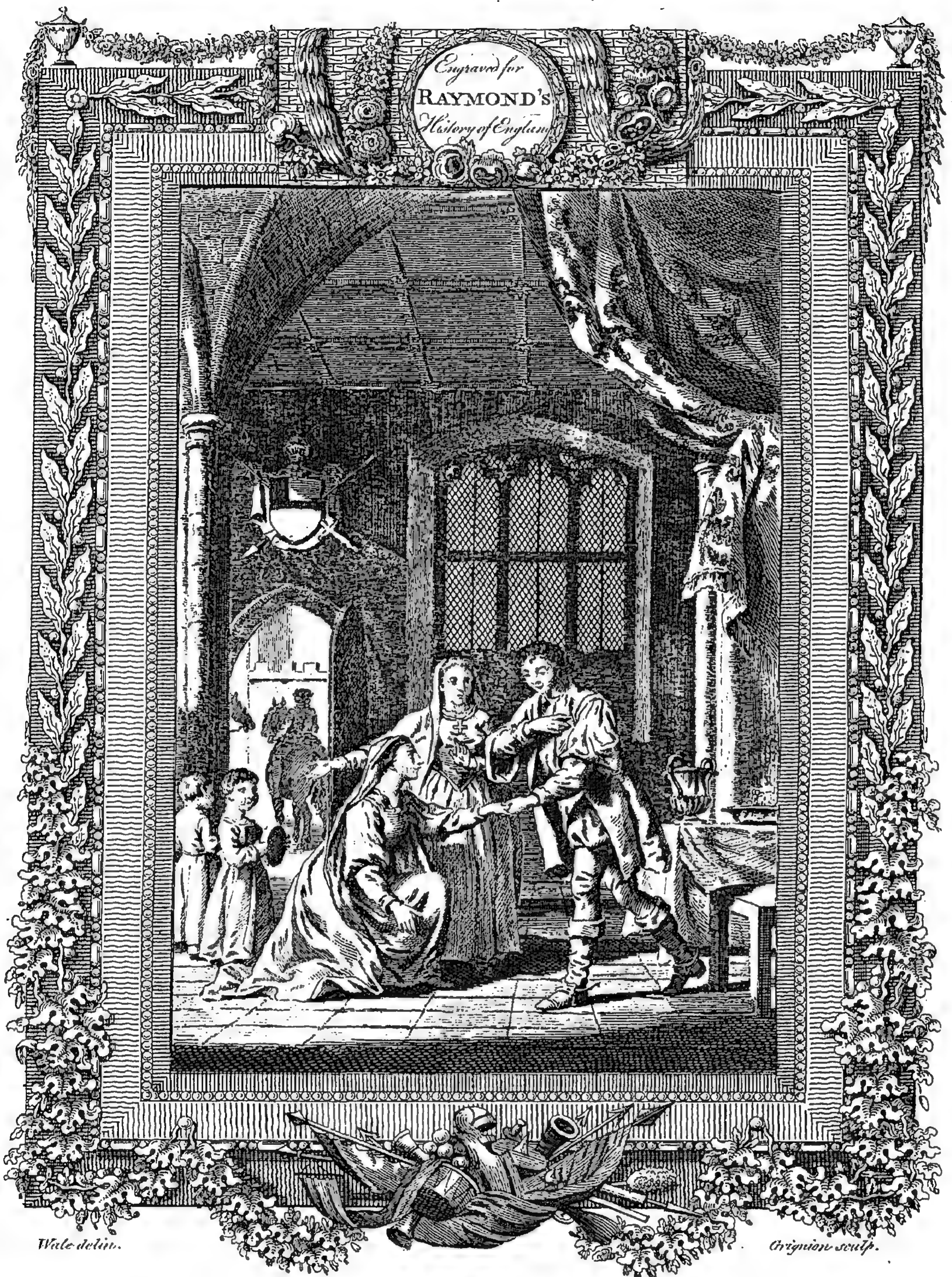
Young Edward was greatly celebrated for his gallantry and condescension to the ladies. His presence, therefore, was thought a favourable opportunity for the beautiful widow to obtain some redress for the loss she had sustained by the forfeiture of her husband's estates. She accordingly threw herself at the king's feet, and, with a flood of tears, implored his pity on her and her distressed family. The sight of so much beauty in affliction made a sensible impression on the mind of the amorous king: love stole insensibly into his heart, and her grief, so becoming a woman of real virtue, soon rendered his esteem and regard equal to his affection. He raised her from the ground, and gave her the strongest assurances of his favour and protection.

Confiding in his elevated station and personal endowments, Edward acquainted her with the nature of his passion, and proposed to her terms of concubinage. But Elizabeth, averse to dishonourable love, peremptorily refused to gratify his passion, and nobly answered, "That as she was too good to be the concubine, and too mean to be the wife of a king, she would still continue in her humble station." This behaviour increased the passions of Edward, and he offered to share his throne with the object of his affections. Accordingly the nuptials were privately solemnized at Grafton-manor, and every precaution taken to prevent its being publicly known.

But this was an event which could not be long concealed. It was soon made known to the earl of Warwick, who had been so assiduous in managing his negotiation relative to the king's marriage with Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, that nothing remained but the ratification of the treaty, and the bringing over the princess to England. He therefore considered the king's injudicious conduct as the highest insult that could be offered to his honour, and, instantly breaking off the negotiation, returned with disgust to England.

A. D. 1466. The marriage of the king being now publicly declared, the queen received the





*The beautiful* LADY ELIZABETH GREY *on her KNEES imploring*  
*the protection of* KING EDWARD IV. *for herself and Family.*



the compliments of all the nobility; and on the 26th of May was crowned at Westminster by the archbishop of Canterbury.

The impolitic Edward, instead of pursuing measures for regaining the friendship of Warwick, who had been the principal instrument in placing him on the throne, took methods which tended directly to widen the breach between them. He lavished a profusion of honours and estates on the family of his queen. Her father was created earl of Rivers, and made high constable of England. Her brother, John Woodville, was married to the daughter and heiress of lord Scales, to whose honours and estates he succeeded; and all her friends and relations were enobled by the royal favour.

This ill-judged and distinguished partiality excited an uncommon degree of jealousy among the nobility, and gave the highest disgust to the earl of Warwick, who shewed his resentment by leaving the court, and retiring to his castle. Edward knew the cause of this behaviour, and, fearful of the consequences, took the most prudent methods for rendering any attempt that might be made by that ambitious nobleman abortive. Among other measures he concluded a treaty of alliance with the duke of Britany, and another with the duke of Burgundy. The latter was a descendant of the House of Lancaster; but he made no scruple of sacrificing to his political ambition the interest of that unfortunate and oppressed family.

A. D. 1467. The repeated favours continued to be heaped on the queen's family, and some few particular persons whom the king considered as his favourites, not only increased the resentment of Warwick, but likewise excited the indignation of the duke of Clarence, elder brother to the king. That prince contracted an intimate connexion with Warwick by marrying his eldest daughter Isabella; which ceremony was no sooner performed than the earl, accompanied by his daughter and son-in-law, retired to his government of Calais.

A. D. 1468. The spirit of faction now threatened the kingdom with all the horrors of civil discord. The common people, as well as the nobles, were disgusted with Edward for his injudicious and partial conduct, and commotions took place in various parts of the kingdom. The first insurrection, which was excited in the north, was headed by one Robert Hillyard, generally called Robin of Ryddesdale; but the insurgents were soon routed, and their leader executed. The malcontents, however, were far from being discouraged by the ill success of their first attempt. They again assembled in more formidable numbers; and were joined by lord Fitz-Hugh, and Henry Neville, son to the lord Latimer. But as both these noblemen were totally ignorant of military affairs, the command was given to Sir John Conyers, an officer of great reputation and experience. Their first intention was to make themselves masters of the city of York; but being disappointed in procuring a sufficient train of artillery, they resolved to direct their march towards the capital; and openly declared, "That they were marching to deliver their lawful sovereign, king Henry, from his confinement, and re-place him on the throne of his ancestors."

Alarmed at these proceedings the king dispatched a messenger to the earl of Pembroke, commanding him to assemble the Welsh, and immediately cross the country in order to intercept the march of the rebels from the north. These orders he strictly obeyed, and having raised an army of ten

thousand men, marched with all expedition against the insurgents; who had advanced as far as the neighbourhood of Northampton; in the way to which Pembroke was joined by the earl of Devonshire, at the head of a considerable body of archers.

As soon as the two armies came within sight of each other, Pembroke detached all his cavalry, under the command of his brother Sir Richard Herbert, with orders to observe the position of the enemy, and, if he thought it practicable, to attack their rear. Sir Richard executed his orders; but perceived that such wise precautions had been taken by the leader of the insurgents, that an attack must be attended with the utmost disadvantage. But the fiery spirit of the Welsh could not be restrained by prudential reasons: they fell upon the rear of the enemy, and, in a short time, were repulsed with great slaughter; and Sir Richard narrowly escaped with his life.

A. D. 1469. During these transactions the earl of Warwick arrived from the continent, which being made known to the rebels, they flattered themselves with being powerfully assisted by that popular nobleman. In consequence of this they changed their route, and, instead of pursuing the road to London, directed their march towards Warwick-castle.

The earl of Pembroke, desirous of revenge for the late repulse of Sir Richard Herbert, followed the rebels with such expedition, that he came up with them near Banbury, and the two armies encamped within sight of each other. But during the night a trivial difference about quarters arising between the earls of Pembroke and Devonshire, the latter retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter the rebels.

Encouraged by the desertion of the earl of Devonshire, Sir Henry Neville, one of the leaders of the insurgents indiscreetly charged the royalists at too great a distance from the main body, in consequence of which he was surrounded, most of his men cut to pieces, and himself taken prisoner. The earl of Pembroke, without any form of trial, put Neville to death, which act of cruelty exasperated the insurgents to a degree bordering on madness. They attacked the Welsh army with the utmost fury, put all to the sword that fell in their way, and having taken Pembroke and his brother prisoners, ordered them both to be beheaded. They then sent a detached party to Grafton manor, with orders to seize the earl of Rivers and his son John, which orders being obeyed they were both conducted to Northampton, and beheaded in the market-place of that town. After this the insurgents, satisfied with having destroyed the most obnoxious of Edward's ministers, dispersed, and returned quietly to their respective habitations.

A. D. 1470. But this insurrection was only a prelude to commotions of much more fatal consequences to Edward. The duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick determined to engage in open rebellion, and to facilitate their designs went over to France, where they were hospitably entertained by Lewis XI. who promised them a powerful assistance. Queen Margaret then resided at Angers, and the politic Lewis, (notwithstanding the most inveterate animosity subsisted between her and Warwick) engaged to bring about a reconciliation; which, as it tended to further the designs of both, was easily effected.

Warwick sought a pretext for dethroning Edward, and he could devise none so specious and



plausible as the restoration of Henry, a design which he could not attempt without the consent of the queen. On the other hand, Margaret could not entertain hopes of seeing her husband replaced on the throne without the assistance of Warwick, and therefore made no hesitation in soliciting the aid of her former enemy. Such being their respective motives, a treaty was at length concluded between them, through the mediation of Lewis, on the following terms: that the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick should use their endeavours for replacing Henry on the throne: that the queen should engage upon oath to vest the administration in them during the life of Henry, or the minority of his son, in case of his accession before he should be of age: that prince Edward should marry Anne, the younger daughter of the earl of Warwick; and that, in case of failure of male issue in the prince, the crown should descend to the duke of Clarence.

Though these transactions were carried on with great secrecy, yet, by some means or other they reached the ears of the duke of Burgundy, who immediately transmitted an account of them to Edward. But that prince paid little regard to the intelligence, flattering himself that the earl of Warwick could never persuade the people to rise in his favour. Confidently relying on the attachment of his subjects to his person and government, and Warwick's want of credit and influence, he neglected to take the necessary precautions for his own defence, and gave himself up to all the excesses of pleasure and dissipation.

In the mean time the earl of Warwick, having obtained a supply of money and troops from Lewis, determined to embark for England, under the protection of a French fleet, commanded by the bastard of Bourbon. The duke of Burgundy, however, blocked up the mouth of the Seine with a numerous fleet, in order to intercept him in his passage; but his fleet being dispersed by a storm, Warwick embarked at Havre-de-grace, and landed at Dartmouth in the month of September. He immediately proclaimed Henry VI. king of England, and at the same time issued out an order to all his subjects, from sixteen to sixty, to arm themselves against Edward, and expel the usurper from the throne. This had the desired effect; the people flocked to Warwick's standard from all quarters, and, in a few days, his army was increased to the number of sixty thousand men.

At the time Warwick landed at Dartmouth, Edward was employed in quelling an insurrection raised in Yorkshire by lord Fitz-Hugh, who had married one of the earl's sisters; but on receiving advice of the success of Warwick, he immediately altered his route, and directed his march towards London.

The earl of Warwick determined, if possible, to engage Edward before he could reach the capital; and accordingly marching across the country with all expedition, came up with the royal army in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. The marquis of Montacute, brother of Warwick, had raised an army of six thousand men, and was following Edward, in order (as it was imagined) to reinforce the royal army. But the king had no sooner halted on account of the approach of Warwick, than the marquis fell with the utmost fury upon the rear of the royal army during the night, and the air resounded with the shouts of "Long live king Henry."

This was a most alarming circumstance to Edward, who immediately called a council of war, in which the lord Hastings gave it as his opinion, that great part of the army would desert to the earl of Warwick; and that even though that might not happen, they should not be able to cope with the enemy, who were so materially strengthened by the revolt of Montacute. He therefore advised the king to consult his personal safety by flying to the sea side, where he might find an opportunity of escaping to some part of the continent. As the danger was so great, Edward readily took this salutary advice, and set out at midnight for Lynn in Norfolk, from whence he embarked on board a Dutch ship, and landed at Alcamer in Holland.

As soon as the royalists heard of the king's flight, they immediately laid down their arms, and submitted to Warwick, who then, in the space of only eleven days from his landing, became entire master of the kingdom. He immediately marched to London, which he entered in triumph, delivered Henry VI. from the Tower, replaced him on the throne, and caused him to be proclaimed king of England. The most considerable partizans of the York family either sought protection beyond the seas, or took shelter in sanctuaries. Among the latter was Edward's queen, who went privately by water from the Tower to Westminster-abbey, in order to avoid the violence of the citizens, who now appeared as extravagantly zealous for Henry as ever they had been for Edward.

A parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 26th of November, when the late treaty made with Margaret was fully ratified, Edward declared an usurper, and Henry acknowledged king; but as his incapacity for government was universally allowed, the regency was entrusted to the duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick till prince Edward should arrive at the age of maturity; and, in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the throne.

A total change now took place in the administration. All the judges, sheriffs, and coroners of the kingdom were removed from their offices, and others placed in their stead. The archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, was appointed chancellor; the earl himself was made admiral of England, and the duke of Clarence lord-lieutenant of Ireland. At the same time the paternal estates of the York family, which had been declared forfeited by the parliament, were settled upon the duke. The marquis of Montacute was pardoned for his former adherence to Edward, and rewarded for his late defection with a grant of several manors; and the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, together with the earls of Oxford, Richmond, Pembroke and Ormond, were restored to their estates and dignities.

A.D. 1471. During these transactions in England the fugitive Edward had taken up his residence in the court of his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, whose protection and assistance he solicited for recovering the English diadem. The duke readily complied with his request: he assisted him with a considerable sum of money, fitted out a number of vessels, and furnished him with a body of two thousand veteran troops.

With these Edward embarked for England, and, after a short passage, reached the coast of Essex, but found it impracticable to land from the disaffection of the inhabitants. He therefore steered



to the northward, intending to land at Cromer in Norfolk; but being informed by Sir Robert Chamberlain and Sir Gilbert Debenham (whom he sent on shore to learn the sentiments of the people) that the inhabitants were not willing to receive him, he again put to sea, and at length landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, about the latter end of March.

From the great coolness of the people, and the power of the magistrates who had been appointed to their offices by Warwick, Edward had but little reason to expect success in his designs, and therefore, in order to effect his purpose, thought it expedient to have recourse to art and dissimulation. He accordingly pretended, and even took an oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but to recover his paternal estates, which had been unjustly taken from him by the parliament. This political dissimulation produced the desired effect upon the minds of the people. Compassion supplied the place of affection: numbers, deceived by his humble pretensions, flocked to his standard, and the nobility were willing to receive him as a fellow-subject, though not as a king. He marched directly for York, and found the inhabitants universally disposed to assist him in recovering the estates he enjoyed from his ancestors, though not in the recovery of the crown. It was, therefore, thought necessary to give them every satisfaction in his power with regard to his pretensions; and he scrupled not to take a solemn oath in the cathedral, never to renew his claim to the crown of England.

But this was all hypocrisy, for Edward never designed to observe his oath any longer than it tended to promote his interest. His army was now considerably increased, and he determined to march towards the capital, in hopes of finding many powerful friends in that quarter. In the mean time Warwick had assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Leicester, and advanced to give him battle; but Edward, by taking another road, passed unmolested, and proceeded with all expedition to London. On his arrival he was readily admitted by the citizens, and he once more triumphantly entered the capital, while Henry, who had not found means to secure himself, nor perhaps so much as thought of it, was taken into custody, and again committed prisoner to the tower.

Encouraged by this success, and being informed the earl of Warwick was marching to give him battle, Edward advanced to meet him, and the two armies came within sight of each other in the neighbourhood of Barnet. Queen Margaret was every day expected with a considerable reinforcement of foreign troops, and all her friends held themselves in readiness to join her standard; but Warwick would not wait her arrival, being determined either to gain the whole honour of the victory, or perish in the attempt.

The very evening before the day appointed for deciding the contest, an incident happened which greatly affected the spirits of Warwick's soldiers. This was the defection of the duke of Clarence, who, having secretly entered into engagements with his brother, went over to him at the head

of twelve thousand men. In consequence of this unexpected disaster, the earl would, in all probability, have declined a battle, and waited the arrival of Margaret; but he was now several days march from any place of safety, and to have attempted a retreat in sight of so superior an army would have been certain ruin. Edward and Clarence offered him terms of peace; but these he rejected with disdain, telling them, "he would rather be consistent with himself than follow the example of a perfidious duke; and that he was determined either to gain the victory, or lose his life."

Early in the morning on the 14th of April the battle began with incredible fury on both sides, the leaders being exasperated against each other to the most virulent degree of rancour. The troops of Warwick, though inferior in numbers to Edward's fought with desperate resolution, knowing the consequences that must follow should they be vanquished. Such was their impetuosity that the first line of the royal army was obliged to give way, upon which Edward ordered his body of reserve to advance and charge the enemy in flank. The earl of Warwick saw the situation he was in, and therefore wheeled about to oppose the Yorkists; but this circumstance occasioned the loss of the battle. The device on Warwick's shield and ensign was a blazing star, and that of Edward's, a sun. Warwick's soldiers seeing the star through the medium of a fog, mistook it for Edward's standard, and fell upon their friends with such fury that they were totally broken. Universal confusion ensued, and Edward, taking advantage of their disorder, charged them with redoubled fury. Warwick in vain exerted all his efforts to support his forces, now borne down by the weight of numbers. He perceived the battle was irretrievably lost, and, disdaining life, when victory was beyond hopes, rushed into the hottest part of the battle, and fell covered with wounds, while his brother Montacute, endeavouring to save him, met with the like fate. The deaths of the two leaders completed the rout of their army; and as Edward had issued orders to give no quarter, a dreadful carnage ensued. About two thousand fell on the side of the conquerors, and near five thousand on that of the vanquished.\*

Thus fell the earl of Warwick, a nobleman of great abilities and courage, who, had he not been betrayed by those in whom he chiefly confided, would, in all probability, have prevented Edward from long triumphing over the house of Lancaster.

The day after the battle Edward returned to London, and ordered the mangled bodies of Warwick and his brother to be exposed in the cathedral of St. Paul's, after which they were carried to Bisham in Berkshire, and interred in the priory founded by their ancestors.

But this battle did not put an end to the civil war. On the very day after it happened, queen Margaret landed at Weymouth with a considerable body of troops, attended by her son, the countess of Warwick, lord Wenlock, and several other persons of distinction. As soon as she was informed

\* In 1740 an obelisk was erected on the spot where this bloody battle was fought, by Sir Jeremy Sambroke. It stands near where the two great roads divide, one to Hatfield, and the other to St. Alban's. On the lower part of the obelisk is the following inscription:

"Here was fought the famous battle between Edward the Fourth and the earl of Warwick, April the 14th, Anno 1471, in which the earl was defeated and slain."



formed of the death of Warwick and captivity of Henry, her courage and magnanimity gave way to grief and despair, and she took sanctuary with her son in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire. But her spirits were soon raised by the appearance of the duke of Somerset, the earl of Devonshire, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Thomas Seymour, and many other persons of distinction, who, with their vassals and dependents, declared their resolution of spending their lives and fortunes in her service.

Margaret now determined to make one bold attempt for the recovery of her throne. Accordingly, putting herself at the head of her foreign forces, she marched through the counties of Devon and Somerset, and her army was every day considerably increased by the continual acquisition of new partizans. On the 29th of April the queen reached Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, where she proposed to halt and refresh her troops, and then proceed to the borders of Wales, in order to join the earl of Pembroke, who had now raised a considerable body of archers for her service.

But this junction was prevented by the activity of Edward, who hastened with all expedition at the head of his army to give the Lancastrians battle, and on the third of May arrived within three miles of her camp. Astonished at the approach of Edward's army, a council was immediately held in the queen's camp, when it was resolved to pass the Severn, in order to join Pembroke's forces; but the citizens of Gloucester refusing to open the gates, it was considered as impracticable to cross the river in their then situation without exposing their rear to inevitable ruin. It was therefore determined to intrench the army in a part adjacent to the town of Tewkesbury, where the troops would be flanked on both sides with hollow ways, ditches, hedges, and broken ground, and the rear defended by the town and abbey; while a strong entrenchment was to be thrown up in front of the army. This plan was accordingly set about with the utmost expedition, but the activity of Edward interrupted their designs, as he determined to attack them the next day, before their fortifications could be completed.

Accordingly, early in the morning Edward drew up his army in two lines, the first of which was commanded by his brother the duke of Gloucester, while himself, assisted by the duke of Clarence and lord Hastings, led the other. The Lancastrian army was formed into three lines; the first commanded by the duke of Somerset and his brother lord Beaufort; the second by Margaret's son, assisted by lord Wenlock; and the third by the earl of Devonshire.

The duke of Gloucester began the attack with the utmost fury; but Somerset's division, who guarded the front of the entrenchment, received them with such resolution, that they were repulsed with considerable slaughter; and had Somerset been as remarkable for prudence as he was for valour, Edward, in all probability, would have been obliged to abandon the attempt. Gloucester, pursuant to the orders he had received from his brother, perceiving the intrenchments were not to be forced, pretended to retire in confusion. This stratagem succeeded. Somerset, whose disposition was naturally impetuous, led his division through the defiles of the intrenchment, leaving orders for the second and third lines to support him, and attacked the Yorkists in the open field with the utmost fury. A dreadful contest ensued, and continued without any perceptible advantage

on either side, till a detachment of two hundred horse from Edward's army attacked the Lancastrians in flank, and threw them into the utmost disorder. Somerset was now obliged to fall back through the defiles to his former station, but was followed so closely by Gloucester's division, that the greater part of his troops were cut to pieces. Amazed at not being supported, the duke cast his eyes around the camp, and perceived lord Wenlock standing coolly at the head of his division. Somerset construed this into an act of treachery, and riding up to him with the utmost fury, cleft the head of that nobleman with his battle-ax, and he immediately fell dead on the ground.

In the mean time the duke of Gloucester pursued his advantage with such prudence and success, that his whole division made their way into the entrenchments, and were soon followed by Edward, at the head of the second line. Confusion now took place in every part of the queen's camp. The whole army betook themselves to a precipitate flight after a faint resistance, and Edward gained one of the most complete victories recorded in history; scarce a person of any note in the queen's army escaping either death or captivity.

Among the slain were the earl of Devonshire, lord Beaufort, Sir John Delves, Sir Edward Hambden, Sir Edward Whittingham, and Sir John Luckner. The duke of Somerset, the grand prior of St. John, and about twenty gentlemen of rank and fortune, took sanctuary in the abbey-church. But Edward paid no regard to ecclesiastical privileges: he sent a detachment of his forces, who dragged them from their asylum, and put them immediately to death. Queen Margaret and her son who had also taken sanctuary in another religious structure, were dragged from thence by Edward's soldiers. The queen was sent to the Tower, where she remained about four years, when, being ransomed by the king of France, for fifty thousand crowns, she was released, and, retiring to the continent, spent the remainder of her days in obscurity.

But a more melancholy fate attended the young prince her son. He was brought into the presence of Edward, who asked him, in an insulting manner, "How he dared to invade his dominions?" The noble youth, forgetting his then situation, replied, with an unseasonable vivacity, "That he came to recover his father's crown, and to claim his just inheritance." Stung with this answer, the ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck the young prince on the face with his gauntlet; when the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and lord Hastings, considering the blow as a signal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, where, with their daggers, they put a period to his existence.

A few days after the battle of Tewkesbury Henry VI expired in the Tower, but whether of a natural or violent death, cannot be ascertained. It was, however, generally thought the latter, and that the duke of Gloucester was principally concerned in putting an end to his life. The remains of Henry were deposited in the abbey of Chertsey, but afterwards removed by Richard III. and interred in a more pompous manner at Windsor.

A. D. 1472. The earl of Pembroke, convinced that the fatal battle of Tewkesbury had put a final period to the hopes of the Lancastrian family, fled into Britany, taking with him his nephew the young earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. The only



only partizan, therefore, that now remained for the House of Lancaster was the bastard of Fauconbridge, who took the advantage of Edward's absence to attempt the recovery of the capital. He had been honoured with a vice-admiral's commission by the earl of Warwick, and appointed to guard the channel; but having been stripped of his employment on the death of that nobleman, he withdrew, with the ships under his command, and, for some time, subsisted by piracy. The landing of Margaret induced him to assist that princess in recovering the English scepter; and being joined by 300 men from the garrison of Calais, he landed with his forces at Sandwich, and was admitted into Canterbury by the magistrates. Great numbers flocked to his standard, so that he soon found himself at the head of 17,000 men. With these he marched to London, and entered Southwark without opposition; and had not the news of Edward's victory at Tewkesbury arrived in the critical moment, he would, in all probability, have made himself master of the capital. But the citizens, encouraged by the hopes of effectual assistance from their victorious monarch, shut their gates against the insurgents. They made, however, a desperate attempt to carry the bridge by storm; but being repulsed with great slaughter, they deserted their leader, who was soon after taken prisoner, and put to death.

A. D. 1472. Edward no sooner returned to London after the battle of Tewkesbury than he convoked a parliament, who ratified all the acts he had made, and recognized his title to the throne. No farther attempts were made in favour of the House of Lancaster; the nation in general seemed satisfied with the then government, and tranquillity was again re-established throughout the kingdom.

Nothing material occurred from this period till the year 1474, where Edward concluded a treaty of alliance with Charles duke of Burgundy; by which it was stipulated that Edward should cross the seas with an army of at least ten thousand men, and that Charles should join him with all his forces, in order to invade the territories of Lewis: that Edward should claim the crown of France, and that the sword of war should not be sheathed, till he had obtained the provinces of Guienne and Normandy. That Champagne, and several other territories, should be procured for the duke; and that all his dominions should be freed from paying homage to the crown of France. This treaty was highly approved by the English parliament, who granted the king a very considerable subsidy on the occasion; and every precaution was taken that could be thought of to render the expedition successful.

A. D. 1475. Early in the spring Edward embarked for the continent, and landing at Calais with an army of thirty thousand men, marched with all expedition to join the forces of the duke of Burgundy, being resolved to carry his conquests into the very heart of France. But he was stopped in his designs by the natural pusillanimity of the French monarch, who, disdaining all military honours, and dreading the events of war, sent an herald to Edward, with proposals of accommodation. As the terms were of an advantageous nature, they were readily listened to by Edward, and a treaty of peace was concluded at Pecquigni near Amiens. By this treaty it was stipulated, "That Lewis should pay 70,000 crowns to indemnify Edward for the expences of the expedition: that

he should also pay him annually 50,000 crowns during their joint lives: that the dauphin of France should marry Elizabeth, Edward's daughter, and settle on her 60,000 livres a year as her jointure; and that neither party should encourage civil wars in the other's dominions; but, on the contrary, assist in suppressing the rebellions of their subjects." This treaty being properly ratified, the two monarchs had an interview on the bridge of Pecquigni, when mutual professions of friendship passed between them; after which Edward returned with his forces to Calais, and the next day embarked for England.

A. D. 1476. As the English had formed the greatest expectations from Edward's expedition to the continent, they were greatly irritated at the treaty made with Lewis, and the parliament intimated their designs of not granting the king any farther supplies. In consequence of this Edward had recourse to other methods for raising money, and accumulating treasure. He engaged in commerce, which he carried on with great advantage, as a private merchant; sold the profits of vacant bishopricks; demanded fines for the restitution of temporalities; ransacked old records to find defective titles, and obliged the proprietors to pay large sums for their confirmation. These methods he pursued with great assiduity, and, by these means, not only saved himself the mortification of a refusal from his parliament, but acquired very considerable possessions.

A. D. 1477. Edward, instead of directing his attention to the affairs of government, and the tranquillity of his subjects, now gave himself up to the indulgence of every sensual gratification. He chiefly passed his time in the conversation of women, and his court became a scene of lewdness and dissipation. The management of public affairs was engrossed by the queen and her relations, who were now become very unpopular, not only on account of their unbounded ambition and insolent behaviour, but also the constant opposition they made to all the schemes of the king's brothers.

A. D. 1478. These two princes were greatly irritated at the supineness of Edward, and the tyrannical proceedings of the queen. Richard, duke of Gloucester (a prince of profound dissimulation and consummate artifice) concealed his resentment in such a manner as to prevent an open rupture between him and the ministry. But that was not the case with his brother the duke of Clarence, who was so aggravated, that he threw out the most bitter invectives against the king and the ministry. Edward was highly incensed against the duke of Clarence for his conduct, which being aggravated by the artful suggestions of Gloucester (who had entertained a design upon the crown, and considered his brother as the only obstacle in his way) he ordered him to be arrested, and committed to the Tower.

A few days after the parliament were summoned to meet that the duke might be tried by his peers. Accordingly, being assembled for that purpose, the king appeared personally as his brother's accuser; and though nothing more could be proved than his having dropped some rash expressions, he was condemned to suffer death, and the commons meanly supported the injustice of the peers, by petitioning for his execution. Edward did not suffer his brother to languish long in prison. The only favour he granted him after his condemnation was, to give him the choice of his own death,



which he desired might be effected by being drowned in a butt of malmsey, and which choice was accordingly carried into execution.---Thus fell George duke of Clarence, a prince who was certainly more weak than wicked, and had infinitely more merit than any of those who had plotted or accomplished his ruin. He left behind him one son, named Edward, who was earl of Warwick, and a daughter, who was afterwards countess of Salisbury.

A. D. 1479--81. Edward continued to grow more and more indolent with respect to the affairs of government, and to give himself up entirely to debauchery and dissipation. The French monarch had long beheld his supine conduct with a secret pleasure, and at length determined to take advantage of it. Being desirous of marrying the dauphin to the daughter of Maximilian of Austria, an infant only two years of age, the treaty was now concluded, though he had promised, by the treaty of Pecquigni, that the dauphin should marry the princess Elizabeth, daughter to the English monarch.

Astonished and incensed at this unpardonable affront, Edward vowed to take ample vengeance on Lewis for his perfidy. But that monarch, having foreseen the gathering storm, had taken measures to break its force. He sent ambassadors to James III. of Scotland, offering him great advantages if he would break his truce with Edward, and carry his arms into the northern parts of England. James, who was a very weak prince, and lived on bad terms with his own nobility, imprudently listened to the artful suggestions of Lewis, and levied an army to execute a design to which he was far from being equal; but when his forces arrived on the borders of England, the barons conspiring against his favourites, put them to death without the form of a trial; and his whole army immediately dispersed.

A. D. 1482. In the beginning of this year the duke of Gloucester entered Scotland at the head of a considerable body of forces, made himself master of Berwick, and forced James to accept of a peace, by which that important fortress was ceded to the English.

The war with Scotland being thus terminated, Edward directed his whole attention towards making the necessary preparations for carrying on a

war against France, and punishing Lewis for his perfidy; but while thus employed he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died on the 9th of April, A. D. 1483, in the 42d year of his age, and 23d of his reign.

Edward IV. possessed some personal accomplishments, and had a pleasing mien and address. In his youth he was active and courageous; but at the same time cruel and vindictive. Had the scenes of his slaughter closed in those of his victories; had he not, in his cooler moments, stained upon scaffolds the laurels he had gathered in the field, he might justly have claimed a place amongst the greatest heroes of his country. But his vindictive disposition made him commit acts detestable to human nature, and at length rendered him an object of universal contempt. The latter part of his reign was almost spent in indolence and pleasure, notwithstanding which his natural cruelty continued, as is evident from the unfeeling treatment he shewed to his brother the duke of Clarence. In short, Edward IV. possessed some qualities which would have made him appear amiable as a man, but at the same time he had others which rendered him detestable both as a man and a monarch.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Edward IV.

- A. D.
- 1468 At this period the inhabitants of London had a strange and extravagant method of adorning their feet. They wore the peaks, or pikes, of their shoes so long, that they encumbered them in walking, and they were forced to support them by a chain fastened at the tip of the shoe, and braced about the knee: the better sort had chains of silver, or silver gilt, and the more common people used filken laces. This ridiculous fashion had been in vogue ever since the year 1382; but it was now prohibited, on the forfeiture of twenty shillings from every person who offended.
  - 1471 This year one William Caxton, a mercer of London, and a lover of letters, brought the art of printing into England; and the first press was set up in Westminster-abbey, under the patronage of the abbot.
  - 1472 A dreadful plague happened this year in England, which soon carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.
  - 1473 The royal chappel at Windsor founded by king Edward IV.
  - 1479 Two notorious thieves were this year pressed to death for robbing St. Martin's-le-Grand church in London, and others of the gang were hanged and burnt.
  - 1481 This year was born Thomas Parr, noted for the extraordinary age to which he lived, being, at his death 152 years old.

## C H A P. IV. E D W A R D V.

*Accession of Edward V. Treacherous behaviour of Richard, duke of Gloucester. The young king is conducted to London, and placed in the bishop of London's palace. The Queen-Dowager flies for sanctuary to Westminster. Gloucester is declared Protector of the kingdom. Gets the duke of York into his hands, and sends him, together with his elder brother (Edward V.) to the Tower. Puts to death the earl of Rivers, and other noble prisoners, in Pontefract-Castle. Accuses the Queen Dowager, and Jane Shore, (mistress of the late king) of witchcraft. Death of Lord Hastings. Jane Shore tried for adultery, and obliged to do penance in St. Paul's cathedral. The Duke of Gloucester, after using a variety of artifices, obtains the sovereignty.*

A. D. **A**S soon as the death of the late king 1483. was known, his eldest son, then only twelve years of age, was proclaimed king by the title of Edward V. at which time he resided at Ludlow Castle in Shropshire; where he had been some time placed under the care of his uncle Anthony Woodville earl of Rivers.

But, unhappily for young Edward, at the time of his accession two irreconcilable parties divided the court; namely, that of the queen and her relations (particularly the earl of Rivers her brother, and the marquis of Dorset, her son by a former husband); and that of the antient nobility (at the head of whom were the duke of Buckingham, and



*Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.*



*Born* November 4. 1470. *Proclaimed King* April 10. 1483. *Smothered in the Tower by Tyrrel & his Accomplices* 1483.



and the lords Hastings, Howard and Stanley) who had long envied the exaltation and unlimited credit of the Woodville family. Each of these parties followed their separate interests, and each endeavoured to gain over to their interest the duke of Gloucester, who had, by his brother, been appointed regent of the kingdom.

Gloucester, who was at once both cruel and ambitious, and capable of the most inhuman crimes, concealed his dark purposes under the mask of the most profound dissimulation and policy. He affected the greatest zeal for the queen, that he might acquire a full influence over her conduct. The earl of Rivers had been entrusted by the deceased monarch with the care and education of his son; and the queen expressed her desire that he should now levy a body of troops in Wales, in order to conduct his young sovereign to London. But Gloucester persuaded her that an armed force was not at all necessary on the occasion, but, on the contrary, might produce dangerous consequences. An order was therefore sent to Rivers to bring the young king to London, with no greater retinue than was necessary to support his state and dignity.

The earl not suspecting any treacherous designs in Gloucester, readily obeyed the order, and immediately set out with the young prince for London, attended only by his ordinary domestics. He was met at Northampton by the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, each of whom was attended with a splendid retinue; and, after spending a seemingly friendly evening with them, was, the next morning, arrested by Gloucester's orders. Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's sons, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable post in the king's household, were, at the same time, put under a strong guard, and all three sent prisoners to Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire. In vain did young Edward, with tears and entreaties, intercede with his cruel uncle for the release of persons so dear to him. Gloucester refused his request, and taking the king under his own care, left Northampton, and proceeded towards London.

The queen was no sooner informed of these tyrannical proceedings, than she immediately conceived the whole whole design of the duke of Gloucester; and, considering her brother and two sons as irrecoverably lost, fled to the sanctuary of Westminster, with the duke of York, the marquis of Dorset, and the rest of her family.

Lord Hastings was at this time in London, and, though he hated the queen and her relations, still revered the memory of his late master, and was unalterably devoted to the king and his brother. Not suspecting the real designs of Gloucester, he imagined that the seizing of Rivers was intended only to weaken the party of the queen; and therefore wrote to the archbishop of York (then lord-chancellor of England) desiring him not to be alarmed at what had happened, as every thing would tend to promote the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. The archbishop, surprized at this information, hastened, before day-break, to the sanctuary, where he found the queen sitting upon the floor in the utmost agony and distress, bewailing the fate of her children. He endeavoured to comfort her with the assurances of Hastings; but she could derive no consolation from that quarter. He then protested, that if the lords should so far deviate from the principles of humanity and justice as to take away the life of the king, he would im-

mediately crown the duke of York, who was still safe beyond their power; and as an earnest of his affection for his deceased master's family, left in her custody the great seal of England. On the very same day that the archbishop had this interview with the queen, young Edward entered London amidst the universal acclamations of the people. He was attended by the dukes of Gloucester, and Buckingham, with many others of the principal nobility; and Gloucester like a consummate disssembler, rode before him bareheaded, calling out to the people, "Behold your prince and sovereign!"

Young Edward was conducted to the bishop of London's palace, that being thought the most proper place of residence for him previous to his coronation. On the same day the duke of Gloucester summoned a grand council of the nobility to settle the administration, and as this assembly consisted chiefly of his own friends, he was chosen protector of the kingdom, though the council, on this occasion, usurped a prerogative that belonged to the parliament.

Though Gloucester had thus far succeeded in his designs, yet he well knew, that unless he could find means to get the duke of York into his power, all his schemes must prove abortive. He therefore complained to the council, that the queen's having taken sanctuary, and the ill-grounded apprehensions she had formed, were an indignity to the government; and represented the necessity of the young prince's appearance at the coronation of his brother, proposing that if the queen refused to listen to the voice of reason, he should be taken from the asylum by force. This proposition was unanimously approved by the council; and Cardinal Bouchier, the primate, with Rotherham, archbishop of York, were sent to the sanctuary, with orders to use every argument in their power to induce the queen to comply with the wishes of the council. Elizabeth, for some time, refused to give up the prince; but at length, by the powerful arguments of the primate, she was prevailed on to give her consent. Accordingly, having embraced him with all the eagerness of maternal affection, she delivered him into the hands of the archbishop, by whom he was immediately conducted to Gloucester. Richard received the young prince with all the seeming marks of paternal tenderness, and after desiring that he would consider him as his guardian and father, conducted him to his brother in the bishop's palace.

The two young princes seemed overjoyed at this interview, and began to think their uncle had a real regard for their interest. But in this they were greatly deceived. In a few days after they were both conveyed from the bishop's palace to the tower, from whence, at that time, it was customary for the kings of England to ride in procession through the streets of London to their coronation at Westminster.

Gloucester had still many obstacles in his way to exclude him from the throne. But no restraints were sufficient to check the violence of Richard, whose fierce and savage nature was such that he startled at no crimes, however enormous. The death of the earl of Rivers, and the other noble prisoners confined in Pontefract Castle, was now determined; and the Protector found no difficulty in obtaining the consent of his party to that sanguinary measure. Fearful, however, that a trial might fill the people with apprehensions (especially as no crime could be alledged against them of a capital nature) it was resolved to dispatch them without



without any legal process; and orders were immediately sent to Sir Ralph Ratcliffe (a man capable of the most enormous actions) to put them to death, which was accordingly done by their heads being severed from their bodies.

On the very day these bloody orders were executed, Richard summoned a council to meet in the tower; and having discovered, by his agents, that Hastings, was unalterably attached to the children of his deceased master, determined to take him off, fearful lest, from the great power and popularity of that nobleman, he might render his designs abortive.

Hastings, not suspecting any design was formed against his life, repaired to the council, where he met the protector, whose behaviour was remarkably affable. After a short stay, Richard retired from the board, desiring the lords to continue their deliberations during his absence. He soon returned with an angry and enflamed countenance, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of the most violent indignation. "My lords," said he, "what punishment do those deserve who have plotted against my life?" Hastings replied, that they deserved the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," replied the protector, "are those forcerers my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his mistress, with others their associates. See to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft!" On uttering these words, he uncovered his arm, which was shrivelled and decayed. The members of the council, who well knew that his arm had always been in that condition, were confounded, and looked upon each other with astonishment. After a considerable pause, Hastings answered, certainly, my lord, if they are guilty of these crimes, they deserve the severest punishment. "And you reply to me," said the protector, "with your *ifs* and *yours*? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore: you are yourself a traitor; and I swear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before your head be brought me!" On this he struck the table violently with his hand; when a number of armed men rushed into the council-chamber, and seized several of the members. Hastings was led immediately to the green before the chapel of the Tower, where, after confession to a priest, who happened accidentally to be on the spot, he was beheaded on a log of timber lying on the green. The archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanley, who assisted at the council, were sent to different apartments in the tower, and no person, except the keeper, suffered to see them.

As Richard was sensible that lord Hastings was universally beloved by the people, he thought it prudent to make some public apology for the precipitate manner of his execution. He therefore issued out a proclamation, representing the great crimes of which he had been guilty, and that his hasty execution arose from the suddenness of the discovery. To put a farther gloss on his proceedings, he ordered Jane Shore to be apprehended, and tried before the council for forcery and witchcraft. No proofs, however, being found against her (notwithstanding the ignorance and absurdity of the age) she was acquitted of the charge. But

the Protector was determined she should not escape his vengeance. He caused her to be indicted before the spiritual court for lewdness and adultery; and she did penance in a white sheet at St. Paul's before all the people\*.

As the deaths of lord Hastings, and the noble prisoners in Pontefract Castle, had excited no insurrection among the people, Gloucester grew more and more confident of success, and throwing off the mask of dissimulation, openly aspired to the crown, which he claimed from the illegitimacy (as he asserted) of his brother Edward's children. These vile assertions he caused to be promulgated from the pulpit. Dr. Ralph Shaw, an eminent orator of those times (and brother to the mayor who was one of Richard's creatures) preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, taking for his text the following words from the Wisdom of Solomon, "Bastards shall not thrive." In the course of his sermon he artfully advanced many arguments, by which he endeavoured to prove the illegitimacy of the sons of Edward IV. He afterwards extolled the virtues of Richard duke of Gloucester, representing him as the legal heir to the crown, and the only hope of the nation; concluding his panegyric with calling aloud, "God save king Richard." But this fulsome parade and exaggeration was far from producing the intended effect. The audience kept a profound silence: the doctor lost his popularity, and Richard was looked upon with contempt by the people.

In consequence of this disappointment it was the next day agreed by the council (which now consisted wholly of Richard's creatures) that another attempt should be made to obtain the voice of the people in his favour. Accordingly, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery of London were summoned to assemble at Guildhall, where the duke of Buckingham, in a studied harangue, expatiated on the virtues of the duke of Gloucester, and concluded with asking, Whether they would have that prince for their king? A profound silence reigned through the whole assembly. The duke repeated the substance of his harangue, and asked the same question; but the same silence was continued. The mayor then desired that the recorder might address the assembly. The experiment was accordingly tried, but with no better success, not a word escaping from the lips of the audience. "This is astonishing obstinacy," cried the duke, "declare your sentiments one way or other. But you ought to remember, that your consent is not considered as necessary. The Lords and Commons have sufficient authority to place whom they please on the throne; and when we ask your consent, it should be considered as a favour. However, I now demand, in plain terms, whether you will, or will not, have the protector for your sovereign?" This speech, which was considered rather as a menace than an appeal to their judgment, occasioned a general murmur among the whole audience. At length some of the apprentices, excited by bribes from Richard's partisans, set up a feeble cry of "Long live king Richard." This was considered as a sufficient declaration of the sentiments of the nation; and Buckingham hastened to acquaint the Protector

\* Jane Shore lived many years after this event, and was alive in the reign of Henry VIII. when Sir Thomas Moore knew her. But though she had greatly recommended herself by acts of beneficence and humanity, though she had removed

the stings of poverty from the breasts of the indigent, and applied the balm of comfort to the wounds of affliction, she found no friends in adversity, and spent the evening of her life in misery and want.





*The DUKE of GLOUCESTER (afterwards RICHARD III.) in COUNCIL, shewing  
his SHRIVELLED ARM, and accusing the QUEEN DOWAGER of EDWARD IV.  
of having occasioned it by WITCHCRAFT.*



Engraved for RAYMOND'S *History of England*.



Wale delin.

Grignon sculp.

Made Protector  
May 27. 1483.

Crowned  
July 6. 1483.

Slain at Bosworth  
August 22. 1485.



lector that he was called upon to assume the reins of government. Richard, at first pretended to be astonished at the proposal, declared he would observe inviolably his loyalty to his sovereign, and hypocritically exhorted them to imitate his example. But he soon changed his note, by willingly

suffering himself to be persuaded to accept the crown; and from that moment he acted as the legitimate and legal possessor of the English throne. All acts of royalty received his signature, and the name of Edward was, as it were, buried in oblivion.

## C H A P. V.

## R I C H A R D III.

*Richard III. proclaimed king, and crowned at Westminster. Causes the two sons of Edward IV. to be murdered in the Tower. The duke of Buckingham, in conjunction with the bishop of Ely, forms a design of dethroning Richard, and investing the earl of Richmond with the sovereignty. Buckingham raises a body of forces, who, deserting him, he is taken prisoner and beheaded. The earl of Richmond embarks for England with five thousand men, but his fleet being dispersed by a storm, he is obliged to return to the court of Britany. Richard engages to marry the daughter of the Queen-Dowager. Richmond lands at Milford-Haven at the head of two thousand foreign troops, marches to Haverfordwest, and is joined by great numbers of the inhabitants. Richard marches against him, and takes up his post at Nottingham. Battle of Bosworth, and consequences thereof. Death of Richard III.*

A. D. **R**ICHARD, duke of Gloucester, having, 1483. by his own unparalleled artifices, and the assistance of his partizans, obtained the sovereignty by a faint and forced consent of a part of the people, was, on the 18th of June, proclaimed king of England and France by the title of Richard III. The next day he married Anne, youngest daughter of Rich Nevil, the great earl of Warwick, and relict of prince Edward, son of Henry VI. and on the 6th of July following they were both solemnly crowned at Westminster.

Having thus fixed himself on that throne to which he had so ambitiously aspired, Richard now determined, (in order to establish himself in the seat of power) to put to death the two princes, who were still confined in the tower. But in order to avoid being considered as accessory to this tragical scene, he made a tour through several of the counties of England, under pretence of reforming the abuses, which had crept into the government.

After being absent a few days he dispatched a messenger to Sir Robert Brackenbury, then constable of the tower, with express orders for him immediately to put the two young princes to death. But that gentleman, who was naturally humane, and possessed a true sense of honour, refused having any share in so infamous a transaction.

Disappointed in this attempt, Richard next applied to Sir James Tyrrel, a man practised in the scenes of blood, who readily accepted the inhuman commission. Tyrrel chose three associates, namely, Slater, Deighton and Forest; and having, by Richard's express order, obtained the keys of the tower, he conducted his companions to the door of the chamber where the two princes lodged, bidding them execute their orders. The assassins finding the unsuspecting innocents in a sound sleep, immediately suffocated them with the bolsters and

pillows, after which they shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, and the place to be covered with an heap of rubbish\*.

Richard, after passing through several of the counties in England, made a stop at York, where he appeared with his queen in all the pomp of royalty; and during his stay was crowned with great ceremony in the cathedral of that city.

After being absent about six weeks Richard returned to London, and flattered himself with enjoying that crown he had so flagrantly usurped without interruption. But he soon found himself mistaken. The duke of Buckingham, not satisfied with the rewards which had been bestowed on him for his services, and irritated at being refused a favour which he asked of Richard, left the court, and retired to his castle of Brecknock, where Moreton, bishop of Ely (who had been committed to his custody by Richard) was confined.

The bishop was not only a person of singular penetration and address, but likewise an able politician, and considering the disgust of the duke as a favourable incident, determined, if possible, to bring him over to his own party, in which he had great hopes from the family of that nobleman, having been zealous Lancastrians. The prelate was far from being disappointed in his expectations. Buckingham listened, with great attention, to his arguments, and a scheme was concerted for removing Richard from the seat of power. It was agreed that they should both declare for Henry, earl of Richmond (then at the court of Britany) who should marry Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. and by that alliance unite the interest of both houses in his favour.

Having concerted this plan they communicated their designs to the old duchess of Richmond and the queen-dowager, the latter of whom was still in the

\* The bones of these unhappy victims were not discovered till the reign of Charles II. the cause of which was as follows: The Six Clerks Office being too much crowded with records of bills and other matters necessary to be preserved, orders were given to remove them to the White Tower, and a new stair case was made into the chapel for the more easy conveyance of them. The labourers, in digging at the foot of the old stairs,

came to a wooden chest, containing human bones covered with stones and rubbish. These were the bones of the royal infants so inhumanly murdered, which king Charles caused to be interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel near two other royal children, viz. Mary and Sophia, daughters to James I. and over the place was an ornament of white marble with an inscription on it in capital letters.



sanctuary at Westminster. They both readily approved of the proposal; and a friendship was established between them and the duke of Buckingham. In consequence of this, messengers were dispatched to the earl, acquainting him with the measures that had been entered into in his favour, and the terms on which he was invited to land in England.

The earl of Richmond no sooner received this intelligence, than he immediately related the particulars to the duke, who promised to give him all the assistance in his power. In consequence of this the earl immediately dispatched a messenger to his mother and the duke of Buckingham, informing them of his approbation of the plan and the promise of the duke of Britany; and desiring, at the same time, that they would prepare for his reception by the beginning of October.

Thus far every thing succeeded to the wishes of the conspirators, who respectively began to exert their power and influence in promoting the main design; and their success was far beyond their expectations. Richard had incurred the hatred of the nation in general: the partizans of the house of York were incensed against him for the murder of the two young princes, while those of Lancaster cheerfully embraced a proposal that seemed likely to place a prince of that house \* on the throne of England.

Though the utmost precaution had been taken to keep these proceedings a profound secret, yet they could not escape the penetrating eye of Richard, who no sooner discovered the plot than he issued out orders for his troops to be in readiness to march on the first notice. He then dispatched a messenger to the duke of Buckingham (whom he imagined to be at the head of the conspiracy) enjoining his immediate attendance at court; but the duke, instead of paying any regard to the order, employed himself in collecting his forces, hoping, in a short time, to join those of his confederates.

From the behaviour of Buckingham, Richard found it necessary to exert himself with the utmost expedition. Accordingly, having collected his forces, he began his march towards the western counties, where he was informed the earl of Richmond proposed to land, and where several of his friends were already in arms, expecting to be joined by the duke of Buckingham, at the head of his forces.

In the mean time, the duke, having raised a powerful army, advanced, by hasty marches, into the forest of Deane, with a design of crossing the Severn, and joining his western friends at Salisbury. But on approaching the borders of the river, he found the waters had overflowed the banks in such a manner that there was no possibility of passing it. His army consisted entirely of Welsh, who, alarmed with superstitious terrors at this extraordinary event, and at the same time distressed for want of provisions, abandoned his camp, and Buckingham, in a few days was left with only one servant, who was faithful enough to attend him in his distress. In this hapless situation he took refuge in the house of one Bannister, who had sub-

sisted by his bounty, and enjoyed a comfortable estate near Shrewsbury; and which had been given him by the duke. But this wretch, dead to all the feelings of honour and gratitude, betrayed his patron into the hands of the sheriff of Shropshire, who conducted him to Richard, and the unfortunate duke was, without any form of process, immediately beheaded.

Alarmed at the news of this disaster, and despairing of success, the friends of the duke immediately dispersed. The marquis of Dorset, and bishop of Ely, fled to the continent, while others concealed themselves in different parts of the kingdom; but several, who were so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the usurper, were immediately put to death.

During these transactions the earl of Richmond had not been wanting on his part in endeavouring to join his friends at the time appointed. He embarked with 5000 men at St. Malo on board forty vessels; but being overtaken by a terrible storm his fleet was dispersed, and himself obliged to return to the court of Britany, where he was informed of the fate of the duke of Buckingham, and the dispersion of his friends.

A. D. 1484. This dangerous insurrection, being quelled, Richard returned to London, and immediately summoned a parliament, who recognized his authority, and acknowledged his title to the crown. His only son Edward was created prince of Wales; and duties of tonnage and poundage were granted him for life; and Richard, in order, if possible, to reconcile the people to his government, passed several acts, which tended to promote the happiness of his subjects.

But Richard's mind was far from being yet easy: he had great reason to suspect that many of his principal nobility were strongly attached to the interest of the earl of Richmond, and only waited for a proper opportunity of discovering their sentiments. These were disagreeable circumstances; but what most concerned him was, the intended marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth. He saw the danger of such a connection, and determined, if possible, to prevent it. To effect this he paid his addresses to the queen-dowager with such art, and made so many professions of a sincere and unalterable friendship, that Elizabeth, thinking her former projects totally destroyed, listened to his proposals, and even promised him her daughter in marriage; the base and cruel Richard having made way for this strange connection, by taking off his former wife by poison. The queen's consent being obtained, Richard applied to the court of Rome for a dispensation for concluding the alliance with the princess, which was generally considered as incestuous. But before the papal instrument arrived the face of affairs was suddenly changed, and Richard hurled from that throne he had so basely usurped.

A. D. 1485. Though the earl of Richmond had failed in his late attempt, yet he determined to make another effort for obtaining the English diadem; to effect which he had, by his importunities, got considerable succours from the court of France.

\* The earl of Richmond was now considered as the head of the Lancastrian party. He was heir, by the female line, to the family of Somerset, and grandson to Sir Owen Tudor, who had married Catharine of France, the widow of Henry V.

† It is recorded of Bannister that he was afterwards punished in a most distinguished manner for his ingratitude and

perfidy. His eldest son went mad, and died raving in a hog-slye: his eldest daughter, who was very beautiful, was suddenly stricken with a foul leprosy: his second son was deprived of the use of his limbs; his younger son was suffocated in a ditch of filthy water; and himself, at an extreme old age, found guilty of murder, but his life saved at the intercession of the clergy.



France. Encouraged by this success, he set out for Rouen, where he received letters from England, inviting him to land in Wales, assuring him that the people of those parts were strongly attached to his interest, and had raised a considerable sum for his service. He was at the same time informed that the whole kingdom was dissatisfied with the character and conduct of Richard, and that he could not possibly land more opportunely than at a time when the tyrant had made no preparations for opposing his descent.

Animated with this intelligence the earl, accompanied by many noble exiles from England, and at the head of two thousand foreign troops, embarked at Harfleur on the last day of July, and on the 6th of August landed with his forces at Milford Haven, without opposition. From hence he directed his march to Haverfordwest, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants; and as he advanced was joined by such numbers of the partisans of both families, that he soon found himself at the head of a very considerable army.

As soon as Richard was informed of the landing of the earl of Richmond, and the success that attended him, he collected together his forces, and marched with the utmost expedition to oppose him. He took up his post at Nottingham, being the most central town in the kingdom, and proposed marching from thence, on the first alarm, to whatever place should be most exposed to danger.

Richard's affairs were now in a very critical situation, and he had much more to fear from his secret than his open enemies. The duke of Norfolk was the only nobleman sincerely attached to his interest: the rest were friends to the earl of Richmond, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of deserting Richard's standard. But the persons who gave Richard the greatest uneasiness were lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, whose connections with the earl of Richmond were strongly suspected by the usurper. He had, indeed, employed the former to levy a body of five thousand men, but insisted that he should leave his son, the lord Strange, as an hostage for his fidelity. This obliged lord Stanley to act with great precaution, and though he found means to inform Henry of his friendly intentions, yet, from his ambiguous behaviour, no certainty could be formed of his real designs.

Richard's alarms were greatly augmented by the continual increase of Henry's army; he therefore determined, at all events, to give him battle, and, by a general action, decide their dispute for the English throne. He accordingly left Nottingham, and marching his forces with all expedition, the two armies came within sight of each other at a place called Bosworth in Leicestershire. The royal army which consisted of 12,000 men, all veterans, and well armed, were formed into two lines. The first was commanded by the duke of Norfolk; and the second by Richard in person, who appeared that day with the royal diadem on his head. The earl's army did not consist of much more than five thousand men, but was also divided into two lines; the first commanded by the earl of Oxford, and the second by himself in person: Sir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left.

While the two armies, were preparing for battle, lord Stanley posted himself, at the head of four thousand men, on a piece of ground fronting the interval between the two armies, while his brother Sir William Stanley, with three thousand, stood facing him on the other side of the interval.

Richard, suspecting Stanley's design, sent him an order to join his army; but receiving an equivocal answer, he was so enraged, that he would have struck off the head of his son, had he not been dissuaded from that resolution by some of his chief officers. They represented to him, that such an act could be attended with no advantage, and would certainly provoke Stanley and his brother to join the enemy, though perhaps their intention at present might be to remain neuter, till near the conclusion of the battle; and then declare for the party that seemed to have gained the advantage. Richard submitted to these reasons, well knowing that if he should defeat the earl of Richmond, he would then be enabled to take ample revenge on all his enemies.

The two armies now approached each other, and the battle was begun by a general discharge of arrows; after which the combat became close and bloody. The duke of Norfolk made a motion to enclose the left wing of Richmond's army, which being perceived by the earl of Oxford, he fell with the utmost fury upon Norfolk's division, but was in the utmost danger of being surrounded. Lord Stanley saw that it would be impossible for him to extricate himself from his then situation without assistance, and therefore advanced at the head of his forces, and joining Oxford's line secured his flank, and stood ready to receive the front of the line commanded by the king in person. At the same time Sir William Stanley fell upon the flank of Richard's line, and drove them back upon the main body. Norfolk, however, advanced to the charge with more fury than ever, and a dreadful carnage ensued. But the battle was no longer equal; the royal forces were intimidated by the desertion of Stanley and his brother; while it inspired Henry's with unusual courage. Sensible of his desperate situation, the furious tyrant cast his eyes around the field, and discovering his rival at no great distance, he soon opened himself a passage to the spot where Henry fought in person, killed Sir Henry Brandon, his standard-bearer, unhorsed Sir John Cheyney, and advanced against Henry with all the fury of despair. He called aloud to him, challenging him to determine the contest by single combat. This was readily accepted by Henry; but the two leaders were hardly engaged when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, after performing the most astonishing acts of valour, fell covered with wounds.

The death of Richard put an end to the contest; the royalists, deprived of their leader, immediately threw down their arms, and sought their safety by a precipitate flight. No less than four thousand of Richard's forces were slain on the field of battle, among whom were, the duke of Norfolk, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, and several other persons of distinction. Such was the issue of the battle of Bosworth, which terminated the quarrel between the two houses of York and Lancaster.

Richard's crown, being found in the field of battle, was brought to lord Stanley, who, placing it on Richmond's head, hailed him king; the victorious army repeatedly shouting, "Long live Henry VII. king of England."

The body of Richard being found among the slain was treated with the utmost indignity. It was fastened across a horse, and in that ignominious manner conveyed to Leicester amidst the shouts of the insulting populace, where it was buried, with-



without any ceremony, in the church of the Grey Friars.

Henry, by a policy that tended greatly to augment his power, pardoned all who submitted to him. Sir William Catesby, the tool of Richard's crimes, was the only person that suffered. He was discovered after the battle, and being conveyed to Leicester, was there beheaded. Lord Lovel, and the two Staffords, who had incurred the universal odium of the people for their attachment to the tyrant, would, in all probability, have suffered the same fate, had they fallen into the hands of the victor; but they fortunately made their escape, and took sanctuary in the abbey of Colchester.

Thus fell Richard III. in the 34th year of his age, and the third of his usurped reign. He was one of the most detestable tyrants that ever dis-

graced a throne. He was low in stature, and had a gloomy aspect. One of his arms was withered, and one shoulder higher than the other, from whence he acquired the surname of Crook-back. Nor was his mind less deformed than his body: dark, silent and reserved, he was such a master of dissimulation, that it was impossible to dive into his designs: false, treacherous and ungrateful, he scrupled not to violate the most sacred ties of religion and conscience, whenever he found it conducive to the gratification of his ambition. In short, his numberless and atrocious crimes compose such a scene of horrid guilt as hardly ever centered in any other person, and have rendered his name the object of universal detestation to all succeeding generations.

## C H A P. VI.

## H E N R Y VII.

*Henry VII. after the battle of Bosworth, returns in triumph to London, and is soon after crowned at Westminster. Marries the Princess Elizabeth. Quells an insurrection raised by lord Lovel, and others. Birth of prince Arthur. Lambert Simnel's imposture. Henry causes the Queen Dowager to be arrested and imprisoned. Simnel is crowned king in Dublin, and afterwards arrives in England, where he is taken prisoner at the battle of Stoke. A rebellion in the north. Revolution in Scotland. Perkin Warbeck personates the duke of York, and lays claim to the English throne. Prince Henry appointed lieutenant of Ireland. A rebellion in Cornwall. James king of Scotland makes an irruption into England, but is repulsed. A truce between England and Scotland. Perkin Warbeck assumes the title of king of England, and besieges the city of Exeter. Is compelled to raise the siege and retires to Taunton. Deserts his followers, and takes sanctuary in the monastery of Beaulieu. His adherents lay down their arms and are pardoned. Perkin accepts the king's pardon, and is led in mock triumph through the streets of London. Escapes from his guard, and takes sanctuary in the monastery of Shene. Again submits to the king's mercy, is degraded, and imprisoned in the tower. Engages in a plot with the earl of Warwick, both of whom are detected, condemned and executed. Marriage of Arthur prince of Wales and the princess Margaret. Deaths of Arthur and the queen. Extortions of the king and his ministers Empson and Dudley. Revolt of the earl of Suffolk. Henry becomes despotic, and assembles a parliament, who comply with his avaricious demands. Death and character of Henry VII.*

A. D. **T**HE victorious earl having by conquest 1485. secured a still stronger title to the throne to which he had already an hereditary claim, made his triumphant entry into London on the twenty-seventh day of August, applauded by the shouts of a grateful people, who hailed him as their deliverer from a tyrant's power, and as the man whose happy union with the amiable princess Elizabeth was to put a total end to the civil dissensions which had for so many years subsisted between the contending families of York and Lancaster.

The first object which employed his attention, was gratitude to the Supreme Being, the God of battles, who had led him on to conquest, and had afforded him this joyful opportunity of offering up to him in his holy temple, the trophies he had obtained. In the cathedral of St. Paul's therefore he accordingly offered up the standard of the enemy, and after divine service, returned to his apartments in the episcopal palace, where in a council of the nobility assembled for that purpose, he renewed the oath he had before taken to espouse the virtuous princess Elizabeth.

Having discharged his duty to his God, Henry's next care was to promote the friends who had assisted him. Of these his uncle Jasper, earl of Pembroke, the faithful guardian of his early years, and protector against the designs of his adversaries, was rewarded with the title of duke of Bedford. His father-in-law Thomas Stanley, to whom he

was indebted for his success in Bosworth field, he created earl of Derby; and Edward lord Courteney, earl of Devonshire.

On the thirtieth of October, (the day of his coronation, and which solemnity was performed by Bouchier archbishop of Canterbury) he instituted a body guard of fifty archers, under the command of a captain, which has been ever since maintained, and is still known by the title of yeomen of the king's guard.

The parliament which met at Westminster entailed the crown upon Henry, with perpetual reversion to the legitimate heirs of his body. The next step was to reverse the attainder which had been issued against Henry and his adherents, and to pass the same against several of those who had espoused the cause of the late usurper Richard.

The amount of these confiscations was so considerable as to preclude the necessity of asking a supply from parliament, so that Henry found by these means an ample gratification both for his revenge and his avarice. And now in consequence of a general pardon to those who had taken up arms against him, great numbers quitted their sanctuaries, and took an oath of allegiance to their new sovereign.

On the dissolution of the parliament, Henry remitted money to the French king, to reimburse him for what he had advanced, towards the supplies he had furnished him with preparatory to his arrival



Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.



Defeated Richard III.  
August 22. 1485.

Crowned  
October 30. 1485.

Died  
April 22. 1509.



arrival in England. John Moreton, bishop of Ely, and Richard Fox bishop of Exeter, were sworn of his most honourable privy council, the former of whom succeeded cardinal Bouchier as archbishop of Canterbury, and to the latter was committed the custody of the great seal, and these two prelates, from the great power with which they were invested, and the distinguished protection of their royal master, directed the principal affairs of government.

A. D. 1486. In consequence of his promise to espouse the princess Elizabeth, Henry found himself indispensibly bound to solemnize his nuptials with her, which were accordingly celebrated with great joy and festivity on the 18th of January. After the ceremony Henry took a journey into the northern counties, and passed his Easter holidays at Lincoln, in hopes of conciliating the affections of his people by his presence and acts of liberality.

During his abode in that city, he was made acquainted with the news of lord Lovel, together with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, having privately quitted their sanctuary at Colchester. Undismayed, however, at these tidings, he pursued his journey to York, towards which city he was informed that three or four thousand men were on their march with Lovel at their head, and that the city of Worcester was already invested by the Staffords. Henry could not help being alarmed at this intelligence, as he suspected those rebellious leaders actually held a correspondence at that time with the party among whom he now resided. He, however, concealed his suspicions, and issued commissions for immediately raising men throughout the county of York; which was so successfully accomplished, that in a short space of time a body of three thousand men was levied, and the command of them given to the duke of Bedford.

The duke thus empowered to act against the rebels, was nevertheless strictly enjoined to avoid a general engagement, the men being not only undisciplined, but also of a very suspicious attachment; and on his approach, to declare the king's free pardon to all such as should lay down their arms. This wise expedient had the desired effect; and Lovel, through fear of being deserted by his troops, retired alone into Lancashire, from whence he crossed the sea, and repaired to the court of the duchess dowager of Burgundy.

This event being communicated to the Staffords, they quitted the siege of Worcester, and being deserted by their men, fled for sanctuary to the church of Coleham, near Abingdon; but the privileges of that place not extending to the crimes of high treason, they were forcibly dragged from thence, and Humphrey, the elder brother, was executed at Tyburn. The younger brother, Thomas, on account of his youth, and being considered as influenced by the evil suggestions of the other, obtained the king's pardon.

The queen's delivery of her son prince Arthur, which happened on the twentieth of September, gave hopes to the nation that the king's lukewarm affections would, by this fortunate event, be kindled into an ardour of conjugal love; but when they found him still insensible to her attractions, and that he still delayed her coronation, shewing on every occasion a rooted inveteracy to the family of York, to whom the people were for the most part attached, their dislike of him daily increased, and they began to fear they had only exchanged one tyrant for another.

It may be supposed that his enemies were not

backward in promulgating such an insinuation: reports were privately circulated, that he intended to murder the earl of Warwick, and that the duke of York had escaped from the power of his uncle Richard, and was still in being on some part of the continent. The people greatly inclined to favour this report, suggested to one Richard Simon, an Oxford priest, a scheme equally hazardous and ridiculous. The ecclesiastic had a pupil named Lambert Simnel, natural son of a baker in that city, a youth of quick parts, and uncommon personal endowments; and his design was to instruct this youth to pass himself upon the world for Richard duke of York, second son of Edward IV.

While this scheme was in agitation, and the necessary instructions preparing, a rumour prevailed that Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, had escaped from the Tower: Simon therefore, thinking he had found out a more plausible device, resolved that Simnel should personate that young nobleman, though pretty generally known among the people. Simon spared no pains in qualifying his pupil for the task, and when he looked upon him as sufficiently instructed in his part, went with him over to Ireland, where he thought he would be less liable to detection than in England, and where the memory of Clarence, who had been their governor, was still held in the highest respect.

Henry had been apprized of some designs forming in Ireland to his prejudice, and therefore summoned the earl of Kildare, (deputy to the duke of Bedford, viceroy of that kingdom) to appear personally at his court in London; but by the interest that nobleman had in the council, he found means to evade complying with the order, by stating the indispensable necessity of his presence in Ireland.

Immediately after Simnel's arrival in Dublin, he publicly assumed the character of the earl of Warwick, and as such presented himself to the earl of Kildare, to whom he gave a specious account of his escape from the Tower, and though the deputy and his brother did not think it safe to espouse his cause openly, they, by their connivance, secretly favoured the imposture. Having concealed their own sentiments till they should discover those of the people, they were soon convinced they might with safety avow them; for Simnel received a welcome reception as the son of that Clarence whom they had so highly esteemed. The earl of Kildare and his brother the chancellor, having consulted their friends upon the subject waited upon Simnel at his habitation, and conducted him with great pomp to the castle, where he was treated conformably to his supposed rank and distinction. Simnel, on his part, acquitted himself with so much dexterity, that he actually imposed upon many, who had at first entertained suspicions of the fraud; and the people in general soon became so attached to him, that he was shortly after proclaimed in Dublin king of England, by the title of Edward VI.

A. D. 1487. Alarmed at a circumstance of such weight and importance, the king's fears were not without reason excited, lest the torch of discord, which had been so rapidly kindled in Ireland, should communicate its destructive flames to England, and involve both kingdoms in one general conflagration. In the midst of this perplexity, Henry called a council, to deliberate on the necessary steps to be taken to avert the impending danger; and the queen-dowager being, by Henry's order, arrested and confined in the monastery of Bermondsey,



mondsey, and her estate confiscated without the form of a trial, it has been generally supposed that his suspicions of her, as a party concerned, were the grounds of her severe treatment, especially as he could never be prevailed on to set her at liberty.

Henry now finding the people divided in their opinions of this story of Simnel, resolved to convince them of the delusion, by causing the real earl of Warwick to be conducted publicly through the streets of London, and he was even permitted to visit many individuals, who entertained the profoundest respect for his person and family. The impostor, however, notwithstanding this precaution, found a strenuous and zealous adherent in John earl of Lincoln, whom his uncle Richard III. had declared presumptive heir to the crown, and who, in support of his claim, actually embarked for Flanders, to concert with his aunt Margaret, duchess dowager of Burgundy, such measures as were most likely to facilitate the success of the undertaking.

The duchess, justly irritated at king Henry's treatment of her niece, and his unconquerable aversion to all the friends of the house of York, entered with alacrity into all the designs of Simnel, and with the concurrence of Lincoln and Lovel engaged to supply him with two thousand German troops of experienced valour, commanded by one Martin Swartz, an officer of great courage and conduct, who were to embark for Ireland, and form a junction with the forces of the newly created monarch.

About the beginning of May these auxiliaries arrived in Dublin, soon after which it was determined in the council to crown Simnel in the most public manner. A crown was accordingly taken from a statue of the Virgin Mary, carried to the cathedral church of Dublin, and there placed on the head of the impostor by the bishop of Meath.

The ceremony was no sooner finished than it was resolved, in the pretender's council, immediately to invade England, where they doubted not but all the zealous adherents of the family of York would readily join in every measure to dethrone Henry.

A. D. 1488. Having caused fortifications to be erected along the eastern coast, the king returned to London, where he had the mortification to hear that the earl of Lincoln and his continental supplies had landed in Ireland; in consequence of which he collected all the forces he could muster to the environs of Coventry, where he resolved to wait for more substantial information. Here he soon learned that Simnel and his party were landed in the county of Lancaster, and that some few malecontents had already repaired to his standard. In their progress towards York, however, instead of seeing their numbers increase as they had expected, they found themselves miserably deceived; for the inhabitants dreading the miscarriage of the enterprize, or not disposed to reverence a king set up by a confederacy of Irish and Germans, resolved to discountenance the scheme, and the earl of Lincoln fearing his troops might take the alarm at the backwardness of the English to support them, resolved to make the best use of the forces he had yet under his command, and engage the king's army, before their expected reinforcements should arrive.

In order to this he altered his manœuvres, and took his route towards Newark, which he formed a design of attacking before the royalists could receive any succours. The king in the mean time, with six

thousand men, having reached Nottingham, was there joined by as many more, headed by the earl of Shrewsbury, and determined to risque a battle with the rebels at all events.

The two armies met in a small plain near the village of Stoke, where they attacked each other with amazing impetuosity; but fortune soon decided in favour of the royalists. The rebels after an obstinate resistance, sustained a total defeat, in which four thousand men, (among whom was Count Martin Swartz, and the earls of Lincoln and Kildare) were slain on the spot. Nor was the king's army exempted from loss on this day's action, one half of his foremost ranks having fallen victims to the fury of the rebels. The ideal prince and his instructor were both taken prisoners; but Henry, rightly conceiving that contempt was the properest punishment he could inflict on him, placed him in his kitchen where he discharged the office of a turnspit, and was ranked among the meanest of the king's menial domestics. Simon the priest was committed to prison, and no farther mention is afterwards made of him.

As soon as the rebellion was suppressed the king proceeded to Lincoln, and from thence to York, inflicting in his way severe punishments on all who had espoused the cause of Simnel, or who propagated a suggestion that the royal army had been defeated, as such a rumour had prevented some powerful barons from joining the king before the action. The lives of these delinquents, however, were spared, and their punishment confined either to confiscation of their fortunes and effects, or imprisonment for life.

In the course of his northern progress Henry discovered that the general discontent among his subjects arose from the severity shewn to the friends of the house of York, and the unaccountable delay of the queen's coronation. In order, therefore, to redress this grievance, having returned triumphantly to London about the beginning of November, he, on the following day, went to St. Paul's church, and joined in a public thanksgiving for his late success against the rebels. The duke of Bedford was then appointed high-steward for the coronation of the queen, which was solemnized, with the usual formalities, on the twenty-fifth of November, upwards of two years after her marriage.

A. D. 1489. Henry being now called upon to assist the duke of Britany, he summoned a parliament, to whom he applied for a subsidy for that purpose. A tax was accordingly voted upon all personal estates and moveables. No difficulty was found in levying this tax in any part of the kingdom, except Yorkshire and the bishoprick of Durham, which counties being firmly attached to the interest of the House of York, detested the then government, and for that reason refused to submit to the payment of the new duty, which they considered as an intolerable imposition.

Finding the people so obstinate in their resistance, the commissioners were obliged to make application to the earl of Northumberland, who wrote to court for instructions how to act. The king absolutely refused to dispense with the assessment, alledging that such a partial exemption might afford just cause of complaint in the rest of the counties, which would certainly claim an equal right to dispute the payment of the tax.

The earl, having called a meeting of the justices and freeholders of the county, communicated to them the king's answer in so peremptory a manner, as not only confirmed them in their former resolutions



solutions, but provoked their resentment against himself, and a mob being raised, they rushed into his house and murdered him and several of his domestics.

The people were instigated to this opposition by a certain popular incendiary, named John Chamber, and appointing for their leader Sir John Egremont, a zealous adherent of the house of York, they declared their resolution to march to London; and bid defiance to the royalists. Henry, on hearing of this insurrection, sent a body of troops to oppose them, commanded by the earl of Surry, who had been released from the tower, and received again into favour.

This nobleman's first attack was so successful, that the rebels were instantly defeated, and Chamber taken prisoner. Sir John Egremont, however, escaped and fled for refuge to the duchess-dowager of Burgundy. The king followed the earl of Surry with a very strong reinforcement, and proceeded to York, where John Chamber and some of his accomplices were hanged, and the rest of the malecontents received a pardon.

Having appointed the earl of Surry his lieutenant in the north, and Sir Richard Temstal principal commissioner for levying the duties, his majesty returned to London, where he received the melancholy tidings of the defeat of the duke of Britany at St. Aubin.

At this period likewise a rebellion was raised in Scotland against James III. at the instigation of his own son. James, having retired to Edinburgh castle, applied to the kings of England and France for assistance, and obtained a promise of support. The rebels notwithstanding prevailed, and his son James, then but fifteen years of age, was proclaimed king, and in July ambassadors arrived at the English court with the notification of his accession to the throne of Scotland.

A. D. 1490. Henry now began to take into consideration the necessary means for promoting the landed interest of the kingdom. And as the encouragement of agriculture was justly deemed the barrier of the English government, and its best defence against the encroachments of the nobility, this became the primary object of his attention, in pursuance of which his first step was to abolish the feudal law, which placed upon an equal footing the gentleman and the slave. He had, by these means, an opportunity of observing that the progress of trade and agriculture advanced in proportion to the increase of freemen, and the consequent decline of the power of the barons.

It is well known that war is ever the ruin of husbandry; and the late commotions had proved so destructive to the peasants, and had made such dreadful havock in the realm, that the arable lands were for the most part converted to pasture; towns and villages were desolated, the ecclesiastical revenues greatly diminished, and the king deprived of many of his most valuable subjects.

To restore these pastures to the beneficial purposes of the state, by improving them and rendering them fit objects of cultivation, an act was passed, "that all houses of husbandry, that were occupied with twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be manured and kept up for ever, together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with it." This salutary law tended to aggrandize the fortunes of the cottagers or villains, and raise them from their abject situations, to the enviable state of wealth and independence.

A. D. 1491. The marriage of the French

king with the duchess of Britany, terminated the disputes between the duke and that monarch, an event the most unwelcome and displeasing to king Henry; who, though he long dreaded it, had neglected the proper means for its prevention. For at the time when, to satiate his avarice, he was employed in drawing a deed of security for the sums he had advanced in Britany, he should have turned his thoughts towards the reinforcement of the allied army.

A. D. 1492. Henry, having conceived a resolution to re-assert the rights of his ancestors to the kingdom of France, signified his intention to the parliament, which, at the commencement of the year, he had called together for that purpose. The brilliant successes at Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, were alledged as inducements to put this great design in execution, together with the victories formerly obtained by the valour of a few brave Englishmen over the most formidable armies, in France. Arguments were drawn to urge the necessity of raising supplies adequate to the importance of the enterprize; and that these supplies might not prove a burden upon the industrious labourer and useful artificer, the king recommended to them, that they should be drawn from the purses of the opulent, who were best able to contribute towards them.

An object so important as the acquisition of the kingdom of France, was not to be withstood by the commons; so that they not only stimulated Henry to pursue his undertaking with vigour, but granted him the subsidy with the greatest cheerfulness, and, at his particular request, authorised him to levy a contribution on the wealthiest subjects throughout his dominions.

It appeared, however, that Henry's intentions were far from being directed towards applying these resources to the purpose for which he had obtained them. As avarice was his ruling passion, to gratify that passion was the sole aim of all his specious pretences, and the parliament was no sooner dissolved, than he received an embassy from France with proposals which he never thought fit to communicate; but as a peace was concluded in the course of the same year, it was judged that the preliminaries of that peace were the object of the embassy. By this treaty it was agreed that Charles should discharge the debt contracted by his queen for the defence of Britany, and that Henry should be paid the arrears of the subsidy granted by the late king of France to Edward the Fourth of England. No wonder then if an agreement from which the people were not to derive the least advantage should excite their resentment, at being fleeced for the purpose of enriching himself, under the ostensible pretence of carrying on the war against the common enemy.

Nor was Henry himself unconscious of having brought upon himself the popular clamour: he saw but too plainly the hearts of his subjects daily alienated from their allegiance. The general discontent which now prevailed was not a little fomented by a new pretender to the crown, much more formidable than Simnel. This new claimant made his first appearance on the continent, under the name of Richard Plantagenet duke of York, second son of Edward IV. supposed to have escaped from the tower after the death of his brother.

The father of this impostor was said to have been a jew at Tournay, of the name of Osbeck, or Warbeck, who after his conversion came over to England and resided in London, where this son of his



his was born and baptized by the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemish manner, into Peterkin or Perkin. It was generally supposed that Edward had carried on an illicit correspondence with the wife of Warbeck, which seems to account for the striking resemblance young Perkin bore to that monarch, and from this likeness he was judged a fit instrument to impose himself upon the people as the duke of York.

Perkin, after some years residence in England, had been removed by his parents to Flanders, where he retained his native language, and, by associating with gentlemen of his own country, had acquired the most elegant accomplishments of body and mind. These attractions procured him the notice of the duchess-dowager of Burgundy, who, anxious to destroy the tranquillity of Henry, found this youth extremely well suited to her purposes. She accordingly furnished him with his instructions to represent the duke of York, and, in this assumed character, to assert his claim to the throne of England. That he might not be found deficient in any respect he was made acquainted with all the peculiarities relative to the duke he was to personate, together with the most minute description of the persons of his supposed parents and relations, and every transaction in the court of Edward, which a child of eleven years of age could be deemed capable of noticing and retaining.

To prevent, however, any suspicion of her secret designs, she contrived that Perkin should accompany the Lady Brompton to Portugal, where he should continue until Henry declared war against France. He was then ordered by the duchess to make his first appearance in Ireland, where he was most likely to gain credit and support, from the invariable attachment of that nation to the family of York. Agreeable to these instructions the pretended Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, landed at Cork, as the second son of king Edward IV. The credulity of the people gave him credit for his pretensions, and great numbers flocked to him from all parts. Thus far encouraged he wrote to the earls of Desmond and Kildare, soliciting their support, in vindication of his rights, with the addition of all their dependents over whom they had any influence. The strange stories he circulated concerning his escape from the cruel designs of his uncle Richard were swallowed with uncommon avidity; and the more incredible the particulars he related, the greater degree of confidence he seemed to obtain.

From Ireland his fame extended to France, whose monarch sent ambassadors to invite him to his court, where he was received with all the honours due to the person he represented. At the conclusion of the late peace, Henry applied to Charles, but without effect, for the surrender of his person. But though the French king refused to infringe the laws of hospitality, he assured Henry, he should have no assistance from him to support his claim to the throne of England; so that finding himself bereft of every hope from that quarter, he was obliged to withdraw to Flanders, where he had the art to obtain admittance as a stranger into the presence of the duchess-dowager, from whom he had received all his instructions.

That she might, however, exempt herself from any suspicion of privity to his designs, Margaret thought it necessary to pretend ignorance of his person, and seeming to doubt his veracity, caused him to undergo a public examination, in which he acquitted himself with so much dignity,

that he left not the least doubt in the whole assembly of his being the real Richard Plantagenet duke of York. Convinced, therefore, that she ran no risque in so doing, she now acknowledged him as her nephew, and as she thought proper to call him, the White Rose of England, the distinction by which the house of York was known, as that of Lancaster was by that of the red, during the civil broils between the two contending families.

The English, ready to avail themselves of every opportunity of manifesting their aversion to the king, partly from that motive, and partly from their natural credulity, were perfectly inclined to favour the imposture. Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaits, and Sir Robert Clifford, were among those who joined in the confederacy to assert the pretensions of Perkin; but the person whose influence bore the greatest sway in this association, was Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, whose brother (the celebrated lord Stanley) had been the principal instrument in placing Henry on the throne.

The abettors of this faction established a correspondence with the malcontents in Flanders, and emissaries were employed at the court of Burgundy, who, after conversing freely with the young pretender, wrote satisfactory letters to the confederates, to assure them of his veracity and identity.

While this conspiracy was carrying on and daily acquiring new strength from every quarter, Henry, who received but a confused intimation of it, dispatched agents to find out the particulars of the impostor's birth and education, and to discover who were his secret abettors. The better to succeed in his enquiries, he devised a scheme by which he might discover the suspected parties. He ordered all the agents he had employed in this investigation to be excommunicated at St. Paul's, and their names entered in the bead-roll of the king's enemies, according to the established practice of the times; besides this, he endeavoured to come at the secret dispositions of the nobility, by tampering with their servants for that purpose. And while he was so assiduous in procuring the desired intelligence, he was no less so in producing the most incontrovertible evidences of the murder of the duke of York in the Tower. Among these were the confessions of Sir James Tyrrel and his servant Dighton, who made no scruple to avow themselves the horrid perpetrators of this atrocious act of cruelty. This proof of the two young princes having been smothered in the tower, standing barely upon the assertion of persons of such an infamous character, was but little credited, and seemed for want of better support to confirm many in their belief that Perkin was the identical duke of York, and as such entitled to every assistance they could give him.

The mysterious conduct of Henry on this occasion served but to strengthen the general opinion as to the validity of Perkin's claim, for the intelligence he had received of the life of that adventurer was not publicly notified by proclamation, but only circulated in dark and incongruous reports by his courtiers and dependents.

While affairs remained in this perplexed and intricate situation, the king had dispersed his spies throughout all Flanders, and by considerable bribes had gained over some whom he knew to be in the interest of his enemy. Sir Robert Clifford was the most conspicuous among these, from whom he obtained the whole particulars of Perkin's birth and



and transactions, together with the names of those who had secretly combined in his cause.

Henry now dispatched ambassadors to the archduke, representing Margaret as the contriver of this imposture, and insisting on the surrender of Perkin, who had no right to protection according to the law of nations, but ought to be treated as a pirate, and a nuisance to society. The archduke in reply, testified his great regard to the English monarch, but alledged he had no power to controul the actions of the duchess-dowager, whose authority was absolute in her own dominions.

Incensed at the ingratitude of many of his courtiers, (a list of whom Sir Robert Clifford had delivered to the king, in which were inserted the names of those with whom the duchess and Perkin maintained a correspondence) orders were issued for apprehending lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Daubigny, John and Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressnor, and Thomas Ashwood, who were arrested, arraigned, convicted and condemned for holding a treasonable correspondence with the king's enemies. Mountford, Ratcliff, and Daubigny were immediately executed. The lord Fitz-Walter was conveyed to Calais, where, being unable to brook confinement, he made an attempt to escape, but being discovered was condemned to suffer death, and the rest of the conspirators were pardoned and set at liberty.

The principal delinquent still remaining to be punished was, Sir William Stanley, whose office of Chamberlain, and whose respectable connexions in the kingdom seemed to exempt him from censure. That he might not, however, elude the hand of justice, Clifford was ordered over to England, and to accuse him in person, which he did to the surprize of all who heard him. Henry affected to receive this intelligence as false and malicious; but Clifford persisting in his charge, Stanley was committed to prison, and shortly after brought before the privy-council. On his examination he readily acknowledged the justness of the charge exhibited against him by Clifford, either imagining that an open confession might serve as an atonement, or relying on his former services for safety and forgiveness. But in this he found himself mistaken; for after a delay of six weeks, (during which the king affected to deliberate on his conduct) he was brought to trial, condemned, and shortly after beheaded.

A. D. 1494. Upon the extinction of this confederacy, Henry turned his attention to the affairs of Ireland, where he was informed Perkin had secured himself a very considerable party. He appointed his second son Henry, then only in the third year of his age, Lieutenant of that kingdom, and Sir Edward Poynings his deputy in the administration of the civil and military departments of government.

Sir Edward, on his arrival in Ireland, made a very diligent and strict enquiry into the conduct of all those who had rendered themselves liable to suspicion, and particularly the earls of Desmond and Kildare, who had carried on an epistolary correspondence with the pretender. These, however, both experienced the king's clemency, and received a free pardon, which was afterwards extended to all the rebels in that kingdom, the king wisely judging that there was no way so likely to crush the seeds of rebellion as by acts of mercy, which for that reason he thought pro-

per to adopt in preference to that rigour and severity which had already created him so many enemies; and especially in a country; the inhabitants of which were so generally attached to the interests of the house of York.

The influence of Henry's insatiable avarice got the better of all the designs his clemency had suggested; and though he was deemed the richest sovereign that ever sat on the English throne, his abundance served only to excite his rapacious desires. Nothing could stop his avidity for accumulating riches. He enforced the execution of the penal laws, so that no subject, however exalted his station, was safe. Payments only could protect the rich, and inability defend the poor.

The first object of his severity was Sir William Cappel, Alderman of London, who was falsely accused, and condemned in the sum of 2700 pounds, 1000 of which was accepted by way of composition; but the most flagrant instance of his extortion and ingratitude, was his prosecution of the lord chamberlain Stanley, by whose death the king found himself in possession of an estate of three thousand pounds a year, besides forty thousand marks in cash and plate, together with jewels, furniture and effects, to an immense value, in his castle of Holt.

So many complicated instances of avarice and ingratitude could not fail to incur the popular resentment, which was exhibited in the most acrimonious and satirical libels against the judges, the council, and the king himself, in revenge for which five persons of inferior rank, who were detected in distributing them, were executed on a charge of high treason.

A. D. 1495. The next summer Henry took another journey into the North, under colour of paying a visit to the earl of Derby, to vindicate to him his proceedings against the late lord chamberlain, who was brother to that nobleman.

Perkin Warbeck having been furnished with some ships and a number of forces to enable him to make a descent in England, resolved not to neglect this favourable opportunity. In the month of July, therefore, he embarked and landing some of his party on the Kentish coast, began to sound the dispositions of the inhabitants.

Notwithstanding an attempt made to persuade the gentlemen of the country, that a powerful force was preparing in Flanders to support the duke of York's pretensions; they, instead of joining them as they were solicited, endeavoured, by fair promises, to decoy the impostor on shore, in order to secure his person and deliver him up to the king's resentment. The cautious youth, however, refused to hazard his safety on these flattering assurances, and the disappointed English avenged themselves of his want of confidence, by putting to the sword all whom he had landed, except about an hundred and fifty, who were conducted to London, and afterwards hanged on gibbets erected along the sea-coast.

In consequence of this disaster, Perkin returned to Flanders; but, in about three months after, effected a second landing in Ireland, where he expected the like favourable reception he had before met with from the partizans of the house of York. But these hopes were now entirely defeated, the king having taken every measure for suppressing all tumults and insurrections in that part of his dominions. Disappointed, therefore, in his designs in Ireland, he determined to try his fortune in Scotland, where, indeed, his affairs seemed to wear a



more benignant aspect. On demanding an audience of James the Fourth of that nation, he was cordially received by that weak monarch, who not only gave implicit credit to the story of his birth and adventures, but even honoured him with so great a degree of confidence, as to give him lady Catherine Gordon in marriage, a lady endowed with a great share of beauty and understanding, who was daughter of the earl of Huntley, and nearly related to himself.

A. D. 1496. Nor did the favours of the Scottish king stop here; for, not satisfied with having afforded Perkin shelter at his court, he determined to use his utmost endeavours to put him in possession of the crown of England. A manifesto was accordingly published, in which Henry was stigmatized as an usurper, tyrant and murderer; and the most seducing promises held out to such as should join their lawful prince, and invest him with the crown of which he had been unjustly deprived. This proceeding, however, was attended with no success notwithstanding the spirited manner in which it was set on foot. The English were too well acquainted with the rigour of their reigning monarch, and thought it highly impolitic to entrust their safety and possessions to a stranger, even though he should prove to be the legitimate offspring of Edward IV. So that finding the English refused the least assistance, James despaired of accomplishing the business he had begun, and contented himself with ravaging the country, to indemnify himself for the charges of the expedition.

The consequences, however, of this attempt, unsuccessful as it proved, were not deemed worthy to be slighted by Henry, who could not but be conscious of the progress Perkin had hitherto made in the affection of his subjects, the influence of the Yorkists over the Irish, together with the convenient situation of the invader, to embrace the first opportunity of making another trial. With this unfavourable prospect before him, the king thought it best, at all events, to provide against contingencies, and therefore issued a general pardon to all the Irish who had taken up arms in behalf of the pretender, which he supposed would prevent their engaging a second time in any future rebellion. And in order to secure an alliance with James, he empowered Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, to offer that prince his eldest daughter in marriage.

A. D. 1497. The late interference of James in favour of Perkin furnished Henry with a pretence to apply for a new subsidy. In January therefore he called a parliament in which he urged the necessity of carrying on a war with Scotland, for which a sum of money must be immediately raised, not that this plea had any foundation in reality, but that his boundless rapacity would in resources find at least a temporary gratification. Not doubting the success of his negotiation with Scotland, he determined to be speedy in levying the tax which had been granted, fearful lest the conclusion of a peace might put it out of his power.

But the collection of this subsidy was attended with more difficulty than he had foreseen; for the inhabitants of Cornwall absolutely refused to contribute supplies for the safety of the western counties, and resolved never to submit to so intolerable a grievance. These discontents were greatly aggravated by Michael Joseph, a farrier of Bodmin, who was ever a popular orator in the cause

of faction. With him was joined Thomas Flammock, a clamorous lawyer; and these two undertook to harangue the people, who they said ought not to be burdened with the expences of a Scottish war, as the fees of the crown were the proper funds appropriated to such purposes. The populace thus convinced of the illegality of this measure, put themselves under the guidance of Joseph and Flammock, who readily quitted their respective professions and undertook to conduct the enterprise, till some person of rank should assume the command.

Weapons of various kinds were immediately procured, armed with which, and headed by these leaders, the insurgents, marched through the counties of Devon and Somerset, and picked up a number of stragglers in their way. Their first exploit was at Taunton, where they murdered a collector, who had been rather rigid in the discharge of his duty.

On their arrival at Wells they were joined by Lord Audley, a popular nobleman, of a restless ambitious and factious disposition, to whom the command was now transferred, and who led them with all expedition towards London, threatening vengeance against the king's commissioners, but committing, however, no devastation, by the way. Nevertheless, instead of continuing their route to the capital, which had been their original intention, they pitched their camp on Blackheath, between Eltham and Greenwich. Their object in so doing was the hopes of being joined by the Kentish inhabitants, many of whom had been remarked for their zeal and attachment to the cause of freedom. But in this part of their project they failed, the nobility and freeholders having taken such prudent precautions, that not a single man could be obtained, which so intimidated many of the rebels, that they returned to their own habitations.

Although Henry had suffered the insurgents to proceed thus far without interruption, he was yet resolved to keep a considerable reserve of troops in the southern parts of the kingdom, having previously provided against the danger of a Scottish invasion by detaching the earl of Surry with an army to defend the northern frontiers.

Hearing that the rebels had committed no acts of violence on their way, he put himself in no great haste to oppose them, but employed himself in founding the dispositions of the counties through which they passed, and flattered himself that the length and fatigue of their march would tire them out, and induce them to disperse.

The Londoners were, notwithstanding, filled with dreadful apprehensions, till they saw the king concert measures for their security, and even take up his station between them and the enemy. Henry was no sooner informed that the rebels had encamped on Blackheath, than he ranged his army in three divisions, one of which commanded by the earl of Oxford was prepared to cut off their retreat, and attack them in the rear as occasion should require. Lord d'Aubigny having the command of the second body, was to engage them in front, and Henry himself was encamped with the third division in St. George's Fields, in order that he might be in readiness to supply the other two with occasional reinforcements, or, in case of accidents, to make a safe retreat to the metropolis.

Having given such manifest instances of his caution and prudence, he signified his intentions of engaging the rebels on Monday, though his real de-



sign was to attack them on Saturday, which manoeuvre was attended with the desired success. In the afternoon of the 22d of June the Lord d'Aubigny, having arranged his troops in proper order, marched towards the enemy. On his arrival at Deptford, he repulsed an advanced guard of the rebels placed to secure the bridge, after which, ascending the hill, he found the main body on the heath, seemingly in great disorder, not having suspected that any attack would be made till the ensuing Monday.

On the appearance of d'Aubigny they drew up their forces with all expedition, and defended themselves with such resolution, that upwards of three hundred of the king's troops were slain. D'Aubigny, in advancing to the charge, was taken prisoner, but the valour of his soldiers soon released him from captivity, and slew great numbers of the rebels, who, in their endeavours to escape by flight, were intercepted by that division commanded by the earl of Oxford.

In this action two thousand of the rebels were slain. Lord Audley, Flammock and Joseph were taken, and the remainder surrendered at discretion. Audley was beheaded on Tower-hill, Flammock and Joseph were hanged at Tyburn; and the rest, amounting to near sixteen thousand, were pardoned.

Such being the state of affairs in the south, we now proceed to give an account of what was doing in the northern parts of the kingdom. James, king of Scotland, having made a second irruption into England, had besieged the castle of Norham, but was soon obliged to retreat by the earl of Surry, who marched to relieve the place, and pursued him to his own country, where he reduced the castle of Ayton, between Berwick and Edinburgh. But conferences were soon afterwards held at Ayton, on the mediation of Don Pedro d'Ayala the Spanish ambassador, and with the joint consent of both sovereigns.

The negotiation was at first attended with some difficulty, on account of the fate of Perkin Warbeck, whom James refused to surrender. It was resolved, however, at length that the Pretender should be honorably dismissed, and that matters should continue in the same train as if he had never been received in Scotland. Whereupon James told Warbeck, that as he had exerted all his power in his behalf, and had met with no encouragement from the English, he could not expect that he should be able to establish him on the throne of that kingdom in direct opposition to their inclinations. He advised him, therefore, to prosecute some more likely methods for the attainment of his design, and withdraw to some other country; assuring him, that he would nevertheless equip him with a supply of money and shipping to convey him to a more eligible situation. Perkin's resolution supported him under the pressure of his misfortunes, and having obtained conveyance for himself and wife, he departed for Ireland, and landed at Corke, where he found still a considerable number of friends and adherents.

After his departure, the commissioners at Ayton concluded a truce for seven years, the substance of which was that hostilities should entirely cease between the two kings; that some particulars still undetermined, should be left to the decision of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and that the truce should continue for the space of twelve months, after the death of that party which should first happen. Though the treaty was wholly silent as to the marriage of James and the daughter of Henry, that event afterwards took place, and established an union between the two crowns.

A. D. 1498. Notwithstanding peace was now settled with all the powers of Europe, Henry was in a far different situation with respect to his own subjects. His clemency to the Cornish insurgents instead of conciliating their affections, tended only to create new disorders. On their arrival at their own habitations, they insinuated that the king's lenity proceeded from fear, and not from principle; and this opinion gained ground with the majority of the people. These sentiments encouraged them to make another effort against the government, in which they were joined by many of their friends and acquaintance; and still farther to strengthen their party and countenance their proceedings, Perkin was invited over from Ireland, to command their expedition.

Being assured that he should find many friends to support him, Perkin accepted the invitation, and embarking with about 70 men in four small vessels landed at Whitesand bay in the month of September.

Perkin no sooner made his appearance at Bodmin, than the populace to the number of three thousand flocked to his standard. Here he first assumed the title of Richard the fourth, king of England, and caused himself to be publicly proclaimed as such, exhorting the multitude to arm themselves in defence of his and their common rights, and to wrest the sceptre out of the hands of an usurper.

Resolving not to suffer the spirits of his party to languish, he led them on gallantly to the gates of Exeter, intending to establish a magazine in that town, and retain it as an asylum in case of misfortune. Finding the inhabitants obstinate in refusing him admittance, he resolved to take the city by storm. But being unprovided with artillery for that purpose, he had recourse to scaling the walls. All his attempts, however, proved fruitless: the inhabitants made a vigorous resistance, and the assailants were repulsed with the loss of two hundred men.

In the mean time Henry, having gained intelligence of the proceedings of Perkin, testified great satisfaction on the occasion, declaring himself overjoyed at the thoughts of having an interview with a person he had long desired to see. The nobility and gentry of Devonshire now raised troops at their own expence, equally zealous to repel the insurgents, and remove all suspicions of their fidelity to the king. The lords D'Aubigny and Brooke, the earl of Devonshire and the duke of Buckingham appeared at the head of their respective forces, anxious for an opportunity of displaying their courage and loyalty, and the king ordered D'Aubigny to march towards Exeter, to which place he promised soon to follow him with a numerous army.

Perkin, informed of these preparations, raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton, where he declared he would hazard a battle. His followers amounting to seven thousand men, appeared ready to support him; but his courage failing him, he stole away secretly from them in the night, and took sanctuary in the monastery of Beaulieu in the new forest. Lord d'Aubigny, hearing of his retreat, detached three hundred horse to beset the sanctuary, till farther orders.

The wretched adherents of Perkin, finding themselves deserted, laid down their arms, and submitted to the king's mercy, which was extended to all except a few of the principals, who alone were treated with capital severity. A detachment of cavalry was then ordered to St. Michael's mount,



mount, to secure the lady Catherine Gordon, Perkin's wife, as the king foresaw that in case of her pregnancy the rebellion might be continued to another generation. On her arrival in his majesty's presence he was so captivated with her beauty and graceful deportment, that he resolved to shew her all the lenity due to her sex and quality, promising her protection, appointing her a reputable station near the person of the queen, and allowing her a considerable pension, which she enjoyed till her death.

Henry after this proceeded to Exeter, to the mayor of which he presented his sword in gratitude for his signal defence of the city, and the zeal he had testified to the royal cause. A council of war was now called to determine in what manner to dispose of Perkin, who still remained in the sanctuary. By some it was suggested that he should be dragged from his retreat, and made a public example; but the king was of opinion that mild methods would answer a much better purpose. Some persons were, therefore, deputed to treat with Perkin, and to prevail with him, on assurance of pardon, to surrender himself to justice, and make a full confession of every circumstance of his imposture. The desperate state of his affairs induced him to accept the king's offers, and to quit the sanctuary, without hesitation. Henry, desirous of seeing him, had him brought to court, where he looked at him from a window; but he was never admitted into his presence. He was then led through the streets in a kind of mock triumph from Westminster to the Tower, where one of his chief abettors was executed; and himself signed a confession, which was nevertheless so defective and contradictory, that, instead of explaining the imposture, it served but to involve it in still greater mystery and perplexity.

A. D. 1499. However, though Perkin's life was spared, he was still kept in confinement, which not being long able to brook, he escaped from his guard, and flying to the sanctuary of Shene, put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. He was a second time requested to rely on the king's clemency; but this he refused, and, in order to degrade him to the most abject situation, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and in Cheapside, and compelled to read aloud the confessions he had formerly made. He was afterwards conducted to the Tower, where such was his turbulent and active disposition, that he engaged in a plot which cost him his life. Having found means to obtain an intimacy with some servants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, and by their means effected a correspondence with the unfortunate earl of Warwick, they agreed together to take the first opportunity of escaping. They, however, perceived that this could not be done without murdering the lieutenant, in order to which Perkin tampered with the servants, who, it is said, agreed to perpetrate the horrid deed, and thus secure the gates of the Tower, by which the prisoners might make their escape to some secure part of the kingdom.

It has been conjectured that Perkin was permitted to enter into this correspondence with the earl of Warwick by the connivance of the king, who hoped that his enterprising spirit and insinuating address would engage the simple Warwick in some project, that would afford a pretence for taking away the life of that nobleman.

The designs of the sagacious Henry were greatly facilitated by another commotion which was now

raised in Kent, where a young man called Ralph Wilford, a shoemaker's son, personated the earl of Warwick, under the tuition of one Patrick an Augustine Monk, who, in his summons, exhorted the people to take up arms in his favour. The friar and pupil were both arrested; and Wilford was hanged without ceremony, but the tutor, who had been employed as a tool by the king's emissaries, obtained his pardon. This was but the prologue to the tragedy of Perkin and the earl of Warwick, the former of whom being tried at Westminster, and convicted on the evidence of the servants of the Tower, was hanged at Tyburn, together with John Walter, mayor of Corke, a firm adherent in his cause through all the vicissitudes of his fortune. Blewet and Ashwood, two of the servants, shared the same fate, but six of their accomplices, who had been likewise condemned, were afterwards pardoned. Within a few days after Perkin's execution, the wretched earl of Warwick was tried by his peers, and, being convicted of high treason, was beheaded on Tower-Hill on the 28th of November; and with him perished the last male heir of the House of York.

A. D. 1500. Henry, having no longer any opposition to dread, resolved to increase his opulence at the expence of his enemies. Pretending therefore that the rebels were amenable to the rigour of the law, he insisted that every one should purchase his pardon separately, from which device he obtained very considerable resources. And in order to levy the money arising from these indulgencies, commissioners were appointed to discover who were the persons that had been directly or indirectly engaged in the rebellion of Perkin or the Blacksmith. These inquisitors were authorized to demand a fine from every one who claimed the benefit of this pardon, and even to seize the effects of the deceased, should their heirs refuse to make a composition.

These arbitrary and oppressive measures were generally imputed to the pernicious counsels of cardinal Moreton, archbishop of Canterbury, whose death at this time diffused universal joy throughout the kingdom. This prelate was succeeded by Henry Dean, bishop of Salisbury, and it soon plainly appeared, that Moreton had been unjustly censured for an extortion which was the sole effect of the king's own avarice.

A. D. 1501. An accident happened at the beginning of the year ensuing, which gave Henry great uneasiness, and was productive of some state-commotions. The earl of Suffolk, (nephew to Edward IV. and brother to the earl of Lincoln, who lost his life at the battle of Stoke) had in his passion killed a man, and though he was allied to the house of York, the king refused (and indeed very justly) to indulge him with a pardon, unless he should appear and plead it publicly. This was considered by the earl as an indignity ill-suited to his pride, in resentment of which he retired in disgust to his aunt the dutchess of Burgundy.

Henry was alarmed at the step taken by Suffolk: he was fearful lest he should concert some design to his prejudice; and therefore dispatched emissaries to the continent, with large offers and promises, to that nobleman, which being accepted, a reconciliation took place, and Suffolk returned to England.

The death of Perkin and the earl of Warwick having secured the crown to Henry against all pretenders, a marriage took place between Arthur prince



prince of Wales, and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon, which was solemnized with great splendor on the fourteenth of November, the prince being in his sixteenth, and the princess in her nineteenth year. Her dowry was said to amount to two hundred thousand ducats in specie, besides jewels and plate; and the jointure settled upon her, in case the prince should die before his accession to the throne, was a third part of the principality of Wales, the dukedom of Cornwall, and the earldom of Chester.

A. D. 1502. This marriage was soon after succeeded by another, between the king of Scotland and the princess Margaret, daughter of Henry; the treaty for which being ratified by the Scottish ambassadors in London, on the twenty-fourth of January, the nuptials were solemnized by proxy, to the great satisfaction of the people, who hoped that in consequence of this event, all differences would subside between the two nations. Their joy, however, was but of short duration, being greatly damped by the death of Arthur, who about five months after his marriage, departed this life at Ludlow, universally lamented by the English, who had formed great expectations from his extraordinary talents, had he lived to enjoy the crown. His title and dignities devolved upon his brother Henry, afterwards king of England.

A. D. 1503. The death of the queen in childhood, which happened the beginning of this year, instead of being considered by the king as a misfortune, gave him no little pleasure, as his hatred to the family of York could never be eradicated.

As Henry advanced in years his avarice increased, and the methods he took to fill his coffers at the expence of his subjects were highly unjustifiable. For this purpose he had pitched upon two infamous ministers, called Empson and Dudley, as perfectly qualified to promote his avaricious designs. They both followed the practice of the law, the first of low extraction, brutish behaviour, and an unrelenting disposition; the other better born indeed, and better bred, but equally inflexible and cruel. Their method was to prefer indictments against the objects of their oppression, and commit them to prison on false accusations, which having done their liberty could only be obtained by heavy fines, which were extorted as mitigations and compositions as they were then called; and to such a height of injustice were they at last arrived, that even the common forms of law were dispensed with, and causes were decided without the verdict of a jury. In this summary way did they determine upon the properties of the subjects, and confiscate their estates to the royal treasury.

These oppressions were not only countenanced by the king, but he even condescended to practice them himself; nor could the remonstrances of the suffering parties in the least avail them against this unwarrantable exercise of arbitrary power. Nor was it his enemies only whom he plundered; but even his friends, and those to whom he lay under the greatest obligations were made to feel the effects of his boundless rapacity. One day when he was on a visit to the earl of Oxford to whom he was in a great measure indebted for his crown, after having been entertained in a most sumptuous and hospitable manner, as he was preparing to depart he saw ranged on both sides a number of men dressed in rich liveries. The king surprized at seeing so many domestics, asked his lordship whether he constantly retained in his service so considerable a number of menial servants. The earl very mo-

destly replied, they were only retained on this occasion to do his majesty the greater honour. The king started back, saying "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I must not suffer the laws to be broken before my face; my attorney-general must talk with you." Nor did he scruple to verify his declaration, for the earl is said to have paid no less than sixteen thousand marks for this pretended offence.

The result of these iniquitous proceedings was a general tumult among the people, whose violence was farther excited and encouraged by the earl of Suffolk, who having dissipated and impoverished his fortunes, was in hopes of repairing them by the contrivance of new schemes against Henry's person and government. Becoming by degrees more and more popular, he found means to acquire a number of adherents, and went over to Flanders, with a view of obtaining succours from Margaret of Burgundy.

Alarmed at his retreat, Henry employed Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, to practise the self same expedient, which had formerly frustrated all the measures of Perkin Warbeck. That officer acquitted himself so dexterously in the task assigned him, that in a short time he insinuated himself into the favours of Suffolk, and soon became acquainted with the names and persons of all the parties concerned. In consequence of this information, which Sir Robert immediately communicated to the king, writs were issued against William Courtney, earl of Devonshire, Henry's brother-in-law, and husband to the princess Catherine, daughter of Edward IV. William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel and Sir John Wyndham, George, lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green, were upon a slight suspicion taken into custody, but were soon discharged for want of evidence.

The earl of Devon and de la Pole were detained in confinement during the king's life, though no material charge was ever brought against them. Tyrrel, so notorious for his share in the death of Edward V. with Wyndham, and some others of less consequence, were executed as traitors. Suffolk found refuge for some time in Flanders, where he was protected by Philip the archduke of Austria, and entertained in a manner suitable to his character.

Finding himself secure from any farther apprehensions in consequence of the revolt of Suffolk, Henry directed his attention towards a business of very material importance. The late prince of Wales having died without issue, Henry perceived he must either send back his widow into Spain, and consequently refund one half of her dowry, or if she continued in England, put her in possession of the jointure settled on her by treaty. In order to overcome this difficulty, and obviate these disagreeable alternatives, to both of which he had equal objections, he proposed to Ferdinand that the princess Catherine should be married to Henry prince of Wales, brother to her late husband. The Spanish monarch readily concurred with this proposal, provided means could be found to procure the pope's dispensation, a step highly necessary to establish the validity of such a preposterous and illegal union.

A. D. 1504. A parliament being now assembled, Henry obtained a subsidy for the portion of his eldest daughter, which amounted to a far greater sum than that which he had paid to the king of Scotland. The government became at this period



in the highest degree despotic, of which nothing can be a stronger proof, than the choice they made of the venal and wicked Dudley as Speaker of the House of Commons: and indeed the meanness of this parliament was perfectly correspondent to the mercenary views of the sovereign, which they testified their zeal to promote, by gratifying the king's avarice to the disgrace of their own honour, and the most intolerable oppression of their constituents, whom they were in duty bound to defend.

Henry now thought it necessary to amuse the people with the ostentatious parade of a ridiculous and unnecessary pageantry. With this view he gave orders for removing the corpse of Henry VI. from Windsor to Westminster, where it was interred with great pomp and solemnity. The king even applied to the pope for the canonization of that monarch, but so little credit had been given to the miracles pretended to have been wrought by him after his decease, that his holiness would not admit him to a place among the saints, without such a consideration as Henry's avarice would not permit him to afford, so that he was obliged to relinquish that part of his design.

A. D. 1505. As the height of Henry's ambition was to amass wealth, and as all his thoughts were directed to this one point, he supposed that if he could effect a marriage with the widow of Ferdinand, king of Naples, he should by that means get possession of the vast dowry allotted to her in that kingdom. He therefore employed Francis Pearson and other agents to make a minute enquiry into all the particulars of that lady's person and fortune; but the result of this enquiry was that the queen's large jointure in land had been converted into an annuity for life, so that these emissaries set out for Spain without making known the intention of their journey to Naples.

A. D. 1506. Philip and Joan having been proclaimed king and queen of Castile at Brussels, were nevertheless prevented from taking possession of that kingdom, by the war in Guelderland, and the pregnancy of the queen, who was in a short time delivered of the princess Mary, afterwards queen of Hungary. However, at the conclusion of the war, the queen being in a condition for travelling, on the tenth of January they both embarked with a powerful armament.

A violent storm having overtaken them in the channel, the fleet was separated, and the ship in which the royal passengers had embarked was driven into the harbour of Weymouth. Alarmed at the sight of so large a squadron the peasants took to their arms; but Sir Thomas Frenchford, a Devonshire knight, hearing that the royal Castilians were landed, paid his respects to them in person, begging to have the honour of accommodating them till the king should be informed of their arrival. With this request Philip willingly complied, as the weather would not admit of their immediate embarkation.

When the news of their landing was communicated to Henry, he sent the earl of Arundel with compliments of congratulation, and assurances of the pleasure he should feel in entertaining them, which he should gladly embrace with all possible expedition, and in the mean time desired they would consider him and his dominions as wholly devoted to their service.

The court being at this time kept at Windsor, Philip and his queen instantly repaired thither, and met with a very gracious and honourable reception. Henry resolved to profit by this royal interview,

and therefore proposed to Philip that the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries should be renewed, with some alterations favourable to England; and to which proposition Philip readily acceded.

Encouraged by his success in this application, Henry then acquainted Philip with his intention of espousing his sister Margaret, widow to the duke of Savoy. The king of Castile tempted by the prospect of an alliance so considerable, readily acquiesced with this proposal, in consequence of which the contract was signed, and Philip agreed to pay three hundred thousand crowns, as a dowry to his sister, together with an annuity to a very large amount.

Another point still however remained to be obtained. It may be remembered that the earl of Suffolk had found an asylum in the territories of Philip, and Henry still feeling some apprehensions of fresh commotions, determined to detain his royal guest, till he should consent to deliver up that nobleman into his power. In a private conversation with Philip therefore he addressed him in words to this effect: "Sir, you have been saved on my coast, I hope you will not suffer me to be wrecked on yours."

Surprized at this unexpected address, the emotion with which it was delivered, and the ambiguous terms in which it was couched, Philip requested an explanation: Henry answered, "I mean that wild extravagant fellow, my subject, the earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool when others are tired of the game." To this Philip replied, "I thought your present circumstances had raised you above all such apprehensions; but since his residence in Flanders gives you disquiet, I will banish him from my dominions." Henry intimating still a desire of having him in his power, Philip told him with some hesitation, that his honour was engaged not to deliver him up, besides that such a request would derogate from the character of the English monarch, as the world would thence conclude that he had treated his guest as a prisoner; "I will venture to incur the disgrace," said Henry, "and so your honour will remain inviolate." Philip finding him so importunate, answered, "Sir, you give law to me, and I will dictate to you in my turn: Suffolk shall be delivered up to you, but on condition of your passing your honour that his life shall be safe." This promise being obtained, Philip wrote to the earl, assuring him he had procured his pardon, which being confirmed by an express message from Henry, that nobleman returned to England, but was committed prisoner to the Tower.

On Suffolk's arrival, the king of Castile was suffered to pursue his voyage, after a residence of three months in England, during which he was installed a knight of the garter, and in return confirmed the honour of the golden fleece on the prince of Wales.

A. D. 1507. Empson and Dudley, the two infamous instruments of Henry's oppression, among other acts of extortion and injustice, entered a severe prosecution against Sir William Capel, whom under colour of misconduct in his mayoralty, they amerced in the sum of two thousand pounds; but being irritated by former exactions, he refused payment, and was committed to the Tower, where he continued in confinement during the remainder of Henry's reign.

But the wealth and opulence which Henry had now



now acquired by the most sordid avarice; joined to the meanest frugality, could not shield him from the misfortunes incident to human nature. The gout which had seized him; fell upon his lungs, and in a short time produced an asthma; notwithstanding which he continued his attention to business of the state, till at length the decay of his health obliged him to direct his attention to affairs of a more serious nature.

A. D. 1508. The king's disorder continuing to increase, notwithstanding all the art of medicine, and there being great reason to imagine his dissolution was near at hand, Henry was desirous of performing some actions that might recommend him to the divine mercy, and, at the same time, in some measure, procure him the applause of the people. To effect this, he distributed alms, founded religious houses, and granted a general pardon to all his subjects. He affected great concern at the extortions of Empson and Dudley, discharged all debtors from confinement, under the sum of forty shillings; and among other religious foundations, endowed the hospital of the Savoy, and erected that beautiful chapel in Westminster Abbey, which still bears his name.

A. D. 1509. Having made his will and bequeathed his crown to his son Henry, he died at Richmond on the twenty-second day of April, in the twenty-fourth year of her reign, and fifty-third of his age.

Henry VII. was tall, strait, and well shaped, though slender; a grave aspect, and saturnine complexion: austere in address, and reserved in conversation, except when he had a favourite point to carry; and then he could fawn, flatter, and practise all the arts of insinuation. He inherited a natural fund of sagacity, which was improved by study and experience; nor was he deficient in personal bravery, or political courage. He was cool, close, cunning, distrustful and designing; and of all the princes that had sat upon the English throne, the most sordid, selfish, and ignoble. He possessed in a peculiar manner, the art of turning all his domestic troubles, and all his foreign disputes, to his own advantage: hence he acquired the appellation of the English Solomon, and all the powers of the continent courted his alliance on account of his wealth, and uninterrupted prosperity. He entirely excluded the nobility from the administration of public affairs, and employed clergymen and lawyers, who, depending entirely upon his favour, were more obsequious to his will, and ready to concur in all his arbitrary measures. His mind was continually actuated by two ruling passions equally base and unkingly; namely, the fear of losing his crown, and the desire of amassing riches; and these motives influenced his whole conduct. Nevertheless, his apprehension and avarice redounded, on the whole, to the advantage of the nation. The first induced him to depress the nobility, and abolish the feudal tenures, which rendered them equally formidable to the prince and the people; and his avarice prompted him to encourage industry and trade, because it improved his customs, and enriched his subjects, whom he could after-

wards pillage at discretion. Such is the character of Henry VII. who (as the lord Bacon justly observes) may be said to have "lived with employment, and died with repentance."

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Henry VII.

A. D.

1483 Yeomen of the guard to attend on the king first instituted.

In September this year a disease (called the sweating sickness) prevailed throughout the kingdom; and, though it did not continue five weeks, carried off many thousands of the inhabitants. A remedy was at length discovered to effect a cure, which was by keeping the patient moderately warm, and giving him cordials not too strong.

1486 Bernard Andrews, appointed Poet Laureat to the king, and allowed ten marks as his salary, amounting to about six pounds.

1487 The court of Star-Chamber instituted.

1488 Maps and sea charts first brought into England by Columbus.

1491 Greek first introduced into England.

1492 America discovered this year by Christopher Columbus.

1493 Joan Boughton, a widow, burnt for heresy.

1494 Alice Hackney, who had been buried 175 years, was dug up in the church of St. Mary Hill: the skin was whole, and the joints of the arms pliable.

1497 The East-Indies discovered this year by a Portuguese.

1498 The West-Indies discovered by Columbus.

1500 This year there happened a great plague in England, which, in a short time, carried off no less than 30,000 people.

1501 The first annual city feast held at Guildhall, when Sir John Shaw was lord-mayor.

The company of Taylors styled Merchant Taylors.

1504 Henry VIIth's chapel built at the east end of Westminster-abbey.

1505 Shillings first coined in England.

1507 This year the sweating sickness again broke out in England, and carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

In this reign the interest of money, the profits of exchange and the exportation of plate and bullion were prohibited. Prices were fixed on woollen cloth and hats, and the wages of labourers were settled. Several necessary laws were enacted for the execution of justice and the punishment of murderers, and for subjecting the clergy to capital punishments for enormous offences.

The most conspicuous persons of genius and learning who flourished during the reign of Henry VII. were, Sir John Fortescue and Sir Thomas Lyttleton. The former was Lord chief justice of the King's Bench in the reign of Henry VI. to whom he was appointed chancellor, after Edward IV. had supplanted him in the throne. For his attachment to the house of Lancaster, he was imprisoned soon after the battle of Tewkesbury, and attainted with others of that party, but was afterwards pardoned by Edward IV. His principal productions were his celebrated book "*De laudibus legum Angliæ*," written for the use of prince Edward, and a treatise on the "Difference between an absolute and a limited monarchy," the latter of which did not make its appearance in print, till the year 1714.

Sir Thomas Lyttleton, knight of the Bath, and a judge in the court of common pleas, wrote the book of "*Tenures or Tithes*," by which all possessions were formerly held in England, and was first published at Rouen about the year 1533.



## B O O K XI.

From the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

## C H A P. I.

## H E N R Y VIII.

*Accession of Henry VIII. His marriage with the princess Catherine. League of Cambray. Cardinal Wolsey made prime minister. Henry makes war against France. Siege of Terouenne. Battle of the Spurs. Siege of Tournay. Battle of Floddon. Peace concluded with Scotland and France. Wolsey's rapid preferment. Battle of Marignano. The princess Mary betrothed to the dauphin of France. Interview of the English and French kings at Andres. War declared against France. Military proceedings on the continent. The king questions the legality of his marriage. Wolsey's disgrace, and promotion of Cranmer. The king obtains a divorce, and marries Anne Boleyn. Is excommunicated by the pope. Imposture of the maid of Kent. Death of Catherine. Execution of Anne Boleyn. The king married to lady Jane Seymour. Insurrection in the north. Birth of Prince Edward, and death of the queen. Dissolution of the monasteries. The bible translated into English. The king's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Execution of Cromwell earl of Essex. Henry's marriage with Catherine Howard. Divorce of Anne of Cleves. Countess of Salisbury beheaded. The queen convicted of incontinency and put to death. Transactions in Scotland. Henry marries Catherine Parr. His fruitless expedition to France. The queen's artifice to elude the king's resentment. Trial of Norfolk and Surry. Execution of the latter. Death and character of Henry VIII.*

**F**REED from the avaricious tyranny of the late king, the nation considered the accession of his son as an event that might be productive of their greatest felicity. And as the peace of the kingdom was secured by powerful alliances, the highest expectations were conceived from the extraordinary abilities of young Henry, who, at the time of his accession, was only in the eighteenth year of his age.

The disposition of Henry was the very reverse of that of his father's, for his liberality almost bordered on profusion. Pleasure succeeded to despondence, and avarice was exchanged for dissipation. Titles and tournaments were exhibited with magnificence, and the treasures amassed by the late king were lavished by his successor with an unbounded luxury.

Henry was, nevertheless, attentive to the remonstrances of his people, and such as had exercised their lawless oppressions over them now felt the force of royal resentment and popular indignation. Among these the foremost were Empson and Dudley, who were cited before the council to answer for their delinquencies; but they soon found means to evade the charges exhibited against them. They urged that all they had done was in conformity to their master's orders; that it was not their office to alter or amend, but to enforce the laws, whose validity they had no right to dispute. These arguments were deemed unanswerable, in consequence of which the council could only commit them to the Tower till fresh matter should be found to convict them. A few days after a charge of high treason was brought against them, wherein it was alledged, "that, conscious of the popular odium, they had concerted measures, while the king lay on his death-bed, to secure themselves from the peoples resentment." These measures were construed into a conspiracy against the new king, of which they were found guilty, and soon after beheaded.

The next object which engaged the attention of the council, was to deliberate on the legality of the king's intended marriage with Catherine of Arragon. Fox, bishop of Winchester, strongly supported the measure. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, was against it, urging, that a marriage with a brother's widow was strictly prohibited by God himself, and that the pope's dispensation, therefore, was of no force. In answer to this, Fox pointed out the absolute authority of Christ's vicar, with many other arguments religious and political, tending to prove the validity of the dispensation, and the necessity of consummating the nuptials. He displayed the mental and personal graces of the princess, her love for the king, the large dowry she brought, and the expediency of forming a strict alliance with Spain, to balance the power of France; and in consequence of these forcible arguments, the marriage was accordingly solemnized.

But notwithstanding the success of Winchester in this particular, his interest soon began to decline. His own notions of frugality were ill calculated to countenance the young king's prodigality, against which he could not forbear to remonstrate, while the earl of Surry's selfish principles led him to encourage the prevailing taste for splendor and magnificence. This conduct of Surry so incensed the bishop of Winchester, that he determined to find out some proper person to inspect into his actions; and the one who seemed best calculated for this office was Dr. Thomas Wolsey, a person eminently distinguished for his mental abilities. This insinuating young gentleman having recommended himself, by his address, and pleasurable propensities, to the notice of the king, soon became a most conspicuous object of his favour, as will farther appear in the course of this reign.

A. D. 1510. The wars of Italy now attracted the attention of all Europe. A league had been formed at Cambray at the instance of pope Julius II.





Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.



in conjunction with the kings of France and Spain, for stripping the republic of Venice of her continental territories. Absorbed in the aggrandizement of the holy see, this pontiff made no scruple of involving Italy in a deluge of blood. No sooner had the French recovered the territories claimed by the contracting parties, than the pope, having obtained possession of the dominions which he pretended belonged to the church, determined to break the alliance, and reduce the power of Lewis, which he thought much too formidable. Having excited the rest of the European states against him, he endeavoured to gain over the king of England on his side, and to that end sent him a consecrated golden rose as a mark of his favour and attention. He also engaged Ferdinand of Spain to assist him, concluded a treaty with the provinces of Switzerland, and with this powerful confederacy attacked the duke of Ferrara, an ally of France.

Lewis, not suspecting any attack, had made no preparations for defence; but he determined to support his ally with his utmost force. Chamont, his general, hearing the pontiff was arrived at Boulogne, resolved to surprize him, and led his army towards the city; but instead of pushing the siege with vigour, he accepted proposals from Julius which that insidious churchman never intended to perform. Hostilities thus suspended, the Venetians threw themselves into the castle, and Chamont, for want of artillery, was obliged to relinquish his undertaking.

Lewis, after trying all methods to obtain a peace with the pope, determined to depose him at the council of Pisa. But no danger intimidated the pontiff, who, though seventy years of age, laid siege to Mirandola in person, and at length entered the breach, and put his forces in full possession of the place.

A. D. 1512. In the beginning of this year Henry, at the instigation of Ferdinand, who had joined the pope, declared war against France. His ambition to render himself serviceable to the pope, and the hopes of conquering the provinces once annexed to the English crown, stimulated the young king to engage in this enterprize. Ferdinand persuaded Henry to undertake the conquest of Guienne, in which he promised to assist him with a Spanish army, while his real intention was to turn this force to the acquisition of the kingdom of Navarre.

The English monarch, little suspecting the designs of Ferdinand, agreed to the proposal, and an army was accordingly collected with the utmost expedition, the command of which was given to the marquis of Dorset, who embarked at Portsmouth, and, after an easy passage, landed in the province of Guipuscoa. The English admiral made several successful descents upon the coast of Britany, and being joined by a squadron under the command of Sir Thomas Knivet, the depredations were continued with advantage. The English and French fleets soon after came to an engagement, in which Primauguet the French admiral's ship was set on fire, but resolving not to perish alone, he bore down upon the English admiral, and grappling together, both became involved in the same inevitable destruction. In this dreadful catastrophe, sixteen hundred men lost their lives, and both parties were so affected, that they gave up the engagement, the French retiring to Brest, and the English continuing to cruize in the channel.

The marquis of Dorset having, by this time,

penetrated into the designs of the Spanish monarch, complained to him that instead of undertaking the siege of Bayonne, his forces had changed their route towards the frontiers of Navarre, and obtaining but an evasive answer, he refused to give him any farther assistance, resolving not to sacrifice the interests of his master to the selfish views of Ferdinand in the reduction of Navarre. The season was now too far advanced for Dorset to think of making any progress towards the conquest of Guienne, so that he returned to England without having been able to effect any thing worthy of notice. Henry was greatly displeased at the failure of this enterprize, and could hardly be persuaded by Dorset to impute the miscarriage to the deceitful behaviour of Ferdinand.

A. D. 1513. This war, though it proved disadvantageous to the English, served to weaken the powers of France. Obligated to recall his troops for the defence of his dominions, Lewis lost all his conquests in Italy. Julius triumphed in the disgrace of the French king; but he did not long enjoy his good fortune, for on the twenty first of February he paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded by John de Medici, under the title of Leo X. one of the greatest pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair.

The celebrated Wolsey, now at the head of public affairs, did his utmost to encourage the king's inclination for war, and to provide an army that might retrieve the ancient glory of the kingdom. The decisive blow was to be struck on the continent. The van of the army, consisted of eight thousand men, commanded by the earl of Shrewsbury, assisted by the earl of Derby, lords Fitzwalter, Hastings and Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horse. This division, being landed at Calais, was supported by another body of six thousand, under lord Herbert, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, with many other persons of rank and fortune. Henry prepared to follow, but before his departure gave orders for the execution of the earl of Suffolk, who was accordingly beheaded on Tower-hill. His reasons for this cruel action are not sufficiently known. It is imagined, that the unfortunate earl was sacrificed to the king's resentment against his brother Edward de la Pole.

An English fleet presented itself before Brest, but was obliged to retire. The French too made an unsuccessful attempt upon the coast of Suffex. The continent alone seemed the fittest place for action, and on the thirteenth of June, Henry, attended by the duke of Buckingham and others of the nobility, landed the third division at Calais. The Swiss who had been offended by Lewis the twelfth, engaged to invade Burgundy. The emperor Maximilian too had promised to reinforce the English with seven or eight thousand men, but was not able to fulfil his engagement; and in order to exculpate himself, entered as a soldier, and joined Henry with a small body of troops.

Before the king's arrival, the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert had planned the siege of Terouenne on the borders of Picardy. The garrison made a vigorous defence; but being reduced to great extremity for want of supplies, Lewis determined to run a dangerous risque in sending them. Eight hundred cavalry, each of whom carried a quantity of gunpowder and provisions, forced their way through a part of the English camp,



camp, and advancing to the Foss-Way, threw down every man his burden; and galloping back again, sustained very little loss in their return. But the party that was dispatched to cover their retreat was not so successful. These troops, though commanded by some of the bravest captains in the service of France, were so exceedingly dismayed at the sight of the English, that they betook themselves to flight, and many of their best officers were taken prisoners. This action was called by the French the battle of Guinegatte; but by the English the "Battle of the Spurs," as the French, on that occasion, made more use of their spurs than their swords. Had Henry made a proper advantage of this victory, it might have been attended with very important consequences; but, instead of conducting his army into the heart of France, he returned to the siege of the little town of Terouenne, which had made such an obstinate resistance, and when forced to surrender, neither recompensed the blood, nor the delay expended in its reduction.

Nor did the siege of Tournay afford Henry much greater advantage, though the place capitulated in a little time after it had been invested. Sir Edward Poinings was appointed governor, and the bishoprick confirmed on Wolsey, who immediately took possession of its ample revenues.

This siege, though of no long duration, served to retard the great object, which was, the conquest of France; and Henry, hearing that the Swiss had retreated, resolved to return to England, where he arrived on the seventeenth of October, and where flattery was put to the torture, to congratulate him on the success of this ridiculous expedition. A truce was soon after concluded between the two kingdoms.

While Henry had been employed on the continent, James IV king of Scotland, was ravaging the northern parts of Northumberland, with an army of fifty thousand men. The earl of Surry, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, set forward to oppose him. The Scots were encamped on an eminence near Cheviot hills. The river Till, which ran between the armies, prevented an engagement, for which reason Surry sent an herald to the Scottish monarch, offering to meet him in the plain of Milfield, which lay to the south, and there to try their valour on a day appointed for that purpose. But this offer being rejected, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick, which putting the Scotch in motion to annoy his rear, he took advantage of a great smoke, caused by the firing their huts, and passed the little river, which had hitherto prevented their coming to action. Both armies now finding that a battle was inevitable, prepared for the attack with great composure and regularity. The English army was divided into two lines; lord Howard led the main body of the first line, Sir Edmund Howard the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Constable the left; the earl of Surry himself commanded the main body of the second line, supported by lord Dacres and Sir Edward Stanley on the right and left. The Scots, on the other hand, formed themselves into three divisions, the middle commanded by the king himself, the right by the earl of Huntley, and the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle; besides a fourth division, as a body of reserve under the command of the earl of Bothwell. The charge was begun with such impetuosity by lord Huntley, on the division of lord Howard, that the latter was immediately routed

and put into great disorder. Lord Dacres, however, came so seasonably to his support, that the troops rallied, and a general battle ensued. Both armies fought a long time with amazing fury, until the Highlanders, headed by James and his principal nobility, who were most forward in engaging the English, broke in sword in hand upon the main body commanded by the earl of Surry. This they did with such amazing velocity, as to be encompassed by the English forces. Although thus situated, James resolved to maintain his ground to the utmost, and alighting from his horse, formed his forces into a circle, and in this position, exerted such a degree of fortitude, as, for a time, rendered victory doubtful. The English were now obliged to ply their bows and arrows, which did dreadful execution; but night separating the combatants, it was not till the day following, that lord Howard found the victory decided greatly in his favour. The English loss was very inconsiderable, but the whole flower of the Scotch nobility were slain in the battle. Ten thousand of the common men were cut off, and a body supposed to be that of the Scottish monarch was found among the dead, and conveyed to London, where it remained unburied, under a sentence of excommunication denounced against James, for having leagued with France against the holy see. Henry, however, obtained a reversal of the sentence from the pope, and the body was permitted to be interred. The Scots, however, believed their king to be still living, and caused a report to be spread that he was gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Such was the event of the battle of Flodden, which was fought on the ninth of September.

Henry had now an opportunity of making his own terms with Scotland; but he generously listened to the request of his sister, who, by the death of her husband, became regent of that kingdom, during her son's minority, and concluded a treaty of peace with that princess.

A. D. 1514. In the beginning of this year a negotiation was opened for bringing about a peace between England and France, which was at length effected on the following terms: that the English should be allowed to keep possession of Tournay, that Richard de la Pole, should be banished to Metz; that Henry should receive the arrears due to his father and himself, and that the princess Mary should be given in marriage to Lewis, with a portion of four hundred thousand crowns, and a jointure equal to that of the former queen of France, who was heiress of Britany. This princess, who was endowed with a great share of beauty, and other accomplishments, was then in her twentieth year, and Lewis in his fifty-sixth. The nuptials were celebrated at Abbeville, but Lewis did not long enjoy the company of his amiable consort. His constitution being greatly impaired, he yielded to the decay of nature, and died within three months after his marriage, beloved and sincerely regretted as the "Father of his country," which honourable appellation he had deservedly obtained. His youthful queen was soon after espoused to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

In the mean time Henry, intoxicated with his successes, gave himself up to his favourite pleasures, while his treasury was exhausted by the supplies for repeated expeditions. As he had for some time disdained to be advised by the ministers of his father, and despairing of their concurrence in his frivolous and extravagant pursuits, he placed



his chief confidence in the more welcome counsels of Thomas (afterwards cardinal) Wolsey, whose ready acquiescence flattered and gave a sanction to his conduct.

Wolsey was the son, (not of a butcher as some historians have represented him, but) of a private gentleman at Ipswich: he was so early sent to Oxford, that at the age of eighteen he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and was distinguished in the college by the title of the Boy Bachelor. On quitting the university, he obtained one preferment after another, till he became rector of Lyvington in Hampshire, to which he was presented by the marquis of Dorset; whose children he had instructed. So inconsistent, however, was his behaviour with the duties of his profession, that soon after his induction to this living, he was put in the stocks by order of a justice of the peace, for raising disturbances at a neighbouring fair. This disgrace, however, did not obstruct his promotion, for he was recommended as chaplain to Henry VII. and acquitted himself with diligence and credit in negotiating that king's intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy. Having obtained a commission from that monarch to Maximilian, who then resided at Brussels, he, in less than three days after, presented himself to the king to his infinite surprise, who, supposing he had been tardy in the undertaking, began to reprove him for his delay. Wolsey, however, satisfied him with testimonials of his having discharged his trust, and punctually fulfilled all his majesty's commands. His dispatch on that occasion procured him the deanery of Lincoln, in which character he was introduced by Fox, bishop of Winchester, to the attention of the succeeding monarch, in hopes that he would be able to supplant the earl of Surry, who then stood high in the king's favour; and herein the conjectures of Fox were fully verified. Soon after his introduction at court he was honoured with a seat in the privy council; and by that means had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himself with the young king. As he was of a temporizing and submissive disposition, he took every method to accommodate himself to the royal temper, and entered into every degree of libertinism, then practised in the court; neither his age, which was that of forty, nor his sacred function, produced any restraint, or had any tendency to check, by unseasonable severity, the gaiety of his associates. To a prince of Henry's weak and vicious inclinations, these qualifications were highly meritorious, and Wolsey soon gained such an ascendancy over his master, that he was entrusted with the chief management of state affairs.

The new favourite's servile condescension in soothing the king's follies, and his haughty demeanour to his fellow subjects, soon excited the popular indignation. The people had long taken notice of the arrogance and ostentation of the clergy, and Wolsey's promotions reflected a new disgrace upon that body, already the object of their envy and abhorrence. The more elevated his character appeared, the greater still was the dislike of him. Ungovernable in his desires, and magnificent in his profusion; of extensive abilities, and still more unlimited in his undertakings; ambitious of authority, and still more covetous of glory; sometimes fawning, creeping, and insinuating, and at others lofty, vindictive, and commanding; insolent to his equals, but affable to his dependents; oppressive to the people, but generous to his friends; more liberal than grateful;

and proud of assuming a consequence incompatible with true dignity and real superiority.

A. D. 1515. Wolsey had been early advanced to the bishoprick of Lincoln, which he afterwards resigned on being promoted to the archiepiscopal see of York, an opportunity for which occurred by the death of the late prelate, who had been poisoned at Rome by his chaplain, in revenge for a blow he received from him. This aspiring churchman now governed both king and kingdom. Preferments were heaped upon him with unbounded profusion. He was not only Archbishop of York, but had got possession, at very moderate leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, which he filled by persons, who were permitted to reside abroad, on making a suitable compensation for that indulgence. Besides many other church preferments, he was allowed to unite with the see of York the bishopricks of Durham and Winchester; his avarice seeming to encrease in proportion to its gratifications. The pope observing Wolsey's influence over the king, thought to engage him in his interest, and in order thereto created him a cardinal. He had eight hundred servants in his retinue, many of whom were knights and gentlemen; even some of the nobility sent their children into his family for education, and the adepts in the arts or sciences paid court to the cardinal, ambitious of his patronage and protection. He was the first clergyman in England who wore silk and gold, not only on his habit but also his saddles and the trappings of his horses. The cross of York was always carried before him, though in the diocese of Canterbury, in contempt of the privileges of that primate.

Besides these important distinctions, the pope conferred upon him that of legate, designing to make him instrumental in draining the kingdom of money, on pretence of enabling him to carry on a war with the Turks, but, in reality, to enrich his own coffers. In this part he acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his pontifical employer, as in some little time after that office was made perpetual to him; and he now united in his person the dignities of legate, cardinal, archbishop, and prime minister.

About this time Warham, chancellor and archbishop of Canterbury, a man of a very moderate disposition, chose rather to retire from public employment, than maintain a disputed superiority with the haughty cardinal. He accordingly resigned the great seal into the hands of the king, who, two days after, committed it to the custody of Wolsey. Even Fox, bishop of Winchester, who had so long directed the affairs of government, and had been the first to introduce Wolsey to the king, impatient of the neglect shewn towards him, obtained leave to retire to his bishoprick, and, at leaving the council-board, recommended to the king, "not to suffer the servant to become greater than his master." "Fear not, my good lord bishop," replied Henry, "I know how to make all my subjects obey me."

These prodigious stretches of power served but to render this greedy churchman still more insatiable. He procured a bull from the pope, empowering him to create knights and counts, to legitimate bastards, to confer degrees in arts, law, physic and divinity, and to grant dispensations of every kind. The nobility could not but be justly offended at all this pride and power bestowed on the avaricious and ambitious cardinal; yet so



so well was his vindictive temper known, that none dared publicly to express their indignation.

Francis I. who succeeded Lewis XII. on the throne of France, renewed the treaty made by his predecessor with Henry, and, instigated with a desire of conquest, passed over into Italy. His aim was to re-conquer the duchy of Milan, which Lewis had lost. He was supported by the Venetians, who had the same designs against Maximilian, who had stripped them of the Veronese. His opposers were Leo X. and Maximilian the debilitated emperor; but his most formidable enemies were the Swiss, who were irritated against France by the refusal of Lewis XII. to fulfil the treaty concluded before Dijon. They had assumed the title of "Defenders of the popes, and protectors of princes," and, indeed, within the last ten years not without a plausible foundation.

In his progress to Milan, Francis continued to negotiate with that nation. Skilled in dissimulation, they amused the king, till the military chest of France arrived, when they descended into the plains, and though destitute of cavalry, determined to oppose the French arms. A desperate battle ensued at Marignano, near Milan, which was continued with great perseverance on both sides, till the darkness of the night parted the combatants. The king slept on the carriage of a cannon within forty paces of a Swiss battalion. The battle was vigorously renewed with the morning dawn, and it was not till the Swiss had lost the bravest of their troops that they could be prevailed upon to retire. The killed on both sides amounted to twenty thousand, and the old marshal Trivulcio, who had seen eighteen pitched battles, denominated this "The battle of the giants." The victory of Marignano was followed by the reduction of the Milanese, and Maximilian was contented to live in France a wretched dependant on the bounty of Francis.

Wolsey now employed his attention to cultivate and increase the jealousy which Henry had conceived at the success of the French monarch. The cardinal enjoyed the revenues of the bishoprick of Tournay; but could not help regretting that the titular bishop of that see was protected at the court of France. He persuaded Maximilian to renew the war in Italy; but the undertaking was rendered abortive: so that by this failure Henry and his minister were disappointed in their designs to weaken the power of France.

A. D. 1516. Charles V. king of Spain, successor to Ferdinand, was a man endowed with great natural talents, which had been improved by an excellent education. Francis, fearful of the power of Charles, formed a treaty with that monarch, in which he engaged to give him his eldest daughter, then an infant, in marriage: that Francis should relinquish all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples; that he should allow Charles an hundred thousand crowns a year till the consummation of the marriage, and that he should give the king of Navarre satisfaction with regard to his dominions.

A. D. 1517-18. But notwithstanding this treaty, Francis was fearful of the increasing power of Charles, and therefore resolved to take the surest method of gaining the friendship of the English monarch, by an assiduous application to his favourite Wolsey. Having succeeded in this business, he sent his admiral Bonnivert to the court of London, in quality of ambassador. That subtle politician negotiated a treaty with the cardinal,

in which the restitution of Tournay was one of the articles. It was farther stipulated, that the princess Mary should be betrothed to the dauphin, though they were both infants; that Tournay should be the dowry of that princess; that Francis should pay six hundred thousand crowns, as a compensation for the expence of the citadel which had been erected there; and that he should allow the cardinal a pension of twelve thousand livres, in lieu of the revenues of the bishoprick.

Germany was now agitated with those religious disputes, which produced the reformation. Pope Leo X. by his encouragement of learning, furnished arms against himself, and gave rise to that remarkable revolution, in which the English monarch had afterwards so great a share. In order to defray the expence of a design, began by Julius II. his predecessor, of erecting a structure in Rome superior to that of St. Sophia at Constantinople, Leo had recourse to the sale of indulgencies, which the popes were supposed to have a power of distributing, on certain conditions, to the greatest and most profligate sinners, as a full remission of their manifold offences. These indulgencies were at first confined to the relaxation of penances and church discipline. Urban II. was the first that granted a full remission of all sins to such as should take up arms for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels. At length these spiritual favours were extended to those who took the field against heretics, or such as were enemies to the Romish church. By these means great sums were raised, the Augustine friars were made the brokers of this scandalous commerce, and each of them was entrusted with a set of indulgencies of all prices, and for the most atrocious sins of any denomination whatever.

Leo X. had employed the dominicans in this species of traffic, inasmuch as they had distinguished themselves by exaggerating the benefits to be derived from indulgencies. The Augustines were highly affronted at this preference. Martin Luther, an Augustine friar, and professor of divinity at Wirtemberg, shocked at these proceedings, was loud in his declamations against the church of Rome. Nor did his invectives want a sufficient foundation. A variety of superstitious ceremonies had been introduced into the exercise of religion. Divinity was involved in sophistry, the clergy absorbed in luxury, and the court of Rome guilty of numberless frauds and usurpations. Reformation being therefore universally demanded, Luther knew how to take advantage of it. His first writings were confined to the doctrine of indulgencies; but he afterwards carried the matter farther than he is supposed to have intended; as is the general case in all disputes, whether civil, political, or religious.

The Dominicans, supported by the pope's nuncio in Germany, caused his books to be burnt. The pope thundered out a bull against him; but being protected by the princes of Germany, he was so far from being intimidated, that he even ordered the pope's bull to be burnt in the marketplace of Wirtemberg.

During these transactions on the continent, the English enjoyed the blessings of peace. Arts, trade and manufactures flourished and improved. Cardinal Wolsey executed his power in promoting the good of his country. Never was justice better administered than by him. He was a firm supporter of the poor, and enforced several salutary laws for the protection of commerce and industry.



try. He introduced a taste for literature, and bestowed rewards on men of genius and science, and literary merit was the best recommendation to his favour. He also founded lectures at Oxford for the improvement of learning; and his laudable and patriotic views met with the king's support and encouragement.

A. D. 1519. From these literary pursuits; however, the attention of Wolsey was called by the death of the emperor Maximilian. Francis I. and Charles V. were the candidates for the imperial throne, both of whom were worthy of the dignity to which they aspired. Henry supported the election of Charles, which, by his assistance, he gained by a majority only of a single voice.

A. D. 1520. Francis, desirous of cultivating the friendship of Henry, solicited an interview with him at Calais. Wolsey, proud of displaying his power and grandeur, seconded the request, and Henry, excited by the same ostentatious views, acceded to the proposal. Charles was alarmed at this intended interview, and would gladly have prevented its taking place. The cardinal guided the helm of state, and had no rival in the cabinet. His pomp was equal to his power, and he celebrated mass with all the magnificence of the Roman pontiff. He was served by bishops; and even the nobility presented him with the water and the towel. His dress was superb to an extreme: he wore regal vestments; his shoes were of silver gilt, and enriched with pearls of precious stones. When he went abroad, two large crosses of massy silver were carried before him, together with two pole-axes, two pillars of massy silver, golden cushions, and a train of stately horses. Yet all the power and wealth he enjoyed in England could not satisfy him, while there was one ecclesiastical dignity to which he had not attained. He now began to aspire to the papal throne, the thoughts of which increased his natural pride and austerity, and he was extremely rigid to the laity; but as all exertion of despotic power, when levelled at the lives and liberties of mankind, become highly obnoxious, his intolerable severities were represented to the king, who expressed his great dissatisfaction, and Wolsey set bounds to his power, and greater moderation and caution were observed in his future decisions.

In this situation was Wolsey, when Charles V. landed at Dover, in order to obtain an interview with Henry previous to that concerted with Francis I. Wolsey was immediately sent to congratulate the new Emperor, and the next day he was met by Henry, who conducted him to Canterbury where he was sumptuously entertained. Charles found means to soothe the vanity and ambition of Wolsey, by promising him his assistance in procuring the papacy, of which, however, there was but little prospect, as Leo X. was a young man, and consequently likely to survive the cardinal.

On the same day that Charles left England, Henry, with his queen and the whole court, passed over to Calais. Francis, attended in the same manner, came to Ardres, a small town in the vicinity of Calais. The interviews were at first carried on with the greatest ceremony: but the French king, disdaining to shew any distrust, visited the English monarch without guards or attendants: Henry followed his generous example, and they visited each other without the least precaution. Their time was passed in tilts and tournaments, in which they respectively distinguished themselves.

but no serious business was transacted during the whole time.

A. D. 1521. In spite of all the endeavours of Henry to suppress the enmity subsisting between Charles and Francis, hostilities were now carried on with great violence between them. Henry, however, affected to observe a strict neutrality, and the two monarchs having ravaged the territories of each other, referred their disputes to Henry. Conferences were accordingly opened at Calais, and Wolsey was deputed to settle the differences; but Francis refusing to accede to the demands of Charles, the conferences were broke off, and the cardinal soon after made a journey to Bruges, where he was received by the emperor, with as much state, as if he had been the king of England himself; and he concluded, in the name of his master, an alliance offensive and defensive with the pope and the emperor against France.

Soon after Wolsey's return he set on foot a prosecution against the duke of Buckingham, son of him who lost his life in the reign of Richard III. This nobleman had been often heard to treat Wolsey's pride and profusion with just contempt, and being, perhaps, too unguarded in his resentment, informers were not wanting to communicate the whole to the cardinal. The substance of his accusation was that he had consulted a fortune-teller concerning his right of succession to the crown, being a descendant in the female line from the duke of Gloucester, son of Edward III. This was but a slight pretext to take away the life of a nobleman, whose father had died in defence of the late king; he was, however, brought to trial, and the duke of Norfolk, whose son had married his daughter, was created lord Steward to preside at this tribunal. Being found guilty by a jury of his peers, he was condemned and afterwards executed on Tower Hill. But as his crime seemed solely the effect of imprudence, his sentence was generally imputed to the malice and revenge of the cardinal.

In the mean time the religious disputes in Germany still subsisted, and several of its princes had declared in favour of Luther's reformation. And such are the capricious terms of fate in human affairs, that Henry himself became a party in this dispute. He was strictly attached by education to the court of Rome, and had been incensed against Luther, for having spoken contemptuously of Thomas Aquinas his favourite author, that resentment, and not religion, prompted Henry to write in opposition to the doctrine of his adversary. The book when finished was received at Rome with rapture, and the pope bestowed upon Henry and his successors, the title of "Defenders of the Faith." Luther, who paid no respect to the dignity of the author, in his answer, treated the king with that acrimony and virulence to which he had been so long accustomed. Henry's interference rendered the controversy the more illustrious. Mankind grew daily more and more interested therein; and the Lutheran party gained ground in every part of Europe. The pope was stigmatized with the name of Antichrist, and Rome with that of Babylon; and as these appellations, however applied, were, notwithstanding, scriptural, it is no wonder that they should be adopted in this ecclesiastical controversy.

In the infancy of this dispute, Leo X. departed this life in the prime of life, and in the ninth year of his pontificate. His death tended greatly to



advance the rapid progress of the reformation, which he had most steadily opposed. He was succeeded by pope Adrian VI. who had been tutor to Charles the then emperor. Such was the virulence of the reformers against the Romish church, that the candour and moderation of this pontiff rather hurt them, though he could not help owning that many abuses and unwarrantable practices prevailed in the court of Rome.

A. D. 1522. Wolsey had flattered himself that he should have been chosen to supply the vacant chair, and was found upon a scrutiny to have had no less than nineteen voices in his favour. He nevertheless lost his election. But the age and infirmities of Adrian still gave him hopes of being soon able to gratify his ambition. Charles V. never wished to see Wolsey arrive at this honour. What he wanted was to have a pope entirely at his devotion, and this he knew he must never expect in the imperious temper of the cardinal. He still, however, affected to countenance his pretensions, and his dissimulation had the desired effect. Wolsey shewed no signs of resentment, the late treaty was renewed, and it was resolved in council to declare war against France. In consequence of this, Henry fitted out a strong fleet, the command of which was given to the earl of Surry, who was now made lord high admiral of England. Surry accordingly embarked for the continent, and after taking some towns in Britany, proceeded to Calais, and laid siege to Hesden; but not being able to take the place, he re-embarked his forces, and returned to England.

A. D. 1523. The ancient league between France and Scotland having been renewed, the duke of Albany was now preparing to invade the northern parts of England. The earl of Surry was sent with an army to oppose him, and having entered Scotland, he committed the most terrible ravages, burnt the town of Jedburgh, with several neighbouring villages and castles, and returned to Newcastle. Albany then sent an herald to Surry to offer him battle, but the earl told him that though he disdained to follow the dictates of an enemy, he should never decline an engagement. Albany therefore passed the Tweed and invested the castle of Wark. Sir William Lisle the governor, conscious that the fortress was not in a condition to support a long siege, made a desperate sally, and repulsed the enemy, with the loss of three hundred men. The Scots were so much intimidated by this miscarriage, that they withdrew into their own country, and a truce was concluded for a year.

The army which was fitted out against Scotland about the middle of August, was transplanted to Calais, and the command given to the duke of Suffolk, who was joined at St. Omer's by three thousand foot and five hundred horse in the Imperial service. It was now determined to march along the banks of the Somme, and, if possible, provoke the French to a decisive engagement; but they contented themselves with harassing the English army, relying on the strength of their garrisons, and the advanced season of the year to prevent them from taking up their winter quarters in France.

In this conjecture they were not mistaken, for though the duke had got several considerable places into his possession, (among which were Bray, Montdier, Roye and some others) and had even advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, he found it impossible to canton his forces in the places he

had conquered, as the duke of Vendefine had a large body of troops in Paris, and the marshal Tremouille was forming another army from the garrisons in Picardy. He was therefore obliged to take up his winter quarters at Calais, but before his troops could reach that place many of them perished by the inclemency of the weather.

Notwithstanding these miscarriages of the English, the alliance proved in the end too powerful for Francis, and the desertion of the duke of Bourbon, constable of France to the emperor, together with the ill success of Bonnivet the French general in his invasion of Milan, whose abilities were in no wise equal to his enterprize, gave a disastrous turn to the affairs of Francis, and the campaign ended on his part in fruitless attempts and unavailing expeditions.

The death of pope Adrian VI. which happened at this time, and the accession of Clement VII. to the pontificate through the interest of the Imperial party, convinced Wolsey of the insincerity of the emperor, and of the improbability of his ever succeeding to the papacy by his means. He, nevertheless, dissembled his resentment, congratulated the new pope on his election, and solicited a continuation of the legatine powers he had enjoyed under the two last pontiffs. Clement, well knowing the necessity of maintaining the friendship of this imperious minister, not only granted his request, but sent him a commission for life, by which Wolsey obtained the whole papal authority in England. In consequence of this extensive authority, he erected a college at Oxford, and another at Ipswich, and invited learned men to preside in these colleges, a measure greatly approved by the court of Rome, as there was now a necessity for such to defend the church against the alarming innovations of the reformers.

A. D. 1524. Bonnivet, the French general, who had retired to Piedmont, having, by his insolent deportment, offended the Swiss, they abandoned the French army, and returned to their own country. The general being thus deserted, quitted his camp, and was pursued by the allied army. A fierce conflict ensued, in which Bonnivet's rear was mostly destroyed. The chevalier Bayard, who, distinguished for his magnanimity, had been honoured by his soldiers with the title of "the knight without fear and without reproach," was mortally wounded. When this valiant hero could no longer keep his seat on horseback, he ordered his attendants to place him under a tree, with his face to the enemy, that he might die in that position. Every one seemed to lament his fate. The soldiers dropped a tear as they passed by him, and the allied generals expressed their concern for his hapless situation. Seeing among the rest the constable of France "Pity not me," cried he to Bourbon, "I die in the discharge of my duty: they alone are objects of pity, who fight against their prince and their country."

The pope was now alarmed for Italy. He proceeded, however, so far in his opposition to Charles, that he ordered his nuncio at London to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But this was an honour Wolsey reserved for himself; he therefore prevailed on Henry to refuse the pope's mediation; and Charles and Henry agreed upon the invasion of France.

In consequence of a treaty concluded for this purpose, the duke of Bourbon entered Provence with ten thousand foot, two thousand horse, and eighteen pieces of cannon. Antibes, Frejus, Vignolles



nolles and Aix were presently reduced; and on the nineteenth of August the constable sat down before Marseilles, whose garrison consisted of three thousand foot, and two hundred men at arms, besides nine thousand inhabitants who took up arms for its defence. The siege was carried on for about a month, when the approach of Francis with forty thousand men obliged Bourbon to relinquish the siege, and retire with some precipitation into Italy.

A.D. 1525—6. So inconsiderable was the progress of industry and commerce in Europe, that Charles, notwithstanding his extensive possessions, had not a sum sufficient to pay his forces. Even Bourbon pawned his jewels; and with the money, and his personal interest together, levied twelve thousand men, and joined the Imperial generals Pescara and Lannoy, who had collected forces from all parts of Italy. The army, thus compleated, advanced to raise the siege of Pavia, where Francis persisted in his design, though he met with insuperable difficulties. The French camp was surrounded with such strong entrenchments, that the emperor's generals were contented with cannonading the enemy for several days, when the Swiss attacked the entrenchments of the besiegers on the twenty-fifth of February about midnight.

Upon the first alarm, Francis, at the head of two thousand cavalry, fell so furiously upon Pescara's division, that the general was dismounted, and dangerously wounded, and the whole corps would have been entirely defeated, had not Bourbon, hastened to his assistance, after having made a most dreadful slaughter in another part of the camp. The contest was now unequal, and the French, to defend their king, fought as if driven to despair. La Plesse, Tremouille, Galeas de San Severino, and general Bonnier were slain by his side. The king himself made a vigorous defence: his horse was killed under him, and he continued fighting on foot, after receiving a desperate wound in his leg.

An officer of rank named Pomerant, who had revolted with the duke of Bourbon, seeing the king thus exposed to danger, assisted him in keeping off the soldiers, who were endeavouring to take him alive. He then ordered Bourbon to be called, to receive the king as a prisoner. The enraged monarch, however, declared, he would sooner die than yield up his sword to a traitor. "Send," said he, "for Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, to him I will surrender." That officer coming up, the king said to him, "M. de Lannoy, take this sword; it is that of a king, who is not a prisoner from cowardice, but the accidents of fortune." Lannoy received the sword upon his knee, kissed his hand with the profoundest respect, and presented him his own sword, saying, "I beg your majesty will be so good as to receive mine, which has this day spared the lives of many Frenchmen. It does not become an officer of the emperor to leave a king disarmed, though a prisoner." Lannoy did not, however, think Francis safe in the army; fearing the Germans might seize his person as a security for their pay, he carried him to the castle of Pizzighitona, where he was treated by Alvazon, the Spanish governor, with the respect due to his person and dignity.

The king of England had been, for some time, dissatisfied with the emperor's conduct; and his pride now completed the disgust of Henry. Charles had hitherto written to him in his own hand, and

subscribed himself "Your affectionate son and cousin," but he had now laid aside his usual complaisance, and, elated with prosperity, dictated his letters to his secretary, and subscribed himself Charles." Henry could ill brook this change of sentiment and expression, and Wolsey still retained the remembrance of his duplicity, with regard to the papacy. He was now furnished with a sufficient excuse for breaking with him. Henry soon after engaged to procure the liberty of Francis on very reasonable terms, for which he negotiated with his mother the duchess of Angoulême, regent of France. It was agreed, that he should enjoy an annual pension of seven hundred crowns, and at the same time the regent should acknowledge that France owed him one million eight hundred thousand crowns. The cardinal was to receive the arrears of his pension, granted him instead of the revenues of the bishopric of Tournay, besides the additional sum of an hundred thousand crowns.

A war with the emperor was the natural consequence of this alliance, the supplies for which, Henry empowered the cardinal to raise; but the measures he took to effect this were very opposite to the designs of the king. Without calling a parliament, Wolsey issued a decree, in the king's name, for levying one sixth of all the lay revenues, and one fourth of those of the clergy. This tax was deemed so violent an encroachment on the liberties of the subject, that a rebellion had like to have ensued; and the king was so alarmed, that he actually disowned the measure, declaring, "that no necessities of the crown should make him attempt to raise money any other way than by consent of parliament."

This, and similar exactions, so incensed Henry, that the favourite was obliged to have recourse to the most abject submission to appease him. He produced his will, wherein he had bequeathed all his riches to the king, and endeavoured to persuade him that all he had done was with a view to promote the king's honour, and would, in the end, prove of infinite advantage to him. At the same time he made him a present of his magnificent palace at Hampton court, which he had newly erected.

A.D. 1528. On the fourteenth of January, a treaty was signed at Madrid for the purpose of liberating the French king; wherein it was stipulated, "that Francis should resign the duchy of Burgundy to the emperor, that he should be set at liberty in his own kingdom by the tenth of March, and that the duke of Orleans, and his two eldest sons, should be put into the emperor's hands as hostages. That Francis should resign all his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, the lordship of Genoa, the counties of Asti, Arras, Tournay, Mortaigne, St. Arnaud, Lisle, Donay, Orchies, Hedin; and also his sovereignty over the countries of Flanders and Artois: that the emperor should give up all his claims to the cities and lordships of Peronne, Montdidier, Rouen, Guisnes, and Ponthieu; with all the cities and territories on the river Somme: and, that the duke of Bourbon should be restored to all his former estates and possessions."

These articles Francis engaged to ratify at the first town he should enter in his own dominions. But however tenacious of his honour he might be in other respects, he by no means considered himself as bound by a promise extorted from him by compulsion, and which was strenuously opposed by the states of Burgundy. This circumstance

Charles



Charles should have foreseen; but his usual policy forsook him on this occasion. Francis would have compounded with the emperor for Burgundy at the expence of two millions of crowns, but Charles would accept of no composition, or recede in the least from any one article of the treaty. The French, therefore, concluded an alliance with Clement VII. the Venetians, and the rest of the Italian states, against the emperor, and the king of England was declared protector of the confederacy. The constable of Bourbon, however, conquered the Milanese; but not having money to pay his troops, he was conducted to Rome, where he was killed in scaling the walls. His death inspired the soldiers with fury and revenge. Rome was taken by assault and pillaged, and the pope was taken prisoner, and confined in the castle of St. Angelo.

Irritated beyond measure at the news of Clement's misfortune, the kings of England and France resolved to carry their arms into Italy. They therefore concluded a new treaty, by which Henry renounced his ancient chimerical pretensions to the crown of France, and his ally engaged for himself and his successors to pay a pension of fifty thousand crowns to the kings of England.

While affairs were in this situation on the continent, a new series of events excited the attention of all Europe. Henry had now been married eighteen years to Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, and as she was six years older than the king, and had lost his affections, he was grown heartily tired of her. Though she had brought him three children, of whom the princess Mary was still living, and had sustained an irreproachable character, yet all her accomplishments were unable to fix a heart addicted to variety. Her marriage with the king had been considered as illegal by most of the foreign states, and as such had been opposed by Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, whose opinion had been confirmed by both houses of convocation. The curse of sterility is denounced in the levitical law against any one who should marry his brother's widow, and as all Henry's children, except the princess Mary, had died in their infancy, he could not but think himself obnoxious to this malediction. The great progress Henry had made in casuistical divinity, enabled him thoroughly to examine this question, and his favourite author Thomas Aquinas, (to whose authority in ecclesiastical matters he gave implicit credit) had treated of this very case in the following terms: "the prohibitions contained in Leviticus (says that celebrated casuist) and among the rest that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine sanction; and though the pope may dispense with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be set aside by any authority less than that which enacted them."

Henry was now convinced of the illegality of his marriage, and a circumstance fell out, at this time, which confirmed him in his resolution to obtain a divorce. Anne Boleyn, a beautiful and accomplished young lady, had been lately appointed maid of honour to the queen, and soon attracted the notice and affections of Henry. Finding her proof against all the arts of seduction, he determined to raise her to the throne; but he had many obstacles to encounter before this could be effected, and as Catherine was aunt to the emperor, her repudiation was not easily to be accomplished.

A. D. 1529. The first step to be taken was to get the bull of pope Julius annulled; but this,

however necessary, was a measure very difficult to reconcile with the pontifical authority. Clement VII. however, still a prisoner to the emperor, thought it highly essential to maintain a friendship with Henry, and therefore listened to the propositions which were made to him. He gave Wolsey a commission to examine, as legate, into the validity of the marriage, and promised, in due time, to expedite the divorce. But the pope, with all his parts and address, was deficient in courage and integrity. The emperor, knowing his disposition, threatened to depose him on pretence of bastardy, he being only the reputed son of Julian de Medicis. He flattered himself, too, with the hope of re-establishing the house of Medicis, against which the Florentines had revolted. Pressed by the solicitations of Henry, he consented to an examination of his marriage: he joined Campeggio to Wolsey, but without engaging not to revoke the commission. The studied delays of Campeggio, at first, gave some offence, till at length he arrived with the wished-for bull. Henry and Wolsey were the only persons permitted to see it. It was not to take place till the marriage was set aside. The two legates, therefore, prepared to begin this important process.

Nothing could be more affecting than the behaviour of the queen, when she and the king were cited before their tribunal. Instead of answering to her name, as the king had done, she threw herself at his feet, and addressed him in the most pathetic manner. She urged the implacability of her enemies to a friendless woman, in a country where she was a stranger, pleaded her irreproachable conduct, and protested, in the strongest terms, that her former marriage had never been consummated; that in espousing him she had only conformed to the will of two able monarchs, Henry VII. and Ferdinand the catholic. She expressed her suspicion of the commissioners impartiality, appealed from them to the pope, and at length left the court, with a firm resolution to appear there no more. Henry bore witness to her virtue; but insisted on the scruples which disturbed his peace. He proved, in a plausible manner, the consummation of the queen's marriage with his brother Arthur, declared his doubts of the validity of the dispensation of pope Julius, and demanded judgment to be given according to the laws of equity and religion. The affair was protracted to a considerable length. Clement was either influenced by the promises, or intimidated by the threats of Charles the Fifth. Campeggio suspended the proceedings, the cause was evoked to Rome, and the decretal bull thrown into the fire.

Henry, being thus disappointed in the expected success of his wishes, began to suspect Wolsey of treachery; and from this era we may justly date the favourite's downfall. The emperor joined his endeavours to accomplish that event, and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk exerted all their influence to supplant him. But the chief instrument in the fall of Wolsey was Anne Boleyn, whose ascendancy over the mind of Henry was so firmly established, that the cardinal found his authority likely to be shaken by her extraordinary influence.

The disgrace of Wolsey was expected to have been the immediate consequence of the reference of the cause to the court of Rome: but Henry had so far the government of his passions, as to conceal his dislike of his minister's proceedings. No sooner, however, had the pope's legate obtained



tained his audience of leave, than Henry; to divert his chagrin, made a progress through some of the neighbouring counties, unaccompanied by Wolsey. This neglect the cardinal knew foreboded him no good. Yet, as he flattered himself he might still find means to avert his impending ruin, he discharged the duties of his office with his accustomed punctuality. But Anne Boleyn, and the rest of his enemies, had worked up the king's resentment to such a degree, that, on his return to London, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Wolsey's inveterate foes, were sent to demand the great seal. Wolsey at first refused to deliver it, on pretence of holding it by patent for life; but the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk returning next day with orders, besides the king's signet, Wolsey immediately resigned it into their hands; upon which the king gave it to Sir Thomas More, a man of profound literature, and unblemished integrity; Wolsey was ordered to quit York palace, which, a few days after, though it belonged to the archiepiscopal see, was seized by Henry, and became afterwards a royal residence, under the title of Whitehall. A cup-board of massy gold, with all his other valuable furniture, besides a thousand pieces of fine Holland, were converted to the king's use, and Wolsey, having dismissed his splendid retinue, retired to his seat at Esher, on the banks of the Thames.

But notwithstanding this severity, Henry still expressed some affection for the cardinal; but yielding to the solicitations of his enemies, he at last gave him up to a parliamentary enquiry. The house of lords exhibited no less than forty-four articles against him, all of which were rejected by the commons. Thomas Cromwell, an old servant to Wolsey, undertook his defence with great resolution and strength of argument; a step which, far from retarding his promotion, as might have been expected, laid the first foundation of those favours he afterwards received from the king. The cardinal was, however, condemned for having solicited bulls from Rome, a pretext the more frivolous, as all he had done was sanctioned by his master's consent. The king, however, softened the rigour of the prosecution, granted him a pardon for all offences, and continued to intimate, from time to time, that he still retained for him his former friendship and esteem.

The policy of Clement VII. (together with the intrigues and powers of Charles V.) had, by this time, deprived the king of all hopes of succeeding in his application to the court of Rome for a divorce. It was, therefore, necessary to find out some other expedient to gain his ends. From this difficulty he was at length extricated by the assistance of Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus college, Cambridge, who proposed to consult all the universities of Europe on this subject. "If they," said he, "approve of our marriage with Catherine of Arragon, your scruples must necessarily submit to their suffrages; if they declare the marriage unlawful, the pope cannot refuse his consent to the divorce." This proposition was well received by the king, who agreed that it should be carried into immediate execution. Finding that Cranmer's piety and moderation were equal to his extraordinary abilities, he sent for him to court, and placed him near his person. In the mean time agents were dispatched to all the universities of Europe on the proposed commission.

A. D. 1530. The result of this enquiry terminated in favour of the monarch. Several of the

universities, without hesitation, maintained, "that the marriage of any person with a brother's widow was contrary to the divine law; and, consequently, could not be authorised by any dispensation."

The court of Rome, however, paid no regard to this decision, which had given Henry so much satisfaction. A spirited letter was, therefore, written to the pope, signed by many of the lords spiritual and temporal, in which they plainly told him; "that if he continued to persist in refusing the king that justice which he had a right to demand; and after he had obtained the sanction of so many learned universities, they would renounce their obedience to the holy see, who had so long amused the king; and to so little purpose. All these events tended to the ruin of the Romish church, the respect of the people for the pontifical authority daily diminished, and as for the king, the more oppositions he met with, the stronger were his resolutions to overcome every obstacle which stood in the way of his desires."

Wolsey still entertained hopes of retrieving the royal favour, having been already re-instated in the revenues of his archbishoprick, and those of the see of Winchester. This alarmed the council, who procured an order from the king, that he should remove to his archiepiscopal see. In consequence of this, he retired to Cawood in Yorkshire, where he soon gained popularity; by a diligent discharge of his pastoral duties. Short, however, was the date of the happiness he now enjoyed. He was soon after arrested for high treason, by the earl of Northumberland and Sir Peter Walsh, who were sent down for that purpose.

In compliance with the king's commands, he set out for London with seeming cheerfulness; but partly by the fatigue of his journey, and partly by the anxiety of his mind, he was seized with a disorder which soon turned to a dysentery; so that it was with the greatest difficulty he reached Leicester. On his arrival there, he was immediately carried to his bed, from which he never more arose. Convinced of the vanity of all ambitious pursuits, and sublunary grandeur, he sincerely regretted his compliance with the unruly passions of an ungrateful master. "Had I," said he, "served my God, as diligently as I served my king, he would not have forsaken me in my grey hairs." He died soon after in all the pangs of remorse, on the twenty-third of November, in the sixtieth year of his age, and was, at his own request, buried in the chapel of Leicester abbey.

A. D. 1531. The parliament, which met soon after Wolsey's decease, availed themselves of the same act, which had destroyed the cardinal, to enrich the crown at the expence of the clergy, on whose humiliation Henry seemed firmly resolved. The Protestant faith was, at this time, privately embraced by many of the English, whose ignorance and superstition had been, in a great measure, removed by the writings and sermons of Wickliff and his disciples. But, however desirous the commons might be of humbling the clergy, most of them found themselves in the same predicament; for having maintained causes in the ecclesiastical courts, they became apprehensive for their own safety. Having, however, found means to get themselves included in a pardon, which the clergy had purchased at a great expence, they exulted in their success, and extolled to the skies their sovereign's clemency.



A. D. 1532. The whole kingdom was now sufficiently convinced of Henry's intention to marry Anne Boleyn, in defiance of the pope's authority, and the obedience which the king owed to the holy see. Sir Thomas More, incapable of making his religion subservient to his interest, and totally indifferent to the advancement of his fortune, was overjoyed at being permitted to resign the seals; soon after which, Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature. This was a most flattering circumstance to Henry, for though the deceased prelate had been convinced of the illegality of the king's marriage with Catherine, he was too much devoted to the see of Rome, to do any thing in opposition to the papal power. Dr. Thomas Cranmer was soon after appointed his successor.

Not all the eloquence of the subtle Henry could induce Catherine to withdraw her appeal from Rome; so that having concluded a treaty of alliance with Francis I. he privately married Anne Boleyn on the 14th of November.

A. D. 1533. The queen's pregnancy, which soon after appeared, made it necessary for Henry to own his marriage publicly; in consequence of which it was determined in council, that Cranmer should pronounce the sentence of divorce against Catherine. The archbishop accordingly repaired to Dunstable, in the neighbourhood of which Catherine resided, and cited her to appear before him. As she paid no regard to the summons, she was declared contumacious, and the primate, after examining into the merits of the cause, annulled the king's marriage with Catherine, as illegal. He afterwards ratified his marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was publicly crowned, with great ceremony and magnificence. On the 7th of September the new queen was delivered of a daughter, who was named Elizabeth, and who afterwards governed the realm with such merited applause. Henry conferred on her the title of Princess of Wales, though she was only presumptive heir to the crown.

These proceedings were no sooner known at Rome, than the whole consistory was thrown into the most violent ferment. The king was threatened with excommunication if he did not, within a limited time, make atonement for the criminal acts he had committed. The mediation of Francis I. whose second son, the duke of Orleans, was to marry Catherine de Medicis, the pope's niece, seemed to promise a favourable accommodation. Henry consented to submit his cause to the judgment of the consistory, provided all the cardinals of the imperial party were excluded, and the pope seemed disposed to comply with his request. The court of Rome expected the king's positive answer. The courier not arriving on the day he was expected, the enraged pontiff entered the consistory, pronounced the legality of Henry's marriage with Catherine, and declared him excommunicated, if he refused to acknowledge the sentence. Two days after the messenger arrived with the monarch's letter; but it was then too late to remedy the evil, and the kingdom of all others in Europe most devoted to the see of Rome, and most lavish in its contributions, became the most irreconcilable enemy.

A. D. 1534. In the ensuing parliament laws were enacted wholly subversive of the papal authority, which was then declared to be confined within the limits of the diocese of Rome. The statute of Henry IV. against heretics was moderated. No synod was to be convoked without the

king's permission. It was further enacted, that the pope should have no share in the election of bishops, and that the bishops, elected by the chapter, should swear fealty to the king. That no one should apply to the bishop of Rome on any religious account whatever. That peter-pence, and all dispensations issued by the court of Rome, should be abolished. That the archbishop of Canterbury should be empowered to grant dispensations, the profits arising from which to be paid into the king's exchequer. That all religious houses should be subject to the archbishop's visitation, that the king's marriage with Catherine should be null and void, and that the succession should devolve upon the issue of Anne Boleyn, his lawful wife. An act of attainder was also passed against Elizabeth Barton, (commonly called *The Holy Maid of Kent*) and her accomplices, for treasonable practices.

This female enthusiast, who was subject to a very extraordinary kind of hysteric convulsions, was instructed, by some clerical impostors, to assume the character of an inspired person; and to feign a miraculous cure, in order to attract a number of credulous persons to an image of the Virgin.

When the people became thoroughly persuaded of her being divinely commissioned, she was taught to declaim not only against the reformation, which she called heresy, but against all ecclesiastical innovations, and against the king's divorce: nay, she even threatened him with death if he persisted in his crime. Henry, for some time, disdained to take any notice of this woman, considering her pretended prophecies as the effects of a disordered brain; but finding her supported not only by the monks, but also by all the pope's agents in England, he determined to prosecute her with the utmost rigour. She and her accomplices were accordingly arrested, and, being examined in the Star-Chamber, confessed their guilt, and were all committed to prison.

The detection of this imposture greatly injured the credit of the ecclesiastics, especially the monks, who severely felt the weight of Henry's resentment. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were committed to the tower, for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

But though Henry had renounced the pope's authority, he was far from being a friend to the reformers, whose tenets were, notwithstanding, embraced by great numbers in the kingdom. The king's book against Luther had gained him respect with the catholics, but the contemptuous answer of that reformer had hurt his pride. He did not, therefore, abandon the tenets of the Romish faith, though he had disclaimed the authority of the pontiff. His courtiers knew not which religion to adopt, and seemed exceeding cautious in declaring their sentiments. The duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, though they pretended to acknowledge the king's supremacy, were very rigid against the reformers. On the other hand, the queen, with archbishop Cranmer and secretary Cromwell, were as violent against the professors of the Romish religion. In consequence of this, persecution prevailed on both sides, and it was equally unsafe to acknowledge the pope's supremacy, as to embrace the tenets of Luther. The prior of the Carthusian monks, the prior of Hexham, Benafe, a monk of Sion College, and John Haile, vicar of Isleworth, were put to death for denying the pope's supremacy. These, and too many more instances of the like horrid persecutions,



Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.

ANNE  
BOLEYN.



Wale delin.

Walker sculp.

Married to Henry 8.  
November 14. 1532.

Crowned  
June 1. 1533.

Beheaded  
May 19. 1536.



ons, which disgrace the close of this reign, evince the direful effects of a misguided zeal in matters of a religious nature.

Nor did the reformers escape the violence of the king, who was highly offended at that spirit of liberty cherished by the whole sect. A gentleman of the Temple, and a clergyman, were put to the torture for embracing the doctrines of the reformation; but, being unable to endure their sufferings, they abjured the tenets of Luther, and were set at liberty. However, feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for their timidity, they boldly preached against the superstitions of the established religion, and were condemned to the flames, the violence of which they endured with amazing fortitude, glorying in the faith for which they yielded up their lives.

It was, indeed, exceeding difficult to avoid incurring the king's displeasure. Such were the effects of his furious bigotry, that the most innocent actions were deemed heretical. To teach children the Lord's Prayer in the vulgar tongue, to read the English translation of the New Testament, to speak against pilgrimages, and to omit observing the fasts of the church, were considered as highly criminal, and the offenders punished with the utmost severity.

A. D. 1535. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were still confined in the tower. The pope, who imputed the sufferings of Fisher to his attachment to the church of Rome, sent him, during his imprisonment, a cardinal's hat; but this promotion could not exempt him from punishment. He was, at last, tried and condemned to lose his life, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy; and submitted to his fate with great calmness and fortitude. Sir Thomas More also fell a victim to Henry's fury for the same offence. When conducted to the scaffold, neither the serenity of his mind, nor the usual cheerfulness of his temper, forsook him. He entreated the executioner to stay till he had just put aside his beard; "for (said he) that has never committed treason." The resolution of this great and good man will be remembered with respect, while the malice of his enemies will be recollected with abhorrence.

Paul III. who had lately succeeded Clement VII. in the papacy, had flattered himself with being able to reconcile Henry to the see of Rome. He was more desirous than Clement himself to bring about an accommodation. While this business seemed to wear a prospect of success, and terms were negotiating for this purpose, the news of Fisher's execution re-kindled the resentment of the sacred college. A cardinal put to death for defending the rights of the holy see, called aloud for vengeance on the royal aggressor, and the thunder of the vatican was hurled against him. Henry was cited to appear before the pope's tribunal, excommunicated for his refusal, his marriage with Anne Boleyn declared illegal, his subjects freed from their allegiance, his kingdom delivered up to the first invader, and his leagues with all catholic princes dissolved. These censures the pope, however, delayed to publish, till all hopes of an accommodation should prove abortive, and till Charles V. (then employed against the Turks and the protestants of Germany) should be able to assist him in putting these menaces into execution.

The league of Smalcalde, where the reformers assumed the name of Protestants, formed a strong barrier to the ambition of this formidable sovereign. The kings of England and France made some ad-

vances to be admitted into this league. But their rigorous persecution of their heretical subjects, or those who were only suspected as such, and their bigoted zeal for the support of the antient faith, did not allow the German princes to place any dependence on them. A league formed upon religion and policy required a conformity of sentiments as well as of interests.

A. D. 1536. During these religious controversies, queen Catherine was attacked with a distemper which put a period to her existence on the 6th of January, in the 50th year of her age. When her last moments were approaching, she wrote a very affecting letter to the king, whom she styled, "her most dear lord, king and husband." Henry was greatly moved with this last proof of Catherine's affection, given at such a period. But very different was the behaviour of Anne Boleyn, who openly expressed her satisfaction at the death of Catherine, and seemed pleased in making it publicly known, little thinking how soon she was to be sacrificed to the ungovernable passion of her husband. Catherine's remains were deposited in the abbey of Peterborough, which Henry afterwards converted into an episcopal cathedral.

The affronts which Henry had received from the monks were now threatened to be repaid with ample vengeance. Conscious of their connexion with the Roman see, they had strained every nerve in depreciating the reformation. They declaimed, with the utmost violence, against the adherents of Luther, who, on the other hand, reproached the monks with their laziness, sophistry, and superstition. The revenues of the convents had, probably, inspired Henry with a desire of appropriating them to his own use: the design, however, appeared to him exceeding hazardous, they having been long considered as sacred and inviolable. Some caution was, therefore, necessary to be observed; and it was resolved in council, that a general visitation should be made of all the monasteries, that a strict inquest should be taken of all their titles and revenues, and that the morals and regulations of the whole fraternity should be minutely inspected. Cromwell was created vicar-general and inquisitor-general of all the monasteries; and the result of this enquiry, by discovering unparalleled scenes of vice and licentiousness, seemed to justify the necessity of such a salutary proceeding. Nothing was more easy than to detect these abuses and enormities; but a great number were, indeed, rather imputed, than really existed. Doubtful evidences were admitted as facts, calumnies were aggravated into proofs, and several convents of both sexes were represented as exhibiting scenes of the most abandoned lewdness. Violent dissensions, the grossest superstitions, laziness, effeminacy, and ignorance, were among the least imputations with which these societies stood charged. The account of this visitation was published, in order to render them more execrable in the eyes of the nation. And now the first blow was given to these religious orders. The vows of the religious under the age of twenty-four were cancelled, all of whom were obliged to leave their convents; while others above that age were left at their liberty of renouncing the cloister if they thought proper. The parliament, who were merely the tools of Henry, suppressed all the smaller monasteries, the revenues of each of which did not amount to less than two hundred pounds. No less than three hundred and seventy-six of these were accordingly abolished at one time. Their lands were confiscated to the king's use; and his



his yearly revenue was thereby increased to thirty thousand pounds, besides an immense personal property, which was computed at one hundred thousand pounds.

While the parliament was employed in suppressing the lesser monasteries, an affair of great importance to the protestants engaged the attention of the convocation. Tindal's Version of the Bible, published some years before, had been found inaccurate, and was condemned to be burnt. A new translation of the Scriptures was, therefore, proposed. This motion, long opposed by the papists, and favoured by the reformers, was at length carried, and persons properly qualified were engaged in the undertaking.

The decline of the Romish religion was, in a great measure, owing to Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn, who had now lost that ascendancy she formerly possessed over the king's passions. Jane Seymour, one of her maids of honour (a lady of singular beauty and merit) had newly gained his affections, and, immoderate in his desires, he did not scruple to sacrifice a wife to a mistress. The disposition of Anne Boleyn, though perfectly consonant with virtue, was, nevertheless, gay and lively, and had, perhaps, an appearance of gallantry, which, allowing for the freedoms practised in the court of France, where she had been bred, is not to be wondered at. Calumny had converted her most inoffensive actions into crimes, and Henry, taking it into his head to doubt her fidelity, determined on the destruction of one whom he had, so short a time before, extravagantly admired. She was, therefore, arrested and accused of adultery and incest, by having had a criminal connexion with her brother the viscount Rochford and others, for which charge there was not the least shadow of a foundation. Such, however, was the slavish compliance of the parliament with the king's will, that, though no evidence appeared against her, she was condemned to death. She declared her innocence to the last, and, in a most pathetic letter to the king, which she sent when just going to ascend the scaffold, she says, "You have been continually raising me: from a private gentlewoman you made me a marchioness; from a marchioness, a queen; and as you can raise me no higher in this world, you are this day sending me to be a saint in heaven." She recommended to him her daughter Elizabeth, and received the stroke of death with the greatest composure and resolution, on the 19th of May; and her remains were privately interred in the tower.

The very next day after the execution of Anne Boleyn, Henry married lady Jane Seymour, so eager was he to satisfy his inordinate desires. Nor was he content with putting Anne Boleyn to death; he even declared his marriage with her illegal, under pretence of her former contract with the earl of Northumberland, and, by this act of cruelty, rendered the princess Elizabeth illegitimate.

The same obsequiousness appeared in the new parliament as in the former. They confirmed the divorce of Catherine, declared the two princesses (Mary and Elizabeth) illegitimate, and adjudged the crown to devolve on the issue of the then, or any future, marriage of the king.

In revenge for the suppression of the monasteries, Henry was again excommunicated, the kingdom laid under an interdict, and the people absolved from their allegiance. In consequence of this a rebellion was excited by the monks, who persuaded the people that it was their duty to take up

arms against a prince who had trampled under foot all their civil and religious liberties. Upwards of twenty thousand persons assembled in Lincolnshire, headed by Thomas Mackerels, prior of Barlings; but being unable to resist a body of regulars sent under the duke of Suffolk to oppose them, they dispersed of themselves, on condition of a pardon: but their leader was taken, and paid his life as a forfeit for his treason.

This insurrection was succeeded by one of much greater importance in Yorkshire, under the influence and command of one Aske, a gentleman of that country, possessed of talents suited to the purposes of rebellion. The rebels marched under the banner of the cross, and stiled their enterprize, "The pilgrimage of grace," which they pretended to have undertaken for the love of God, the service of the king, the re-establishment of the church, and the suppression of heretics. So great was the effect of this delusion, that Aske soon found himself at the head of forty thousand men. Pontefract-castle soon yielded to their attacks, as did likewise York and Hull, and Aske compelled all the nobility of the country to join him, except Henry Clifford, earl of Northumberland, who defended Skipton castle against all their attempts.

The prudence of the duke of Norfolk, whom the king had sent against them, with an army of only five thousand men, tended to impede their progress. The river Till, which was rendered impassable by violent rains, had twice prevented their coming to an engagement. Persuaded that heaven opposed their design, superstition got the better of their courage, and they accepted of a pardon from the duke of Norfolk, which the king afterwards confirmed.

The priests, in a short time, re-kindled the torch of discord at the shrine of religion, and persuaded the people once more to undertake the defence of their superstitious worship. The duke of Norfolk was obliged to continue in the north during the winter, but by the exercise of martial law, he increased, instead of abated, the disorders. Musgrave and Treby, two gentlemen, at the head of eight thousand peasants, made an attempt on Carlisle, but were defeated by the duke of Norfolk: Musgrave escaped, but Treby, and seventy of his adherents, were all hanged on the walls of that city.

A. D. 1537. In order to prevent any farther insurrections, Henry sent for the ring-leaders to court. Aske obeyed the summons, and was favourably received; but the lords Darcy and Hussy, with several other rebel officers, refusing obedience to the royal commands, were seized, and beheaded on Tower-Hill. Aske, intimidated by their fate, retired into the country without leave, and was soon afterwards hanged at York.

Inured to slaughter, the practice of it became familiar to Henry. Thomas Fitzgerald and five of his uncles, who had been long imprisoned in the tower, for a revolt in Ireland, were ordered for execution. The earl's youngest son Stephen, however, fled to the continent, and was engaged by cardinal Pole, in his attempts to re-establish the papal authority in England.

The wishes of the king were now happily gratified by the birth of a son, the indisputable heir to his crown; but his satisfaction received a considerable alloy by the death of the queen in childbirth. Of all his wives she was the most esteemed by him, and respected by the people for the facility



fability and humility of her disposition. Her loss was so much regretted by the king, that he secluded himself from all company for several days. The young prince was baptised by the name of Edward, and had the titles of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, conferred on him.

A. D. 1538. This fortunate event greatly conduced to the aggrandisement of Henry's power; he was dreaded by his subjects, and his friendship solicited by the greatest princes of Europe. He therefore now determined on a total suppression of the monasteries. A new visitation of these recesses was ordered by the parliament, and guilt and innocence were confounded by the visitors. In many of the monasteries were found artificial relics, and various inventions were discovered for imposing on the credulous.

A remarkable crucifix at Boxley in Kent was held in sacred veneration. This instrument of idolatry, which was distinguished by the appellation of "The rood of grace," was contrived by means of springs placed within it, to shake its head, open its lips, and perform sundry motions of the human body. This object of bigotted devotion was broken in pieces at St. Paul's cross, by Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, who exposed the manner in which the deception had been practised, to the conviction of a deluded croud of spectators.

Impositions of this flagrant nature could not but expose their detected authors to public detestation and abhorrence. Henry reaped all the advantage from them he could desire, and the monks, finding all resistance fruitless, consented to abandon their sanctuaries and receive pensions for their subsistence. The number of monasteries dissolved was six hundred and forty-five, twenty-eight of which had abbots who sat in parliament. Ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and ten hospitals, were demolished in different parts of the kingdom: and the whole confiscated revenues amounted to the annual sum of one hundred and sixty thousand one hundred pounds.

The most respected object, however, was the shrine of Thomas à Becket, which, though it had hitherto escaped, could not be overlooked by this vindictive enemy to the holy see. Henry could not bear the thought that the memory of this arch-rebel to his sovereign, should be held in such pious veneration by the people, and his tomb loaded with the superb offerings of the pilgrims who constantly resorted to it. The actions of Becket were recapitulated, his pretended miracles exposed, his name expunged from the calendar, the office for his festival omitted in the breviary, his bones burnt, and his ashes scattered by the winds. Among other spoils of the saint, which Henry appropriated to his own use, was a diamond of infinite value, presented by Lewis VII. of France, who had made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas. This jewel was set in a ring and worn by Henry on his thumb. To reconcile the people to these innovations, the king erected six new bishopricks, made ample donations to his courtiers, and settled salaries on some of the abbots and monks.

These violent proceedings excited the resentment of the court of Rome, which vented itself in reproaches and anathemas against the person and conduct of Henry, who was represented as the most sacrilegious tyrant that ever disgraced the dignity of a throne. Libels were published in

which he was degraded below the character of Julian the apostate. The king easily recognized, in these invectives, the style of cardinal Pole, his relation; and his pride and sanguinary temper prompted him to revenge the insult. The cardinal, indeed, who resided in Italy, was out of the reach of his resentment. But as he was suspected of having formed a conspiracy against him, some lords, and particularly two of the cardinal's brothers, were arrested as his accomplices: Sir Geoffrey de la Pole alone escaped with his life, by discovering the conspiracy.

Pope Paul III. finding all hopes of a reconciliation with Henry impossible, resolved to publish the sentence of excommunication against him, which he had hitherto suspended. He used his utmost endeavours to exasperate the neighbouring princes against him, and even promised the crown to James of Scotland, provided he would assist in dethroning Henry. But the power of the English monarch enabled him to set his holiness at defiance, and to exact a new oath from the clergy, to abjure the authority of the bishop of Rome. The new translation of the bible was now completed, and presented to the king by Cromwell, who was of opinion, that a free toleration of the scriptures, in the vulgar tongue, would effectually eradicate the Romish superstition. Henry, however, who was but half a protestant, would indulge the people only in a partial use of the scriptures, to which they were restricted by a public proclamation. This indulgence, however, was embraced by the reformers as a great acquisition, especially as the clergy were permitted to read the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the decalogue in English. They were also recommended to preach good works, and the inefficacy of relics, rosaries, and other instruments of popery, to procure salvation.

A. D. 1539. Notwithstanding the pope's excommunication, and his inveteracy against the Romish clergy, Henry constantly piqued himself on an ardent zeal for the Catholic doctrine; which he gloried in defending by disputation as well as persecution. Of all the inconsistencies of that doctrine, was, that most absurd one transubstantiation, which he maintained with the most ridiculous obstinacy. One Lambert, a schoolmaster, had maintained unorthodox opinions concerning the real presence, and, being cited before the bishops, appealed to the king. Henry was overjoyed at this opportunity of displaying his theological talents. The prelates, peers, and other persons of distinction, being assembled in Westminster Hall, the royal theologist, seated on the throne, challenged Lambert to defend his opinion with respect to the Eucharist. The pedagogue acquitted himself in the task with great courage, but the king, assisted by ten bishops, who all engaged in the dispute, effectually confounded the disputant, after a conference of five hours. He concluded by proposing to him to alter his sentiments, or be burnt alive. Lambert, confounded, but not convinced, preferred the fire to the shame of retracting, and perished with amazing resolution amidst the most dreadful tortures. The monarch, intoxicated with the applause bestowed upon him for his success in this dispute, expected a more implicit submission to his principles than before. To think differently from him in ecclesiastical matters was deemed a capital transgression; and he availed himself of the servility of his parliament, to make his own opinion the



standard of orthodoxy in England. A bill was drawn up, and presented to the house, where it passed into a law, called the bill of the six articles, or, as the protestants justly stiled it, "The bloody bill." By this act the presence in the Eucharist; communion in one kind; the perpetual obligation to vows of chastity; the celibacy of the priesthood; the utility of private masses; and the necessity of auricular confession, were established, on pain of death; fines, confiscations, and imprisonment, according to the heinousness of the crimes committed in breach of this law. Cranmer alone had the resolution to oppose this bill, but when it was passed into a law, he immediately separated from his wife, and the king was contented with this instance of his submission.

By an act yet more strange, in which the parliament shewed themselves equally regardless of their civil as of their religious liberties, they even gave to the king's proclamation the same force as an act of parliament; thus transferring the legislative power to the crown, and totally subverting the English constitution.

Nor did the meanness of their condescension stop here. In compliance with the king's hatred to cardinal Pole, they passed bills of attainder, not only against his adherents, but also against his mother the countess of Salisbury, the marchioness of Exeter, Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley, without the least proof of their guilt. The two gentlemen were executed, the marchioness received a pardon, and the countess was reprieved. The statute of the six articles reduced the protestants to despair, but Cranmer and Cromwell suspended the execution of them, and the capricious monarch himself favoured at one time the party he oppressed at another, by allowing every person to have the translation of the bible in his own family.

The final decision of these religious disputes seemed to depend upon Henry's choice of a future consort, he having given several hints of his designs to enter into a new matrimonial engagement. He at first cast his eyes upon a daughter of the duke of Guise, but found she had been betrothed to the king of Scotland. Cromwell recommended to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of Cleves, and brother-in-law, the elector of Saxony, held a considerable rank among the princes of Germany. Henry had been struck with her beauty by a flattering picture of her, drawn by Hans Holbein; and the marriage was soon after concluded with her father's consent, though contrary to the will of her brother-in-law. This union (had it substantially taken place) would have been very likely to have frustrated all the attempts of the catholic party, but no sooner was the princess introduced to him at Rochester, than, irritated at his disappointment, he swore "they had sent him a great Flanders mare." But when he found that she could speak only German, which he did not understand, and that the charms of her conversation would not atone for the homeliness of her person, he would have broken off the match abruptly, had not the friendship of the German princes been necessary to his affairs. He, therefore, determined to complete his marriage, and told Cromwell that as matters were gone so far, he must e'en put his neck into the yoke.

A. D. 1540. On the sixth of January the nuptials were accordingly celebrated, and the next morning Cromwell was desirous of knowing whether the king liked his spouse any better. Henry

told him, he hated her more than ever, that her person was more loathsome the nearer he approached her; and that he was resolved never to cohabit with her. He behaved, however, very kindly to her, and dissembled even with Cromwell the disgust he had conceived against him for the share he had taken in this transaction. He even created him earl of Essex and knight of the garter. Cromwell harangued the parliament in his character of vicar-general; and the house of lords, thinking to please the king by flattering his minister, told him, he merited to be vicar-general of the universe.

At length, however, the storm broke over the head of Cromwell, which the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner contributed all in their power to aggravate. Jealous of his influence at court, they failed not to improve every circumstance to his disadvantage. Obnoxious to the Romish party on account of his enmity to their principles, a stratagem was projected to effect his ruin. They introduced Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, a lady of exceeding beauty, at court, and observing she had gained the king's affections, the duke made use of her influence, to precipitate the fall of a minister whom, in reality, he now detested. Henry readily listened to all the insinuations of the duke and Gardiner, and it was determined that the minister should fall a victim to the resentment of the public; in consequence of which, he was arrested at the council board, and closely committed to the Tower. Cromwell now found himself forsaken by all the friends of his prosperity, and supported only by Cranmer, his faithful adherent in affliction. The more highly the parliament had flattered him, the more eager were they now to oppress him. He was accused of heresy and treason, and condemned to the Scaffold without examination and without evidence. In vain did he implore the king's clemency, a virtue to which Henry was a stranger. The minister was executed without delay, and all his services disregarded or forgotten. This nobleman certainly deserved a better fate; for, though elevated from the lowest origin to the summit of human grandeur, he had neither been arrogant to his inferiors, nor ungrateful to his friends.

The king became more and more enamoured of lady Catherine; and Gardiner made frequent entertainments at his own house, for the royal lover and his mistress, to whom he had now made offers of partaking a share in his throne. These proposals having been accepted, Henry determined to procure a divorce from Anne of Cleves, and found no difficulty in obtaining a decision from the convocation in his favour. They declared the marriage void, on pretence that she had been affianced in her youth to the duke of Lorraine; that the king had not "inwardly" given his consent, and that the marriage had never been consummated. These objections were certainly very frivolous; but as the queen made no opposition, the sentence of divorce was passed by the clergy, and ratified by the parliament. Anne acquiesced in the decree on condition of three thousand pounds a year, and a patent of precedency, with the choice of living either in France or England.

This great point being obtained, and all obstacles removed, Henry married Catherine Howard, who was soon after crowned queen of England. But this marriage, pleasing as it was to Henry, had not the least effect in softening his disposition. Protestants and papists were equally the objects of per-



persecution; a spirit not a little enflamed by the enthusiastic zeal of the duke of Norfolk; and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. They executed rigorously the statutes of the six articles. They consigned to the flames the unhappy protestants, who suffered triumphantly in the cause of truth. Dr. Barnes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming minister, and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney; were condemned to the stake for heresy; but they did not suffer alone; three bigotted catholics shared the same fate for denying the king's supremacy. Barnes disputed on theological points even at the stake; and the sheriff pressing him on the invocation of saints, "I doubt," said he, "whether the saints can pray for the living; but if they can, I hope in half an hour to be praying for you, and the rest of the people here assembled." This indiscriminate exercise of tyranny excited great murmurs among the people, and produced some appearance of an insurrection. Cardinal Pole was suspected; and on this suspicion, the king ordered his mother the countess of Salisbury, the last remains of the blood-royal of Plantagenet, to be executed.

Bigotry and enthusiasm had been equally employed in kindling the torch of discord in Scotland as well as England. Patrick Hamilton, a young man of noble descent, having, about the year 1527, been sent abroad to receive an education to qualify him for the church, had imbibed the principles of the reformed religion, and, on his return to Scotland, did not scruple openly to avow them. A treacherous Dominican, who had insinuated himself into his friendship, accused him before the archbishop of St. Andrews. He was accordingly sentenced to be burnt, and suffered with the resolution of a martyr. The Dominican, probably overcome by remorse, soon after died distracted. Hamilton's martyrdom brought over great numbers of profelytes to the protestant faith, among whom was one friar Forest, who became an assiduous preacher, and, for his zealous attachment to the holy scriptures, was condemned, and suffered death as an heretic.

Such was the situation of religion in Scotland when James received an invitation from Henry to meet him at York, which the Scottish nobility persuaded him to accept. But the clergy, alarmed at the consequences of such an interview, which they feared might tend to aggrandize the nobility at the expence of the church, made use of such powerful arguments, as induced him to lay aside his intentions. After a few days delay, he sent excuses to Henry, who was waiting for him at York. An insult of this nature fired the English monarch with resentment; but his revenge was, for a time, diverted by an event, which demanded his return to the capital.

A. D. 1541—2. During the king's absence, one Lascelles had waited on archbishop Cranmer in London, and from the information of this man's sister, who had been a servant to the duchess dowager of Norfolk, gave a very surprising account of the queen's incontinency. He avowed, that she had led a very lewd life before her marriage with the king, and had carried on a criminal correspondence with two men, named Derham and Mannock; and that she had continued to indulge herself in the same guilty pleasures, since her elevation to the throne.

Equally astonished and perplexed, Cranmer communicated this intelligence to the chancellor, and some other members of the privy-council, who

advised him to make the king acquainted with the affair. The archbishop not only knew the danger of interfering in matters of such delicacy, but also the danger of concealing this information. He, therefore, resolved to commit what he had heard to writing, in the form of a memorial, which he shortly after delivered into the king's own hand; desiring his majesty to peruse it in private. Henry, at first affecting to disbelieve the report, ordered the keeper of the privy-seal to examine Lascelles, who not only persisted in his former story, but even brought his sister to confirm it. Derham and Mannock were accordingly arrested, and being examined, confessed their own guilt, and the queen's incontinency. Besides this, they impeached the old lady Rochford, who had formerly been so instrumental in procuring the death of Anne Boleyn. They asserted, that this lady had introduced one Culpepper into the queen's bed-chamber, who continued with her there during the whole night. On the queen's first examination, she denied the charge, but afterwards, finding her accomplices were her accusers, she confessed her incontinence before marriage, but denied her having ever dishonoured the king's bed. Three maids of honour, however, who had been entrusted with her secrets, still further corroborated her guilt, and some of them confessed having passed the night in the same bed with her and her lovers. The king was so affected at this discovery, that he burst into a flood of tears, and bitterly lamented his misfortunes. Derham, Mannock, and Culpepper were convicted and executed; but Henry was resolved to throw the odium of the queen's death upon the parliament, who had been always ready to contribute to his severities. These servile creatures, on being informed of the queen's crime and confession, soon found her guilty, and petitioned the king that she might suffer capital punishment; that the same might be also inflicted on lady Rochford the accomplice of her debaucheries, and that her grand-mother, the dutchess dowager of Norfolk, together with her father, mother, and nine others, as having been privy to the queen's irregularities, should share in her punishment. It is not to be wondered at that the king should readily comply with this petition; the consequence of which was, that they were condemned to death by an act of attainder, which, at the same time, made it capital for any person to conceal the debaucheries of any future queen. It was also enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she should be guilty of treason, in case she did not previously reveal her situation. The people diverted themselves with this absurd and brutal statute, and said "the king must look out for a widow."

After all these laws were passed, the queen was beheaded on the twelfth of February on Tower hill, together with the lady Rochford. The queen was greatly pitied; she owned having led a dissolute life before marriage; but denied, in her last moments, and with the utmost solemnity, having ever been inconstant after her marriage with the king. The public exclaimed so loudly against the severity of the act, which included so many of her accomplices, that the king did not think proper to put them to death, though some of them were long detained in confinement.

Henry, having thus, by various acts of tyranny, shewn that he was abandoned to all ideas of justice and humanity, at last took it into his head to com-



pose a book of religion, which was to be the code by which his subjects should, for the future, regulate all their principles and practices. Having procured an act of parliament for this purpose, in which all spiritual supremacy was declared to be vested in him, he published a small volume soon after, called "The Institution of a Christian Man," which was favourably received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible standard of orthodoxy. All the abstruse points of justification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, were there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers; while the sacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, are there extended to their original number of seven, conformable to the sentiments of the catholics. But the king was not long satisfied with this code of belief; for he soon after procured a new book to be composed, called "The Erudition of a Christian Man," which he published upon his own authority; and though this new creed differed much from the former, yet he was no less positive in requiring assent to this, than he had been to the former. In both these books he was very explicit in enforcing the doctrine of passive obedience; so that his institutions were not likely to weaken what he so powerfully enforced by his severities.

Henry now found himself at leisure to revenge the affront offered him by the king of Scotland. He declared war by a manifesto, in which after reproaching his nephew with having broken his word, with giving an asylum to some rebels, and retaining some territory which belonged to his kingdom, he renewed his ancient pretensions to the crown of Scotland, and summoned him to do him homage as his liege lord. An English army passed the Tweed at Berwick, but retreated on the first approach of the enemy. James was eager to pursue them; but the nobility, resenting the preference he had shewn to the clergy, refused to assist him. A body of ten thousand men, commanded by lord Maxwell, were defeated at Solway by the English; an event which threw James into a despairing condition, and the grief of which shortly put an end to his life. Hearing, just before his death that his queen was delivered of a daughter, he lamented the approaching miseries of his kingdom; of which, said he, "Henry will make himself master either by arms or marriage."

The death of James, and birth of a daughter, sole heiress of a kingdom, whose friendship was of so much importance to England, gave a new turn to the deliberations of the English councils. Instead of exasperating the Scots, by availing themselves of the benefits of the late victory, the English adopted a scheme for uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage between Edward, prince of Wales, and Mary the infant queen of Scotland.

A. D. 1543. The Scottish prisoners, who had been set at liberty in consequence of this new projected alliance, found, on their return, their country involved in confusion. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, presumptive heir to the crown, next to the princess, was a nobleman of a slender capacity and pacific disposition, not at all calculated to rule the helm of state in those turbulent times. He was, however, persuaded by the protestants, to whom he was attached, to claim the regency by virtue of his proximity of blood. The earl listened to their arguments, and resolved to demand it at the meeting of the next parliament. He

was strongly opposed by the catholic faction, headed by cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland, a prelate of unpopular manners, and a persecuting spirit. Beaton published the late king's will soon after his decease, in which that prince had left the government to him in conjunction with the earls of Argyll, Huntley and Murray. By virtue of this instrument, which the ambitious churchman is said to have forged, he took possession of the government, and having joined his interest with that of the queen dowager, sister to the duke of Guise, he obtained the consent of the convention of the states, and excluded the pretensions of the earl of Arran.

His power, however, was but of short existence. The majority of the parliament declared in favour of Arran, and the cardinal was committed to prison. A negotiation was immediately entered into with Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, and a treaty of marriage was concluded, by which it was agreed, that the queen should continue in Scotland till she was ten years of age, when she should be sent to England for education, and that Scotland, notwithstanding this union, should still retain its laws and privileges. But Beaton having found means to escape from prison, stirred up the clergy against this treaty, and awakened the natural antipathy of the Scots against the English; so that, instead of the proposed union, a war seemed likely to take place between the two kingdoms, in which Francis engaged to support the interest of Scotland.

The French king, however, being engaged in a war with the Emperor, was little able to fulfil his engagement. Matthew Stewart, earl of Lenox, was then at the French court, and Francis, knowing his hereditary enmity to the family of Hamilton, by whom his father had been murdered, persuaded him to return home, and assist the queen-mother and the cardinal, promising to send after him a supply of pecuniary and military succours. He was also flattered with the hopes of espousing the queen dowager, and, in case of the death of Mary, of ascending the throne of Scotland in preference to the earl of Arran, whose legitimacy was disputeable. Lenox, allured by these expectations, agreed to the proposal, and on his arrival in his native country, exerted all his endeavours to break off the marriage treaty. He assembled a number of forces in order to rescue the young queen out of the hands of the regent, who being either not inclined, or not strong enough to contend with his enemies, agreed to an accommodation. The queen and cardinal having now no farther occasion for Lenox, desired Francis to recall him; but the earl, aware of their design, retired to his castle at Dumbarton, and the following year threw himself into the arms of the English.

In about a twelve-month after the death of the late queen, Henry married his sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr, widow of the late Neville, lord Latimer, who was allowed to be a woman of discretion and virtue, and well affected to the protestant cause. But this event did not put a stop to the persecutions of the times. Anthony Personne, a priest, Robert Testwood, a singing-man, and Henry Fulmer, a taylor, were, at Gardiner's instigation, burnt at Windsor for heresy. And the bishop's own secretary was executed for denying the king's supremacy.

A. D. 1544. The winter season having put a period



period to military operations, Henry called a parliament, when the princesses Mary and Elizabeth were restored to their rights of succession; but the king would not suffer the statute, which declared their illegitimacy, to be reversed. As soon as the season would permit a fleet and army were fitted out to invade Scotland. The former was commanded by Dudley lord Lisle, and the latter by the earl of Hertford. The troops landed near Leith, which town they took, and thence proceeded to Edinburgh, and set that city on fire, after plundering the inhabitants. The regent and cardinal, unable to oppose them, retired to Stirling. After burning the towns of Haddington and Dunbar, the forces were withdrawn; for Henry having, in conjunction with the emperor, formed a design for an invasion of France, was desirous of employing his whole army in that expedition.

In consequence of this plan, they had agreed to march directly to Paris, and without entering upon any siege, to proceed from thence to the entire conquest of the kingdom. But fortunately for the French king, the emperor had taken the field before Henry landed at Calais, and without waiting for his ally, had set down before Luxembourg and taken possession of the place. Commerce on the Meuse, and Ligny also, soon surrendered, but at St. Dezier on the Maine, he met with a powerful resistance from Mons. Sancerre the Governor.

While the emperor was thus employed, Henry landed at Calais, and hearing of Charles's success, determined to follow his example, and accordingly invested Montreuil and Boulogne. These sieges produced delays; and Charles, finding the season so far advanced, that the scheme of subduing France would be likely to prove abortive, concluded a separate peace with Francis. In consequence of this treaty, the count de Buren, who had joined the English army, withdrew his forces, and Henry was compelled to raise the siege of Montreuil, and return to England, where he found his subjects ready to offer him their accustomed adulation, and to praise him for an enterprize in which he had lavished away great sums of money, and from which not the least benefit could be derived.

A. D. 1545. Francis, whose thoughts were turned towards the distressing of Henry, employed the whole winter in equipping a fleet to invade the coast of England. They sailed the beginning of July, and proceeded towards the English fleet then riding at St. Helens. But being unable to do any execution against them, they landed on the Isle of Wight, and committed dreadful ravages, till they were driven back to their ships, by the militia of the country.

Finding the expences of the war too great for him to support, Henry again applied to the parliament, and obtained a small subsidy. But this not being sufficient he solicited assistance from the clergy, who (as usual) were found to be more liberal than the laity; which made the emperor observe, that, on the suppression of the monasteries, "the king had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs." But, tenacious as the parliament had been of their own money, they were amazingly profuse with what did not belong to them. They granted to Henry all the revenues of the universities, chapels, and hospitals; but the king took care to inform the universities, that he did not intend to encroach upon their endowments.

A. D. 1546. No sooner was the campaign opened for which the parliament had voted some supplies, than an accident happened which afforded the English little hopes of success. The earl of Surry, who commanded Henry's forces in Boulogne attempting to intercept a convoy of provisions going to the fort of Outre Eau at the entrance of that harbour, was compelled to return with some loss without effecting his purpose. Yet, not intimidated by his unsuccessful effort, he attacked the marshal de Biez, who was escorting a much larger convoy. In this attempt he again miscarried; and sustained a loss of about eight hundred men killed on the spot, and one hundred and twenty taken prisoners, among whom was Sir Edward Poynings.

These misfortunes, added to Henry's natural decay, which boded his approaching dissolution, inclined him to listen to terms of accommodation, and a peace was once more established, in which the emperor and the Scots were included. Thus ended a war which cost Henry upwards of one million three hundred and forty-three thousand pounds, without gaining any material advantage; and similar to this was the success of almost all Henry's expeditions.

Among other alterations in the form of public worship, Henry now permitted the Litany to be read in English, and ordered that the following words should be added: "to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." Cranmer endeavoured to make farther innovations in favour of the protestants, but Gardiner, then at the emperor's court as ambassador from England, wrote to inform the king, that if he carried his opposition against the catholic faith any farther, the emperor would break off all correspondence with him. The archbishop himself was at the brink of destruction at court. He had, at this time, lost a sincere and powerful friend by the death of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to the king, a nobleman of distinguished merit, and who, according to the testimony of Henry himself, had never spoken a word to the prejudice of any one. The enemies of Cranmer, hiding their malice under the mask of orthodoxy, endeavoured to ruin him as a concealed heretic. This so dangerous an accusation did not, however, for the present, succeed, a circumstance the more singular, as those times produced the most shocking instances of persecution.

Anne Ascue, a beautiful young woman, highly esteemed, and honoured by the friendship even of the queen herself, was accused of having in conversation expressed her disbelief of the doctrine of the real presence. The menaces of bishop Bonner drew from her an imperfect recantation, with which he was not satisfied. Being thrown into prison, and animated, rather than discouraged, by this rigour, she wrote to the king, telling him, that in the mystery of the Eucharist, she confirmed her belief to the words of Christ, and the doctrine of the church; but not being able to admit that sense of it which his majesty gave, she expected her enemies would make a crime to him of her letter. The chancellor Wriothesley was sent to interrogate her on the correspondencies she had at court. Amidst all the torments of the rack, she kept the secret with unshaken constancy. After dislocating her limbs by the torture, they carried her to the place of execution, where, not being able to prevail on her to recant, she was burnt alive. Three other unhappy persons, executed at the same



and for the same cause, imitated her courage, and gloried in their sufferings.

The queen now saw herself on the point of being sacrificed to her husband's dogmatical zeal. Henry was now grown very corpulent, and was afflicted with an ulcer in his leg, that encreased his natural peevishness. The tenderness and assiduity of Catherine, on this occasion, were remarkable. The king's favourite topic was theology, and Catherine was frequently obliged to discuss the most abstruse tenets of religion with him. In the heat of one of these conversations she suffered too much of her sentiment to appear. The suspicion of heresy awakened all the native cruelty of Henry's heart. Gardiner and the chancellor envenomed the wound. They persuaded the king to have articles of impeachment drawn up against her, which were soon after brought for him to sign. The fatal paper, being luckily dropt by the chancellor, was found by one of the queen's friends, and put into her hands. Sensible of her danger, she exerted all her prudence to avert the storm. She accordingly paid her usual visit to the king, and found him in a more serene disposition than ordinary. The conversation turning on religious subjects, Henry challenged her to maintain her usual arguments. To this she replied, that such profound speculations were above her comprehension, and in her opinion very ill adapted to the imbecillities of her sex. That she had, indeed, engaged in such speculation with him, merely to divert his pain, and profit by his instructions: to effect this, she had made use of arguments, which she knew when she used them were far from being conclusive. "And is it so, sweetheart?" replied Henry; then, by St. Mary, we are friends again." After which, embracing her with great tenderness, he dismissed her with assurances of his kindness and protection.

The next day as the royal pair were walking in the palace garden, the bishop of Winchester, who was a stranger to this reconciliation, appeared with a guard to seize the queen, and convey her to the tower. The king no sooner saw him approach, than taking him aside, he was observed to speak to him in an angry tone of voice. The queen was greatly alarmed on overhearing the terms knave, fool, and beast frequently repeated. On the prelate's retiring in great confusion, the queen generously interposed to appease the king's resentment: but Henry replied, "Poor soul! you know not how little that man is intitled to your favour." The queen was very cautious in future of incurring her husband's displeasure, and Gardiner never more recovered the king's good opinion.

A. D. 1547. Though Henry's health was declining very fast, his implacable cruelties were not the less frequent. These were indiscriminately exercised on protestants and catholics. The last objects of his groundless suspicion were the duke of Norfolk and his son the earl of Surry. The latter excelled in all the military exercises, encouraged the arts by his practice and example, and was the first whose poetry brought our language to any degree of refinement. These qualifications, however, were no security against Henry's suspicions; the earl had dropt some expressions of resentment against the king's ministers, on being removed from the government of Boulogne; and the whole family was become obnoxious from the late incontinency of Catherine Howard. Private orders were therefore given for arresting father and son, which being carried into execution, they were both the

same day committed to the tower. Surry, being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, there were many informers base enough to betray the intimacies of private confidence; and all the connection of consanguinity. The duchess dowager of Richmond, Surry's own sister, was among the number of his accusers; and Sir Richard Southwell, his most intimate friend, charged him with infidelity to the king. It seemed, at this dreary period, as if all faith and honour had fled out of the nation; Surry denied the charge, and challenged his accuser to single combat. This favour was refused him; and it was alledged that he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his escutcheon, which was of itself sufficient to convict him of aspiring to the crown. To this he could make no reply; and, indeed, no answer would have availed him; for neither parliament nor juries, during this reign, seem to be guided by any other will than that of the crown. This young nobleman was, therefore, condemned for high treason, notwithstanding his eloquent and spirited defence; and the sentence was soon after executed upon him on Tower-hill. The duke, in the mean time, endeavoured to soften the king by the most submissive letters; but the monster's hard heart was rarely susceptible of tender impressions. The parliament meeting on the fourteenth of January, a bill of attainder was found against the duke of Norfolk, it being thought he could not so easily have been convicted on a fair hearing by his peers. The only crime alledged against him was, that he had once said the king was sickly, and could not hold out long; and that the kingdom was likely to be torn between the contending parties of different persuasions. Cranmer, though for many years engaged in opposite party to Norfolk, would have no share in the unjust prosecution; but retired to his seat at Croydon. The death warrant, however, was made out, and immediately sent to the lieutenant of the Tower. The duke prepared for death, and the next morning was to be his last; but an event of greater consequence to the kingdom intervened, and prevented his execution.

The king had been, for some time, approaching fast towards his end; and for several days all those about his person plainly saw that his speedy death was inevitable. The disorder in his leg was now grown exceeding painful, which, added to his monstrous corpulency, rendered him unable to move. Ever stern and severe, he was now become outrageous. In this state he had continued for near four days before his death, the terror of all, and the tormentor of himself; his courtiers having no inclination to make an enemy of him, as they were more ardently employed in conspiring the deaths of each other. Thus, therefore, was he suffered to struggle, none of his domestics having the courage to warn him of his approaching end, as, in the course of this reign, persons had already been put to death for foretelling the death of the king. At last, Sir Anthony Denny undertook to disclose to him the dreadful secret; and, contrary to his usual custom, he received the tidings with an expression of resignation. His anguish and remorse, at this time, were beyond conception; he desired that Cranmer might be sent for; but, before the arrival of that prelate he was speechless. Cranmer entreated him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ; upon which he squeezed his hand, and immediately expired, on the 28th of January,



January, after a reign of thirty seven years and nine months; and in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The character of this monarch may be but collected from his actions. His conduct was so totally inconsistent with itself in the different periods of his life, that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to describe. In his youth he was sincere, open and liberal; in his advanced years, he grew froward, rapacious, and, withal, so excessively cruel, that he seemed to delight in the blood of his subjects. The gratification of his sensual and brutal appetites, appears to have been the ultimate object of his pursuits, for to this he sacrificed every obligation of justice, every feeling of humanity. And it is reported, that he reproached himself when dying, "with having spared no woman in his lust, nor man in his anger."

With all his vices and imperfections, however, he boldly rejected a slavish subjection to the see of Rome, and by that means laid the foundation of religious, and, in the end, of civil liberty; nevertheless, even in this laudable work, he seems to have been actuated rather by the impulse of his vicious and unruly passions, than by the motives of conscience and religion, from whence we may draw this conclusion, that divine wisdom, by means undiscoverable to human understanding, and in a course highly improbable to human reason, frequently accomplishes the most gracious purposes and benevolent designs.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Henry VIII.

- A. D.
- 1509 The art of gardening first brought into England from the Netherlands.
  - 1510 Hats for men made in London, before which they wore close knit woolen caps.
  - 1512 The royal navy office established.  
St. Paul's school founded by Dr. Collet.
  - 1513 Benefit of clergy with respect to murderers and felons, as also the claim of sanctuary, abolished.
  - 1514 This year an act was passed that no surgeon should sit on juries, or be liable to serve parish offices.
  - 1516 This year there happened a long frost, which was so severe that all kinds of carriages passed over the Thames on the ice.
  - 1517 The sweating sickness raged with great violence in England, and, in general, carried off the diseased within three hours. In some towns half the people were swept away; and the terms were adjourned from London for more than a year.  
Courts of conscience first instituted in London.
  - 1518 The College of Physicians in London instituted.
  - 1519 Six men and a woman burnt at Coventry for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer, ten Commandments, and the Creed, in the vulgar tongue.
  - 1520 Chocolate first brought to England.  
Muskets first used in the English army, and bows and arrows laid aside.
  - 1521 A great dearth in England, when wheat sold for 20s. a quarter.  
The sea over-flowed the dykes of Holland destroyed 72 villages, and above 100,000 people perished.
  - 1522 The damask rose first brought into England by Dr. Linacre, the king's physician.
  - 1525 This year there happened so severe a frost, after great winds and rains, that many people lost the use of their limbs, and others perished with cold.  
Whitehall built by Cardinal Wolsey.  
Pipins this year brought to England.  
Hops first brought to England, and used in brewing.  
Carp first brought to England.
  - 1528 This year the sweating sickness raged with great violence in England.
  - 1530 St. James's palace built.  
The first portable clock or watch made.  
The office of secretary of state first established.
  - 1533 Currants brought from the isle of Zant, belonging to Venice, and first planted in England.  
The musk rose, and several sorts of plumbs from Italy, were brought and planted by lord Cromwell.  
Scenes first introduced into theatres.

- 1535 Brass cannon first cast in England.  
Etching on copper with aqua fortis first discovered.
- 1538 Parish register first kept.
- 1539 Pipes of lead for the conveyance of water invented.
- 1540 Cherries and apricots first planted in England.  
The use of quicksilver discovered in refining silver ore.
- 1542 This year there happened a great mortality, and such a drought, that the small rivers were entirely dried up, and the river Thames was so dry, as to be passable in many places on foot.  
Pins first made in England. Before this art was discovered, the ladies used wooden skewers.
- 1543 Mortars and cannons were this year first cast in iron, and made at Buckhead in Suffolk.  
The litany in English first ordered to be used in churches.
- 1544 Pistols first used by the horse.  
Pressing for the sea service a criminal punishment. One Read, an alderman of London, was pressed, and sent on board the fleets in foreign parts, for refusing to pay a tax levied on him by the king.
- 1545 False accusers burnt in the face with an F.
- 1546 Public stews suppressed, which were before allowed by the state.  
This year one William Foxley fell asleep, and did not awake for 14 days and nights, after which he lived 41 years.  
Henry VIII. was the first king of England, who took the title of majesty, before which the sovereigns were addressed by the title of my liege, your highness, or your grace.

The most distinguished personages for learning and science, in this reign, were the following:

Henry Howard, earl of Surry, one of the greatest ornaments of this king's court, though the most unprovoked object of his cruelty. He was, as has been already mentioned, famous for the tenderness and elegance of his poetry.

Archbishop Warham excelled as a divine, a lawyer, and a statesman, though supplanted in the king's favour by Wolsey. Erasmus makes mention of this prelate, whom he esteemed as a perfect model of the episcopal character. He died on the 23d of August, 1532.

John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, was one of those great men who contributed to the revival of learning in England. No higher testimony need be given of the merit of Collet, than his great intimacy with Erasmus. There was a remarkable similitude of manners, of studies, and of sentiments in religion, between these illustrious men, who ventured to withdraw the veil of ignorance and superstition, and expose both in their genuine colours, to the eyes of the world; and to prepare the minds of the English for that reformation in religion, and the restoration of learning, which soon after followed. Collet, Lynacre, Lilly, Grocyn, and Latimer, were the first that revived the literature of the ancients in England. He founded St. Paul's school, and died 1519.

William Tindale, canon of Christ church, Oxford, and deservedly stiled the English apostle, was the first that translated the Greek Testament into English. This work appeared in 1526; and three or four years after, he published an English translation of the Pentateuch from the original Hebrew, and intended to have gone through the rest of the Old Testament; but his attempt provoked the Catholic clergy, and he was burnt for heresy at Wilford, near Brussels, in 1536.

Sir Thomas More was a great master of the elegant learning of the antients. His Utopia, a kind of political romance, which gained him the highest reputation as an author, is an idea of a perfect republic, in an island supposed to be newly discovered in America. He was beheaded, as we have already mentioned, for denying the king's supremacy on the sixth of July, 1535.



## C H A P. II.

### E D W A R D VI.

*Accession of Edward VI. The earl of Hertford (afterwards duke of Somerset) made Protector. The duke supports the cause of the reformation. Marches against the Scots, and obtains a complete victory. Returns to London, and immediately summons a parliament, who pass many wholesome laws, particularly in favour of the reformation. Further wars with the Scots. Lord Seymour, brother to the Protector, committed to the Tower, and afterwards beheaded. Insurrections in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Norfolk, where the insurgents were headed by one Kett, a Tanner. The insurrections suppressed, and a general amnesty published by the Protector. Wars with the Scots and French. Dissentions at home. The duke of Somerset committed to the Tower. Is deprived of his protectorship, and his estate forfeited; but, from his submissive behaviour, is set at liberty, and re-admitted to the council-board. A treaty of peace between England and France. The duke of Somerset accused of conspiring against the lives of several privy-counsellors, for which he is tried, condemned, and executed. The duke of Northumberland obtains great power in the administration, and prevails on the king to exclude the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, from the succession to the throne. Death and character of Edward VI.*

A. D. **A**S this young prince was appointed to 1547. the succession by his predecessor when he should attain to the age of eighteen years, and as he was then only turned of nine, his guardianship, together with that of the realm, was committed in trust to sixteen executors to be assisted occasionally by the advice of twelve counsellors. On a general assembly of these executors and counsellors, the earl of Hertford was chosen protector, with only one dissentient voice, (that of the chancellor Wriothesley,) and so declared accordingly; but restricted from acting without the concurrence of the other parties. When these matters were adjusted, various promotions were made in the different ranks of peerage; the duke of Somerset, late earl of Hertford, was likewise appointed treasurer and marshal, and baron Sudley, admiral of England.

Somerset, for private reasons, had suppressed his attachment to the cause of the reformation, till the death of Henry VIII. but now he openly declared in favour of the same, and embarked most cordially with others in correcting the abuses of the Romish superstition, and adopting many of the doctrines, which tended to subvert the authority of the Roman pontiff. The cause of the reformation was also espoused by the primate, the archbishop of York, the bishops of Lincoln and Ely, and doctors Ridley and Latimer, who were by this time released from prison.

Prompted by the same motive, he extended his views of reformation to foreign countries; and from the same laudable zeal appointed visitors to examine the churches in Germany, and empowered them to abolish certain abuses.

Nor was he less attentive to military achievements, than religious reformation; for after taking the necessary steps for the promotion of the latter, he began to make preparations for an invasion of Scotland, resolving to prosecute that scheme, the execution of which, the late king had recommended with his dying breath. However, at the desire of the French ambassador, he consented to try the effect of a negotiation before he commenced hostilities: this, however, proving abortive, he entered Scotland with a numerous army; but as he found the governor was prepared to meet the attack at the head of a force vastly superior, and posted in a situation much more advantageous, than that of

the English army, Somerset determined to reconnoitre the Scottish camp, when judging it impracticable to make an attempt with any probability of success, he sent a message to the earl of Arran, with proposals of accommodation.

The leaders of the Scottish army imputing this conciliating proposal to motives of pusillanimity, resolved to avail himself of those distressful circumstances of the enemy. Understanding that the English were in motion, they crossed the river Eske, and advanced into the plain. The Scottish army was marshalled in three bodies, the earl of Angus commanded the van, the earl of Arran the center, and Huntley, the regent, conducted the rear. Their cavalry consisted only of light horse, which were stationed on their left flank, interlined with some Irish archers, brought over for this service by the earl of Argyle.

The disposition of the Scots, inspired Somerset with fresh courage; and as the English, from superior prowess, generally conquered in regular engagements, he was flushed with assured hopes of victory. He formed his van on the left, farthest from the sea, upon an ascent, where he ordered them to remain, until the enemy should approach; he drew up his main body, and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he posted lord Gray, at the head of the men at arms, and directed him to flank the Scots, but not till the front of both armies should be engaged: so, that by this manoeuvre while the enemy were advancing, they were assailed by the artillery from the English ships, lord Graham was killed, and the highlanders thrown into some confusion; when the lord Gray, observing their situation, neglected his orders, quitted his post, and, at the head of his heavy armed horse attacked the Scottish infantry, hoping to decide the action by one vigorous effort. But this gallant intention of lord Gray was frustrated by the intervention of a morass, behind which some of the enemy's infantry were placed in ambush, and so annoyed the English cavalry with their spears, that lord Gray was wounded, his men routed, and their standard in great danger of being lost; and had the Scots been furnished with cavalry to improve the advantage, a total overthrow of the English must have ensued.

Notwithstanding this repulse, Somerset exerted himself boldly in rallying his dispersed forces; while



Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England:



Wale delin.

Grignon sculp.

Born } Crowned } Died  
October 12. 1537. } February 20. 1547. } July 6. 1553.



while other commanders discovered equal skill and presence of mind, in preserving the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled. He detached Sir Peter Meucas, and Peter Gamboa, a Spanish officer, to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. These officers rushed on, with impetuosity, to the spot where the English cavalry had been so warmly assailed, and discharged volleys in the face of the enemy; the ships galled them in the flank, and the artillery, planted on an eminence, made such havock among them, that they sustained considerable loss, without being able to oppose force to force.

The advantage obtained by the English from this last manœuvre threw the whole Scottish army into disorder; the van began to retreat, the center followed, and a total confusion ensuing thereupon, the English horse availing themselves of this favourable opportunity, charged most furiously, and, meeting with no resistance, made most terrible carnage. About three thousand ecclesiastics, who made a separate body, were massacred without mercy. Never was victory more decisive, or purchased at an easier rate by the conquerors. The English lost not more than two hundred men, and, according to the lowest calculation, there fell above ten thousand of the Scots. This memorable and decisive victory being achieved on a spot adjacent to the villa of a nobleman, whose surname was Pinkey, acquired, from thence, the appellation of, "The battle of Pinkey."

This success opened the way for further conquest on the part of the victors, as it tended to the further loss of the vanquished; for during the action between the respective regents, the lord Wharton and the earl of Lenox entered Scotland by the western marches, reduced several castles, and ravaged the whole country. Had the protector improved his advantage, he might have compelled the Scots to agree to any terms he could have imposed; but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard cabals were forming against his authority, in which his own brother made a principal. Having reduced several small places, as well as gathered the spoils of the field, he returned to England, and was gratified by the king with lands to the value of five hundred pounds a year. These late successes, while they enhanced the reputation of Somerset amongst the people, raised him many enemies amongst the nobility, from that detestable principle, envy.

In consequence of these victories, Somerset, immediately on his return, convened a parliament, and obtained a patent, empowering him to arrogate all the honours and privileges, that any prince of the blood, or any uncles of the kings of England, had ever possessed. As the most salutary effects frequently arise from causes not the most laudable; so these honours, from whatever motives they sprang, tended essentially to the interest of the kingdom by means of the laws enacted in this session, in which all statutes were repealed, touching high treason, passed since the reign of Edward III. together with those passed during the late reign, extending to the crime of felony; and all the former acts against heresies, and the statute of the six articles.

The supremacy of the king, as well ecclesiastical as civil, was established by law, and the right of succession duly and irreversibly confirmed. The benefit of the clergy, and the privileges of sanctuary, were restored, except to assassins and four sorts of thieves mentioned in the act. Private

masses were prohibited, and the cup restored to the laity. The king was empowered to fill the vacant sees, by which means fraudulent elections were abolished. The cognizance of matrimony and testamentary causes, was removed from the ecclesiastical, to the civil courts. Great immunities were granted to Edward respecting the foundation of colleges, cathedrals, &c. to which his predecessor had not asserted a claim.

Somerset, though he assented to the repeal of an act vesting the king's proclamation with the authority of a statute, by no means admitted the exclusion of discretionary interference, which had ever been exercised by the crown, and which differs in very few respects from the power of making laws.

A. D. 1548. Impartiality must confess, upon the whole, that the protector did not pervert the influence he obtained by his extraordinary elevation. He issued an order, enjoining, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas day; palms on Palm-Sunday; and that prostration before the cross on Good Friday should be abolished. He submitted a number of other ceremonious matters, respecting the form of religion, entirely to the option of the people, but peremptorily restricted the worship of images.

These vigorous exertions in behalf of the protestant cause and interest, as might reasonably be supposed, tended greatly to retard the accommodation with the Scottish nation, as the queen dowager, as well as the clergy, conceived an antipathy to a nation, which had departed so far from the principles of the Romish church.

The protector, however, proceeded in his military operations, and having reduced several important fortresses, as well as possessed himself of some smaller castles on the frontiers of Scotland, caused them to be strongly garrisoned as well as fortified, as a clue to the internal parts of the Scottish dominions. The reduction of one of these, called by the name of Broughty, was attempted by the earl of Azzar; but in vain, for he was disappointed in his expectation of a considerable reinforcement from France, and therefore compelled to desist.

While the English and Scottish nations were thus continually engaged in the pursuits of hostile designs, the queen-dowager convoked a parliament, and requested of them, that her daughter should be conveyed to France, and put under the protection of that ancient ally. The king of France, in order to obtain the consent of the regent, created him duke of Chateleraut, with a yearly revenue of two thousand livres. Thus gratified, he permitted the young queen to be put on board the fleet destined for France, by which she was conveyed round the Orkneys, and Ireland, and landed safe in Britany, whence she was conducted to Paris. It was supposed that the French went thus far about, in order to avoid the English fleet under admiral Seymour, who cruized in the Frith of Edinburgh, and landed in several parts of Fife, but reembarked without doing any thing effective.

During these transactions, Haddington, which had been strongly fortified, was invested by the combined force of the Scots and French; but the English army approaching under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, they abandoned the enterprize. Had Shrewsbury been able to attack the enemy on their march, he would, in all probability, have gained an easy victory; but as he had



lost that opportunity, and could not, with any hopes of success, attempt to force them in their present situation, after he had relieved the garrison, he marched with his army to the southward.

The much desired event of a total reformation was now approaching, and the nation in general seemed to exert itself in accomplishing that glorious design. The committee of divines, by order of council, having drawn up a new form of prayer, to be used throughout the protestant churches, conceived it in such terms as might be admitted by all moderate and candid professors of christianity; the parliament confirmed this liturgy, and ordained that a perfect uniformity should be observed in all religious rites and ceremonies; but it is to be lamented, that in order to obtain this end, they were guilty of many barbarities, of which they had formerly accused the papists.

Somerfet, versed in the knowledge of mankind, though he heartily acquiesced in the late proceedings, found it necessary, with respect to himself, to proceed with caution, as the Romish religion had still many votaries, and himself many enemies, among whom his own brother the lord Seymour was the most inveterate and dangerous.

The queen-dowager dying in September, Seymour renewed his addresses to the princess Elizabeth; but as his design in that proceeding was frustrated by an absolute clause in the will of her father, he had recourse to another plan, and such was his ambition, that, according to report, he aspired to a design of making himself master of the king's person, and seizing the reins of government into his own hands, in order to which, he assembled two thousand men in different places. The council having received intelligence of these proceedings, committed him to the Tower, and appointed commissioners to take depositions of his accusers. By these he was flatly charged with having conspired against the government, protected pirates, and committed acts of violence on the subjects of different states at peace with England.

A. D. 1549. The protector, convinced of the illegal and impolitic design of his aspiring brother, endeavoured, by every method of argument and entreaty, to divert him from his purpose; but finding all his remonstrances ineffectual, he resolved to have recourse to severer remedies, and therefore, as the most effectual barrier to his towering projects, at the advice of the earl of Warwick, he deprived him of the office of high admiral, and exhibited against him a charge of high-treason, and ordered the whole to be laid before the privy council, who thought proper to go in a body to the Tower, in order to examine the prisoner in a more full and circumstantial manner.

With the utmost fortitude he asserted his claim to a fair and impartial hearing, and desired he might have leisure to examine the articles of his accusation, and prepare for his defence; but his peremptory demand met with as peremptory a denial, and the council determining at all events to criminate him, a bill of attainder passed both houses with very little opposition, and soon after received the royal assent. On the tenth of May the admiral was beheaded, contrary to the sense of the nation in general, who, as impartial judges of the merit of the cause, could never be brought to justify the protector; but, on the contrary, insisted, that his rigorous and cruel proceedings with respect to his brother, arose from the very same

principles he condemned in him, even the unquerable prevalence of pride and ambition.

An edict passed at this time for the abolition of the monastic order, which though attended with good effects, as it respected the furtherance of the protestant cause, produced much discontent amongst a numerous and useful body of people of England; for the abbots and priors being permitted to grant leases at a low rate, and to receive in return a large gratuity from the tenant; when the abbey-lands were divided among the great, they were soon subjected to a different management; the rents of farms were advanced, the money was squandered away in the capital, and the farmers perceiving that wool was a more profitable commodity than meal, converted their arable land into pastures.

A dearth of corn consequently ensued, to the general distress of the poor; to which being added the neglect of agriculture, the common people inveighed with the utmost acrimony against the authors of such an edict, as the principal cause of their misery from want of their former employment.

The protector, conscious of the importance of conciliating the affections of the people, took this favourable opportunity of attending to the complaints they preferred on the occasion; and therefore appointed a commission for making enquiry into all cases relative to inclosures, high-ways and cottages. As this measure was very displeasing to the nobility and gentry, they exclaimed against the commission as illegal; and the peasants imagining their design was to reduce them to servitude, determined, at all events, upon an insurrection, which began at once in several counties. The rioters, however, in Wiltshire were dispersed by Sir William Herbert; those in the neighbouring counties of Oxford and Gloucester, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the insurgents were slain in the field; others suffered by martial law. The malecontents of Devonshire, amounting to ten thousand, were headed by one Humphrey Arundel, an experienced soldier, who was abetted in this rash enterprize by some people of the clerical order, who affected a furious zeal from mercenary and lucrative motives.

This party having formed military associations, presented a set of articles to the king, demanding that mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the six articles revived, and the redress of several grievances. The council rejected the purport of their demand, and promised them a free pardon for their misdemeanors in presenting the same, on condition of their returning to allegiance; but they, spurning the offer with indignation, undertook the siege of Exeter, which was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. Lord Russell then lay at Honiton, when, being joined by Sir William Herbert, lord Gray, and some others, he determined to undertake the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to the last extremity. These officers jointly attacked the insurgents, drove them from their posts, slew a great number both in the action and pursuit, and took many prisoners.

Humphrey Arundel, and the other abettors of this insurrection, were brought to trial, and executed in London; the inferior part came under the cognizance of the martial law: but this insurrection was trifling in its effects to that of the county of Norfolk, where the malecontents rose in arms to the amount of sixteen thousand, headed by



by one Kett, a Tanner, and Conyers, a Priest, who officiated in a double capacity, ecclesiastical and military, and at whose instance they were wrought upon to demand the exclusion of many persons then in power, the nomination of a new set of privy counsellors, and the restoration of the ancient rites and ceremonies. They fixed their quarters on Moushold-hill, near Norwich, where Kett, the Tanner, and a committee, sat in judgment under a large tree, since known by the name of the Oak of reformation. They invested and reduced the city of Norwich, and imprisoned the mayor with some of the principal citizens. The marquis of Northampton was first sent against them, but was worsted in the action, in which lord Sheffield lost his life.

As this insurrection became rather formidable, the duke of Somerset found the necessity of making it a matter of moment, and therefore detached a considerable army to suppress the rebels, under the command of the earl of Warwick, who having routed several of their detachments, at last attacked their main body, and put them to flight. Two thousand of them were slain in the action and pursuit. Kett, their ringleader, escaped from the field, but being taken next day in a barn, was hung in chains on Norwich castle; and nine of his accomplices suffered on the very tree under which they had so importantly sat in judgment, and which they had presumptuously nominated the Oak of reformation; but might then be called the Oak of execution.

This event, so unfortunate for the malecontents, produced a surrender of arms; so that a general amnesty was soon after published by the protector; but this indulgence confirmed the hatred of the nobility, which he had already incurred. These insurrections, though now effectually quelled, afforded an opportunity for the revival of foreign opposition; for the Scots, availing themselves of the same, invested and reduced the fortresses of Haddington, and the king of France took the same advantage to attempt the recovery of Boulogne, and all other places, which Henry VIII. had conquered in that kingdom. He had levied an army under other pretences; and falling suddenly into the Boulonnois, reduced several castles, but was vigorously repulsed from the fort of Boulenberg, from which, however, the English withdrew their artillery, after having demolished the fortifications.

The king of France, however, was defeated in his attempt to reduce Boulogne, by an inundation through excessive heavy rains on one hand, and an epidemical disorder which broke out in his camp on the other; so that he was under the necessity of returning to Paris, leaving the command of his army to Gasper de Coligny, lord of Chatillon. This enterprising officer endeavoured to reduce the place, even in the winter season, but, after some ineffectual attempts, converted the siege into a blockade.

The protector, in consequence of this irruption between France and England, wisely determined to form an alliance with the emperor, and with that view dispatched secretary Paget to Brussels, to confer with Sir Philip Hobbs, the ordinary ambassador, in concluding a league. At the same time the court of London was distracted by faction, which seemed subversive of the authority of Somerset, already shaken by his loss of popularity, from a despotic and arbitrary plan of behaviour, in consequence of his having obtained the patent

vesting him with a superior power. His enemies represented him as a parricide, a traitor, and a sacrilegious tyrant, who not only betrayed the interest of his country, but, to gratify his pride and ambition, destroyed churches and tombs, that he might use the materials for building his most superb palace in the Strand, which (till very lately converted to the purpose of government) for upwards of two centuries bore his name.

They alledged to his charge a variety of accusations; but effectually to accomplish their designs of taking him off, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other counsellors, assembled at the bishop of Ely's palace in Holborn; and assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independent of the protector, on whom they laid the whole blame of every public grievance and misfortune. They circulated letters among the chief nobility and gentry in England, acquainting them with the measures they intended to pursue, and demanding their concurrence; they sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, together with the lieutenant of the Tower, and laid on them an official injunction to renounce the authority of the protector, which he had forfeited by acting contrary to the general opinion of the council, as well as repugnant to the interests of the nation.

Somerset, alarmed at these resolute and spirited proceedings, judged it expedient to remove the king from Hampton-Court, where he then resided, to the castle of Windsor; and, arming his friends and servants, affected to set his enemies at defiance. But finding that no person of consequence, except Cranmer and Paget, espoused his cause, he soon relaxed in his operations, and applied to the opposing council in terms of acquiescence and submission; which, instead of promoting his design of conciliating them, occasioned the desertion of many zealous friends, and particularly the lord Russell, who, on this instance of his pusillanimity, was induced to join the opposite party.

Thus strengthened in influence as in numbers, the council presented an address to the king, in which, after the warmest protestations of duty and obedience, they told him they were the council appointed by his father for the government of the realm during his minority; that they had elected the duke of Somerset with this express proviso, that he should conduct himself entirely by their advice and direction; that he had shamefully violated this condition; had engrossed the sole administration of public affairs; had totally neglected and even despised their advice; and had carried his presumption to such an intolerable pitch, as to levy forces against them, and plant those forces about his majesty's person: they therefore desired, that they might be admitted into his royal presence; that he would be graciously pleased to receive them into his favour and confidence, and that the protector and his remaining adherents might, in future, be denied approaching the royal presence.

Nor was this address presented without a due effect, for the king, attentive to, and conscious of, the importance of the several articles specified therein, complied with their request. The object of their resentment was committed to the Tower with some of his friends and adherents, among whom was Cecil, who afterwards made so considerable a figure. An impeachment was immediately preferred



ferred against him; the best founded article of which was, his usurpation of the government, and engrossing the administration of public affairs.

So considerable a political revolution was matter of extasy to the zealous adherents to the popish cause, who deemed it an happy omen of the revival of their religion. But the earl of Warwick, now president of the council, was actuated solely by motives of ambition, and therefore could never, consistently with those views, declare for religious tenets to which he knew the king was totally averse. Nay, an opposite conduct immediately appeared, for Bonner was deprived of the see of London, and the earl of Southampton treated with such instances of disgrace, that he quitted the royal presence in disgust, which, added to the mortification of this sudden change of affairs, was supposed to have hastened his death.

A. D. 1550. The late protector had rather aggravated the charges laid against him, by acknowledging, and even signing the particular articles. The paper being laid before the parliament, a vote passed, depriving him of all his estates, which were forfeited to the king. His submissive behaviour saved him, however, from any further penalty, and even procured him a mitigation of his intended punishment; obtaining the remission of his fine, restoration of his liberty, and, in two months after, re-admission to the council-board.

As is frequently the case in political revolutions, Warwick and his party, who were particularly instrumental in the removal of Somerset from his exalted station, were under a necessity, on their accession to power, of pursuing measures less conducive to the interest of the nation, than those previously adopted. After having in vain endeavoured to secure the friendship of the emperor, they found themselves constrained to attend to the proposals the French king made them by means of Guidotti, a Florentine, in consequence of which a treaty was concluded on these terms: That Boulogne should be restored to the king of France; who, in consideration of the improvements made in that fortress, should pay four hundred thousand golden crowns to the king of England; and that France and England should mutually give hostages for the performance of these articles. Scotland was included in the treaty; by which the English stipulated to give up Lauder and Douglas, and to demolish the fortresses of Roxburgh and Eymouth.

In this treaty also reference was had to articles of marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of the French king; but this scheme was never carried into execution. Such a design, indeed, could not but be extremely disagreeable to the protestant party in England; though, in every other respect, the council was very steady in promoting the reformation, and in executing the laws against the Catholics. In the course of this year, Thirley resigned the see of Winchester, which was united to that of London, and bestowed upon Ridley, bishop of Rochester. Polydore Virgil, an adherent to the popish religion, was permitted to retire peaceably to the continent, and there live unmolested, as a reward for the pains he had taken in selecting materials for the compilation of an history of England.

A. D. 1551-2. A number of ecclesiastical changes now took place: amongst the rest, the bishops of Winchester, Chichester, Worcester, and Exeter were

deprived of their sees; because, though they had complied with the new doctrines, in some particulars, they were still attached to several popish forms and ceremonies. However rigid these changes might appear, they were happily productive of a general reformation. The princess Mary alone continued to adhere to mass, and to reject the new liturgy. Her sister Elizabeth, on the contrary, promoted the reformation, which was afterwards perfected in her reign. Mary, indeed, piqued at the many insults she had received, determined to quit the kingdom; and actually concerted a scheme for that purpose with the governor of the Low Countries; but as her resolution was deemed dangerous in its consequences, it was defeated upon discovery by a decree of the council.

Warwick, whose ambition was equal to that of the nobleman he had caused to be degraded, aspired to greater honours than he had already acquired, and had raised a venal party to support him in all his pretensions. The late earl of Northumberland died without issue; and as Sir Thomas Percy, his brother, had been attainted, the title was extinct, and the estate confiscated to the crown. Warwick now obtained a grant of those ample possessions, which lay chiefly in the north, and was honoured with the title of duke of Northumberland. William Paulet, lord St. John, was created earl of Wiltshire, and lord-high-treasurer; and Sir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke.

Being sensible, however, that the late protector, though degraded, stood well in the general opinion of the public, and might, therefore, from his influence, prove a barrier to him in the pursuit of his ambitious designs, he determined upon the removal of such an obstacle: to effect this, he tampered with the friends of Somerset, whom he sometimes terrified by the appearance of danger, and sometimes provoked by flagrant insults. The unwary Somerset often let fall some menacing expressions against Northumberland, at other times he formed rash designs, which he immediately abandoned: his seeming friends treacherously informed his enemy of every passionate word he uttered; and they discovered the projects which they themselves had first suggested, of which Northumberland availing himself, proceeded in a manner more apparently convictive, and suborned Sir Thomas Palmer, one of his dependants, to declare, in the hearing of the king, that the duke of Somerset had plotted not only against his life, but the lives of several noblemen eminent for their loyalty.

These declarations being corroborated by other proofs produced upon the occasion by the same venal measures, Somerset was arraigned before a tribunal of peers, the marquis of Winchester having been appointed to preside upon the occasion; but as the jury was composed of peers professedly inimical to the culprit, they must, of course, have been biassed in their verdict. There were two charges alledged against him; the first for abetting the design of an insurrection; the last for concerting the deaths of several privy-counsellors. Of the first he was acquitted to the general joy of the multitude; but of the last he was condemned to their general grief.

This sentence proving irreversible, after his enemies had gratified their revenge by immuring him two months within a dreary prison, to satiate their malice, he was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, amidst crowds of spectators, who so affectionately



tionately regarded him, that they flattered themselves to the last moment, with the fond hopes of his pardon. Many of them rushed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preserved as a sacred relic.

The fate of this nobleman adds to many other instances of that jealousy and resentment which have even existed in courts and amongst statesmen, where real principle seems ever to have been banished; and avarice and ambition ever to have prevailed.

Somerſet having fallen a victim to the resentment of his opponents, his partizans, of course, shared the same fate through the prevailing influence of the duke of Northumberland: amongst the rest, Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old soldier, and Sir Miles Partridge, were hanged; and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, beheaded, as the duke's confederates. They asserted their innocence in the immediate view of death, which, in the judgment of candour, should have exculpated them from the charges alledged against them.

Notwithstanding this contention for power between the present and the former leaders of administration, the work of reformation was carried on with vigour. The new liturgy was authorized, and ordered to be used in all the churches; and severe penalties were denounced against those who absented themselves from public worship.

A severe penalty was affixed against usury, or taking an exorbitant interest for the loan of money. A bill was also brought by the members of the administration into the upper assembly reviving the statutes against treason, which had been repealed in the commencement of this reign; and though these laws principally affected the peers, they passed the bill, with only one dissenting voice.

The late proceedings not only tended to the almost total suppression of popery; but greatly affected the authority and property of ecclesiastics in general. Among the rest, Tonsall, bishop of Durham, was remarkably aggrieved, though he was universally esteemed as a prelate of sound learning and known probity. Northumberland, having formed a design of seizing the revenues of the see of Durham, first deprived Tonsall of his bishopric, and then preferred a bill of attainder against him; but the commons rejected the bill, and Northumberland finding the interest of Somerſet's friends still prevalent in parliament, caused it to be dissolved, in order to convene another more conformable to his views of ambition.

A. D. 1553. Nor was Northumberland remiss in his exertions upon this occasion: on the contrary he so effectually applied the corrupt methods of bribery, that he procured a parliament obsequious to his utmost wishes.

The bishop of Durham's see was now divided by an act of parliament, into two bishoprics, and the regalities comprehending the jurisdiction of a county-palatine, were bestowed by the king on Northumberland. After he had rendered this very pliant and obsequious parliament subservient to his most ambitious views, during the short session of only one month, he caused them to be dissolved, to open the way for other measures for the still further gratification of his excessive pride and vanity, which had arrived to so enormous a degree, that a report prevailed he had influenced the physicians to tamper with the constitution of the king, as himself aimed at the acquisition of the crown. Edward

being attacked with a cough which terminated in confirmed phthisis, or consumption of the lungs, and being sensible of his approaching dissolution, manifested great concern for the state of religion, which he foresaw would undergo a reversion in the reign of Mary his successor.

The artful Northumberland, availing himself of this circumstance, insinuated to him the scenes of persecution that would necessarily result from a popish succession, in order to pave the way for Edward's annulling the right of Mary, and thereby conduce to his towering views of elevation, with such powerful address as had such visible effect on his mind, that his health apparently declined every day, and when his physicians despaired of his life, he was committed to the care of an ignorant woman, who engaged, in a short time, to restore him to his former health; but this promise she performed with the same fidelity, as our modern empirics.

As the king was now given over, Northumberland determined to finish the marriage between his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley, and the lady Jane Gray, eldest daughter of the new duke of Suffolk and Frances Brandon, mentioned in the late king's will, as next in succession to his own daughters.

Having effected this purpose, he took an opportunity of representing to the king, that the only means of preventing the calamities which threatened the nation from a popish government, was to exclude the princess Mary from the succession, and transfer the crown to lady Jane Gray. He insinuated also, that should Elizabeth succeed to the throne, murmurs would arise from the consideration of her illegitimacy, as Henry's marriage with her mother had been invalid by act of parliament, as well as that with the mother of Mary.

These evil insinuations so wrought on the mind of the king, that the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, were, by letters patent, excluded from the succession, and the crown was transferred to the heirs of the duchess of Suffolk. The judges at first objected to this deed; however, urged by the threats and promises of the powerful duke, they at length obeyed, and the deed was signed by all (except Sir James Hales) as well as the members of the privy council in general.

Having finished this last transaction of his life, the young king Edward paid the debt of nature, in the sixteenth year of his age and the seventh of his reign.

Edward VI. was endowed with many perfections both mental and personal, such as comeliness and symmetry of figure, and a mind disposed to piety, humanity, and affability, so as to gain the universal affection of his subjects. His capacity being extensive, he had attained to a degree of learning both in the classics and the science beyond his years; and had he arrived to maturity, would probably have passed through a glorious reign. But as he was wholly under the influence of others, he cannot be supposed to have acquired praise or incurred censure from any of the transactions of public life; though he seems to have entertained an innate regard for the common rights of mankind, and an aversion to mental as well as bodily slavery. His memory is perpetuated by the foundation of Christ's hospital; an institution that does equal honour to this young king, and the metropolis of that part of the world, on which it is fixed.



### Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Edward VI.

A. D.

1548 This year the plague raged with great violence in England, and carried off prodigious numbers of the inhabitants, on which account the court was removed to Hatfield.

1549 This year lord-lieutenants of counties were first appointed.

The horse guards instituted.

1550. The eldest sons of peers first permitted to sit in the House of Commons, and the first journal taken of that house.

1550 This year the river Thames ebbed and flowed three times in nine hours below London bridge.

1551 In the month of April the sweating sickness broke out with great violence in England, and carried off prodigious numbers of the inhabitants, among whom were several of the principal nobility.

1552 Crowns and half crowns first coined. Monks and nuns rendered capable of inheriting estates. Grapes first brought to England, and planted at Blackhall, in Suffolk.

1553 This was such a plentiful year, that a barrel of beer with the cock was sold for six-pence, and four great loaves for one penny.

Only forty taverns allowed to be kept in London.

## C H A P. III.

## M A R Y.

*Accession of Queen Mary. The duke of Northumberland beheaded. The queen publicly professes the Romish religion. Cranmer and Latimer committed to the Tower. Coronation of the Queen. A treaty of marriage proposed between Mary and Philip of Spain. Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion. The princess Elizabeth committed to the Tower. Lady Jane Gray, and her husband, the lord Guildford, beheaded. Philip of Spain arrives in England, and is soon after married to the Queen. The papal jurisdiction re-established by the parliament. Horrid persecution of the protestants. The bishops Ridley and Latimer burnt at Oxford. Philip retires to Flanders, and takes possession of his father's dominions. Death of archbishop Cranmer. Mary fits out a powerful armament to assist Philip in his wars with France. Calais taken by the French. Death and character of Queen Mary.*

A. D. **T**HE duke of Northumberland, desirous of gratifying his ambition, in 1553. advancing the lady Jane Gray to the royal dignity, found means to suppress the rumour of the king's demise. His design, in so doing, was, to apprehend the princess Mary, then coming on a visit; (at the request of the council,) to her brother, whose dissolution, at the time the messengers were dispatched to the princess, was hourly expected.

But the duke's efforts proved as abortive as the pretences of the adherents of lady Jane were absurd and frivolous: for the princess Mary, having advanced within eighteen miles of the metropolis, and receiving intimation from the earl of Arundel of her brother's death, and the designs which were formed against her, retired with the utmost precipitation to Framlingham in Suffolk, where she intended to embark and retire to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to maintain her right of succession.

During her residence there, she addressed herself, by circular letters, to the nobility and gentry, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her without delay; so that the ambitious duke, finding his scheme of seizing the person of Mary totally frustrated, repaired to Sion-house, attended by the duke of Suffolk, and others of the nobility, to intimate to lady Jane Gray her accession to the throne, by virtue of an act of conveyance.

This intimation by no means produced the desired effect on lady Jane, who received it with the greatest concern and astonishment; nay, so averse was she to the idea of succeeding to the crown, that she burst into tears on the occasion. At length her partizans extorted her consent, and she was the next day conveyed to the tower, according to the custom which then prevailed of the English sovereigns passing a few days after their accession in that place. On the 10th of July she was proclaimed in London, and the people were so astonished, that they expressed no joy or exultation.

Northumberland, before detested for his ambition and perfidy, now added to the popular odium

he had already incurred, by causing an ignorant boy, who had expressed himself too freely on the subject of the proclamation, to be nailed to the pillory and deprived of his ears; an instance of cruelty that gave a very unfavourable omen of a reign which began with such rigour and severity.

The inhabitants of Suffolk, and parts adjacent, waited on the princess Mary, with assurances of duty and affection; but as they were, in general, attached to the reformed religion, they could not avoid insinuating some apprehensions, amidst their professions of loyalty, for its impending fate, till, on her solemn declaration, that she never intended to alter the laws of her brother Edward, they engaged in her interest with the utmost alacrity, and flocked to her banner in such numbers, from their general detestation of Northumberland, that, in a short time, she had an army amounting to forty thousand men.

To these were joined the earls of Bath and Suffex, with many other persons of the first rank and most extensive influence in those parts, who, together with their tenants and dependents, espoused her cause, and enlisted under her banner. Her interest was also essentially promoted by the vigorous exertions of Arundel and Pembroke, who, having found means to effect their release from the tower, invited all the noblemen about London, who were thought well affected to her, to a conference, in which the former expatiated on the cruelty and injustice of Northumberland, and affirmed, that the only way to retaliate his insolent behaviour was, to compel him to that duty and allegiance, which he owed to his lawful sovereign.

The earl of Pembroke, with singular courage and resolution, asserted the claim of the princess, by laying his hand on his sword, and swearing he was ready to answer any man, who denied her right to the crown. They then sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and informed them of the resolution which had been taken; after which, mounting their horses, they rode to the cross in Cheapside, where Mary was proclaimed queen of England, amidst the general acclamations of the people.

The



Engraved for RAYMOND's History of England.



Born.  
February 11. 1516.

Crowned  
October 1. 1553.

Died  
November 17. 1558.



The confirmation of Mary in the succession tended rather to console, than depress, the lady Jane, who cheerfully resigned a pageant sceptre, and returned to the uninterrupted enjoyment of a private life with the utmost complacency and satisfaction. Messengers were immediately dispatched to Northumberland, with orders to disband his forces, and submit to his lawful sovereign; but he had already dismissed the small body which remained after an almost general desertion. Mary received the warmest expressions of loyalty and attachment from the people of all the different counties through which she passed in her way to London, and she was met by her sister Elizabeth, at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had raised to defend their joint titles against the usurper.

Northumberland and his partizans soon felt the resentment of those who had suffered from his insolence and pride when in power. He was arrested by the earl of Arundel, at whose feet he fell on his knees, and begged his protection in the most abject terms. His three sons, the lord Warwick, Ambrose and Henry Dudley, his brother the marquis of Northampton, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, shared the same fate, and were all committed to the tower.

Soon after the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, and lord Guildford Dudley, were taken into custody. But the queen, desirous at least to affect a virtue she never possessed, and mark the commencement of her reign with an act of seeming benevolence, indulged most of them with a pardon.

Northumberland, whose guilt could not admit of palliation, was brought to trial, when he proposed two questions to the jury; namely, whether a man could be guilty of treason for obeying orders given by the council under the great seal? and whether those, who were equally culpable, could act as his judges? Being told that the great seal of an usurper was no warrant, and that persons against whom there was nothing upon record were reputed, in law, capable of sitting on any trial, he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty. He confessed on the scaffold, that he had always been a Roman Catholic in his heart, and expressed great compunction of mind for having plundered the effects of the church, and especially as he was rendered incapable of making restitution. Gates and Palmer were executed with him, but the rest were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned.

If the queen's succession to her legal right was the ground of public joy on the one hand, apprehensions for the Protestant interest was matter of public anxiety on the other. Nor was this anxiety without foundation; for the princess Mary, having been educated with queen Catherine her mother, and conceived the most ardent zeal for the Romish worship, no sooner conquered the opposition that lay in her way to the crown, than she than she threw off the mask, and openly avowed the Romish religion.

As no declaration, however solemn or awful, can bind such as are dupes to superstition, the unconquerable prevalence of those tenets, which she had imbibed, soon appeared. In a few days Gardiner, Bonner, Tonsall, Day, Heath, and Voisey, were restored to their respective sees. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, with several other protestant divines, were committed to prison; and the Romish bishops encouraged to restore the mass, though repugnant to the laws of the kingdom. Judge Hales, who had de-

fended the queen's title with so much resolution, was thrown into prison, and treated with such rigour and severity, that he was seized with a phrenzy, and put a period to his own existence.

The most strenuous assertors of the protestant cause, and those who had been most active in bringing about the reformation, were now selected as victims to popish malice and cruelty; particularly, that venerable prelate archbishop Cranmer, who was reproached by Bonner in the most ignominious and contemptible terms. This arch-fiend, to weaken the cause of the reformation, spread a report, that he had submitted to the queen, and offered publicly to recant his errors.

But the archbishop, with an openness and ingenuity becoming his character as a divine and a scholar, drew up a confession of his faith, which he offered, with the queen's permission, to defend in public. On account of this writing, which was made public without his knowledge, he was summoned to the Star-Chamber, where he acknowledged himself the author of the paper, and was, for that day, dismissed. Some of the council advised the queen to treat him with lenity, as he had been remarkable for his moderation, and as it was to him she was chiefly indebted for that indulgence she enjoyed during the reign of her father. Mary, however, repugnant to the dictates of honour and humanity, declared, she remembered nothing of Cranmer, but his having pronounced her mother's divorce, and promoted the reformation. He was summoned to appear before the council, together with old Latimer, the latter of whom was immediately sent to the tower, and the former was committed to that prison the next day, on pretence of having published several seditious libels.

Protestants of all orders, ranks and degrees, now began to experience the dire effects of power perverted and bigotted prejudice. Those who thought proper were, indeed, permitted to quit the kingdom in peace, and a considerable number of English, who professed the reformed religion, foreseeing the persecution, withdrew into foreign countries. On the first of October Mary was crowned by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and at the same time published an amnesty, from the benefit of which, however, all those who had been arrested before the month of September, and many others, were nominally excluded.

Such was the influence of corruption, that the lower house of parliament was almost filled with papists, as the most effectual means of accomplishing their designs of establishing the papal supremacy, and sacrificing the reason, the consciences, the property, and lives of the subjects, to superstition and arbitrary power. In the upper house the queen had a considerable majority; for even the greatest part of those noblemen, who had rejected the papal authority in the late reign, now infamously conformed to the doctrines of the court, from motives of interest or ambition.

To introduce the popish ritual under the sanction of parliament, mass was performed in the Latin tongue at the opening of the session: a prelate was expelled the upper house for refusing to comply with certain absurd and superstitious ceremonies; and further to concur with the designs of the then ministry, the first bill that passed was, to abolish every kind of treason not specified in the statute of Edward III. and every felony which did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII. The following sessions, an act passed for reversing the sentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine of



Arragon, and for repealing all the statutes, by which that sentence had been confirmed. By this act the princess Elizabeth was again declared illegitimate, and Mary, having no farther occasion for her assistance, treated her with indignity and even cruelty.

The same parliament likewise put in force an act of the late reign, which made it felony for twelve persons, or any greater number, to assemble with a view of changing the established religion; and repealed the act of attainder which had passed against the duke of Norfolk.

It is not to be wondered, that the emissaries of the papal see were, at this juncture, remarkably active in concurring with designs already concerted, and partly executed, under the auspices of Mary, queen of England; not only for the revival, but universal diffusion of those corrupt and pernicious principles which are its basis and support. Mary had, no doubt, been tampered with, as appears by her request that cardinal Pole might be appointed legate to the pope, to effect the union of herself and kingdom to the see of Rome; a nomination equally disagreeable to the emperor and bishop Gardiner. The former, who, by his tyrannical behaviour, had excited the resentment of all the protestant princes in Germany, being desirous of strengthening his interest by a match he had projected between his son Philip and the queen of England, was apprehensive of the scheme miscarrying by the interposition of Pole, whom, it was reported, Mary intended to take for her husband. Gardiner was fearful that Pole would supplant him in his view to the primacy of all England, as well as destroy his influence at court. He therefore endeavoured to ruin that cardinal in the opinion of the queen, by insinuating, that his furious zeal would defeat her intentions, in favour of the Roman-Catholic religion.

The emperor, that no time might be lost in accomplishing a most desirable end, took immediate occasion of dispatching an ambassador to explain the purport of his intentions to the queen, who, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and desirous of uniting herself more intimately with her mother's family, embraced the proposal with the utmost alacrity. This match was strongly recommended by Norfolk, Arundel, Paget and Gardiner; the latter of whom assured both the queen and the emperor, that it was absolutely necessary to stop all farther innovations in religion, till the marriage should be consummated.

The wily prelate pursued the plan with the utmost cunning, insomuch that the most sanguine hopes were entertained, by the parties concerned, of its being carried into speedy execution; but the commons, being informed of the intended match, were surprized and enraged at her desire of contracting a foreign alliance, and sent a committee to remonstrate, in the strongest terms, against such a dangerous and imprudent step. Mary, who was naturally obstinate, persisted in her resolution, and, to prevent any farther addresses of the like nature, dissolved the parliament.

A. D. 1554-5. Nothing could more effectually tend to the total suppression of the protestant, and confirmation of the popish, religion throughout the realm, than this rash act of the queen in dissolving the parliament, as, in consequence thereof, the popish ceremonies were universally restored. But the match with Philip was a point still more alarming, and filled the breast of every Englishman, who loved his country, with the most terrible apprehen-

sions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To remove, however, if possible, these jealousies and suspicions, the contract was concluded on the most plausible terms, which were as follow: That though Philip should enjoy the title of king, the administration should be lodged in the hands of the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of holding any dignified post in the kingdom; that no change should be made in the English laws, customs, and privileges; that Philip should not take the queen abroad, without her consent, or any of her children, without the consent of the nobility; that her jointure should amount to sixty thousand pounds a year; that the male issue of this marriage should enjoy England, together with Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by a former marriage, should die, and his line become extinct, the queen's issue, whether male or female, should succeed to Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

Notwithstanding these specious preliminaries, the people in general disapproved the match, persuaded that Philip, from prejudice in favour of those despotic principles in which he had been educated, would be desirous of subjugating the English subjects to maxims of Spanish policy: in consequence of which some persons, more factious than the rest, believing it easier to prevent than remedy evils, determined to take up arms, and vigorously oppose the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyatt engaged to arm the men of Kent; Sir Peter Carew undertook to assemble the inhabitants of Devonshire; and they persuaded the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of restoring the lady Jane to the throne, to attempt to raise the midland counties. Carew, prompted either by his impetuosity, or apprehensions, rose in arms before the day appointed; but his troops were soon dispersed by the earl of Bedford, and himself was forced to take refuge in France. Suffolk, informed of the fate of this confederate, and, dreading an arrest, quitted the town, attended by his brothers the lords Thomas and Leonard, and attempted to raise the people in the counties of Warwick and Leicester, where his chief interest lay; but he was so hotly pursued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of three hundred horse, that he was obliged to dismiss his followers, and being discovered in his retreat, was seized and conducted to London.

The queen's partizans were more intimidated at the efforts of Wyatt, than those of superior rank; for, having published a declaration at Maidstone, in Kent, against her unjust proceedings, and evil counsellors, together with their danger of being enslaved by a Spaniard, the people flocked to his standard in prodigious numbers.

This party, however, was opposed by the queen's guards, headed by the duke of Norfolk and Sir Henry Jernegan, reinforced with a body of five hundred Londoners, under the command of one Brett. On overtaking the rebels at Rochester, the place of general rendezvous, Brett privately concerted a scheme with Sir George Harper, one professedly of the malecontent party, for defeating the designs of the queen's forces. On the approach of the royal army, Harper pretended to desert, and, in conjunction with Brett, (whose interest, he had undoubtedly secured,) represented the designs of the court in such odious colours, that the whole body of Londoners went over to Wyatt, declaring they would not assist in enslaving their country. Wyatt, encouraged by this





Wale delin.

Grignon sculp.

LADY JANE GRAY addressing the Spectators from the SCAFFOLD.  
on which she was BEHEADED in the Tower.



this reinforcement; and relying on the favour of the people, especially of the Londoners, who were mostly protestants; resolved to proceed in this enterprize; and accordingly led his troops to Southwark, where he demanded of the queen; that she should put him in possession of the tower, deliver four counsellors as hostages, and, in order to ensure the liberty of the nation, immediately to espouse an Englishman. Finding the bridge barricaded against him, and that the city was over-awed by the regular troops, he marched up to Kingston, where he crossed the river with four thousand men; hoping to animate his friends, who had promised to declare in his favour.

But such was his delay in the execution of the scheme, that the favourable opportunity was lost, so that his popularity began to decline, and though he entered Westminster without opposition, his followers, finding that no person of importance espoused his cause, gradually dispersed, and he was at length seized near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkley.

The event proved fatal to his adherents, of whom near seventy were executed; four hundred appeared before the queen with halters about their necks, and, falling on their knees, sued for forgiveness, which they obtained, and were dismissed. Wyat, the ringleader, was condemned and executed; and as it had been reported, that, at his trial, he had impeached the lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonshire, he solemnly declared before the whole people, that they had no concern in the rebellion; a circumstance that reflects some honour on his character.

Mary, inflexibly attached to those principles, which invariably lead to acts of ambition and cruelty, and viewing her sister Elizabeth with an eye of jealousy, from a persuasion of her being as much a friend to the reformation as she was herself to popery, gave orders for conducting her prisoner to the tower, in order that she might pass the examination of council.

Nothing, however, appearing against her, Mary, in order to obviate any opposition from her sister, and to remove her out of the kingdom, a marriage was proposed between her and the duke of Savoy, and on her refusing to agree to the match, she was confined, under a strong guard, at Woodstock. The earl of Devonshire, without any ground or pretence, was committed prisoner to Fotheringay-castle. A message was then sent to the lady Jane, desiring her to prepare for immediate death; a doom she had long expected, and therefore heard it without much perturbation. The bigotted Mary sent two priests to her, to assist her in making the necessary preparations for futurity; but lady Jane could receive no consolation from those whose horrid principles, amongst others, had instigated the queen to the most enormous acts of cruelty and barbarity, under the sacred mask of religion.

Lady Jane, notwithstanding the oppression under which she laboured, was so calm and deliberate, as to be able not only to defend her religion with great learning and eloquence, but also to write a letter to her sister Catherine in the Greek language, in which, besides sending her a copy of the New Testament in that tongue, she exhorted her to maintain an unshaken perseverance in the profession she had avowed. It had been proposed to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford (her husband) together, on the same scaffold; but the council, to prevent any clamours that such a scene might excite among the people, gave orders that

lord Guildford should be beheaded within the verge of the tower.

The composure and resignation of lady Jane to the fate of her husband was beyond conception: she even saw his headless body brought back in a cart, and found herself more encouraged by the account she received of his perseverance, than melted by so moving and melancholy a sight.

When she mounted the scaffold, she addressed the spectators, who were dissolved in tears at so mournful a spectacle, and observed, in particular, that innocence was no excuse for acts that tended to the prejudice of the public. Having spent some time in devotion, she caused herself to be disrobed by her female attendants, and, with great composure, submitted to the fatal stroke. Thus fell a victim, at the early period of seventeen years, an illustrious lady, adding to many other instances of the dire effects of ambition, resentment and cruelty. The duke of Suffolk soon submitted to the same fate, by suffering decapitation on Tower-hill.

Having thus removed several barriers to her barbarous projects, the queen busily employed herself in making preparations for the reception of Don Philip, whose arrival she hourly expected, with the utmost impatience. At length, the much desired moment arrived, when she received the joyful news that Philip was landed at Southampton. In a few days after his arrival the nuptials were solemnized at Westminster, and the queen, with her new spouse, made a pompous entry into London. Philip possessed a dissimulation, and maintained a reserve, very disgusting to the English; but as he brought with him an immense sum of money, many persons were reconciled to the marriage.

The solemnization of the nuptials between Philip and Mary having paved the way for the accomplishment of their design, cardinal Pole arrived in England, fully commissioned by his holiness to put a finishing stroke to the union of the queen and realm to the see of Rome. He was received at court with all the respect due to his exalted character, and, on the first occasion that offered, earnestly exhorted the parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the holy see, from which they had been so long unhappily divided.

The legate's doctrine proving very agreeable to this packed and corrupt parliament, both houses presented an address to Philip and Mary, declaring their resolution inviolably to adhere to the church of Rome. The legate, then, in the name of his holiness, absolved them from all the censures that had been passed against them, and admitted them into the bosom of the church. The parliament, in consequence of this indulgence, enacted a statute, re-establishing the papal jurisdiction in England; but under this restriction, that alienation of church-lands should be authorized; and that the possessions of them should not be subject to any censure or prosecution on that account.

Having served their private purposes, they were wholly regardless of the interest and liberties of their fellow-subjects; inasmuch that they revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics, and enacted several new statutes, pronouncing it treason to imagine the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen.

An ambitious, avaricious and barbarous junta being thus completely formed, consequences ensued which will ever reflect the highest disgrace on human nature, as well as odium on that religious profession, which could not only enjoin, but sanctify



tify acts repugnant to the universal law of God, and of reason.

The first person who now fell a victim to religious fury was one Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and a man equally distinguished for his piety and learning. Dr. Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, had been condemned at the same time with Rogers, but was sent down to his diocese, and after having rejected a pardon on terms of recantation, brought to the stake, where he resigned himself to his cruel fate with amazing fortitude. Dr. Taylor, vicar of Hadley, an old divine, was burned in that place, amidst his friends and parishioners. When he was brought to the stake, and began to harangue the bye-standers, a ruffian struck him on the head. He was then placed in a barrel of pitch, and one of the spectators, throwing a faggot at the venerable old man, wounded him so severely, that his whole visage was besmeared with blood; but his only reply was, "O friend! I have harm enough, why dost thou encrease it?" When he had repeated a psalm in English, one of the guards struck him on the mouth, bidding him speak Latin; and while he was employed in pious ejaculations, another cleft his head in such a manner that his brains came out, and he expired.

As enthusiasm is, in general, the offspring of ignorance, their main object was, to compel the people to believe the absurd and ridiculous doctrine of transubstantiation. Gardiner, however, finding the establishment of popery attended with such cruel circumstances, devolved the odious task on Bonner, whose savage disposition delighted in tormenting the unhappy sufferers. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a poor mechanic, who refused to change his religion; and in order to give him a specimen of burning, tortured him with the flame of a taper, until the veins burst, and the sinews were consumed.

Cardinal Pole, though a catholic by profession, retained some principles of humanity, and would, if his influence had been sufficient, have averted the sentence of Ferrar, bishop of St. David's; but the prelate, notwithstanding his interposition, fell a victim to popish superstition and cruelty, and was brought to the stake in his own diocese. This religious, or rather demoniacal, massacre now became general, and thousands submitted to the most painful deaths, rather than subscribe to the popish creed.

The persecutions and horrid cruelties to which the protestants were subject were imputed, in a great measure, to the influence of the Spanish court; so that Philip, sensible of the odium under which he laboured, endeavoured to vindicate himself by a very gross artifice. He ordered his confessor to deliver, in his presence, a sermon in favour of toleration; but finding this trick ineffectual, he laid aside the mask, the persecution raged without controul, and attempts were even made to introduce the inquisition into England.

The queen's adherents could not have pitched on a more effectual tool for perpetrating their designs than that haughty and tyrannical prelate bishop Bonner. Several persons suffered at Canterbury, and other places; and, among the rest, Margaret Polly, the first female martyr in Mary's reign. In the month of October Ridley, formerly bishop of London, and Latimer, of Worcester, two prelates eminent for their piety and learning, perished together in the flames at Oxford, and en-

couraged each other by their mutual exhortations.

In the midst of these enormous proceedings, Mary pleased herself with the hopes of pregnancy; but the flattering idea soon vanished, on her bringing forth a substance called by physicians Mola, to her unspeakable grief, the astonishment of the court, and confusion of Philip, who entertained the prospect of uniting England and Spain, by the issue of this marriage. Chagrined at this disappointment, he retired to Flanders, leaving his consort in great perplexity. Soon after Philip's departure, Mary received a bull for erecting Ireland into a kingdom, and towards the close of the year the emperor Charles V. resigned his dominions to his son Philip.

A. D. 1556. The rage of persecution prevailed with unremitting fury, and it was now resolved to massacre the venerable archbishop, in terror to the inferior clergy, as well as the laity in general, who adhered to the protestant faith. Accordingly, Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirley of Ely, were sent to Oxford to degrade Cranmer, and the former performed that melancholy office, with all the savage joy and triumph, that might be expected from his brutal disposition. After the archbishop's condemnation, persons were employed to assail him in different shapes, in order to make him a proselyte to their opinions. They accordingly represented to him the dignities and honours to which his character still gave him a claim, if he would deserve them by a recantation, and flattered him with the hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends, whom his humanity and beneficence had procured him, during the course of his prosperity.

After much importunity, and that dread of the excruciating torments with which the death he was consigned to must be inevitably attended, he suffered the feelings of nature to overpower his resolution, and agreed to sign a paper, acknowledging the doctrine of the papal supremacy, and of the real presence in the eucharist. But this condescension did not, in any degree, sooth the fury of his bigotted and relentless sovereign, who, so far from admitting it as any plea to her favourable regard, sent orders that he should be commanded to own his errors in church, before the whole people, and that he should from thence be immediately conducted to execution.

Far from being intimidated at the awful mandate, Cranmer resumed his former resolution, and, to the astonishment of the surrounding multitude, abjured the whole of the papal creed, and was led to the place of execution, with the resolution of a martyr to the most glorious cause. When fixed to the stake, he stretched out his right hand, and, without discovering the least sign of feeling, held it in the flames until it dropped off, exclaiming, several times, "this hand has offended." This eminent martyr to the protestant cause exemplified the most shining virtues of real religion; he died revered and lamented by all good men, and his name must be respected to the latest posterity. Cardinal Pole succeeded to the archiepiscopal see, through the interposition of the queen with his holiness in behalf of that prelate.

The pillar of the reformation being thus removed by the massacre of Cranmer, the relentless Mary practised every species of cruelty. Within the compass of this year no less than eighty-five persons, men, women and children, the lame, the blind and the ignorant, were put to death, for denying the



the doctrines of purgatory, transubstantiation, and other tenets, exploded by the then church of England.

Such instances of more than savage barbarity, committed under the sanction of zeal for religion, roused the indignation of all moderate people, and the surprising resolution of the martyrs enhanced the merit of the religion they professed; while the frantic zeal of the persecutors tended to the establishment of the subsequent reformation.

A. D. 1557. The persecuting queen was now interrupted in her career of slaughter by turning her attention to the war, which had broke out between France and Spain. Though her council were, in general, averse to such a proceeding, through the instigation of Philip, she levied a considerable sum, equipped a powerful armament, which embarked in June, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, in order to join the Spanish forces headed by the duke of Savoy.

The onset proved unsuccessful to the French, whose army was routed in the first engagement, and many officers of distinction taken prisoners. About the latter end of the year Philip sent information to Mary, that the court of France had projected a plan for the reduction of Calais, and offered to supply her with troops for the defence of that fortress. The council, considering this intimation as a stratagem of Philip to gain possession of Calais, the queen not only declined the offer, but neglected to put the place in a posture of defence, in opposition to the opinion and advice of the governor of that fortress.

A. D. 1588. The truth of Philip's intimation, and the foundation of the advice given by lord Wentworth, the governor, too soon and too evidently appeared; for Calais was not only invested by the duke of Guise, but the fortress reduced in seven days, notwithstanding an opposition was made as vigorous as the strength of the place would admit. The duke no sooner took possession, than he expelled all the English inhabitants, and then invested Guisnes, where the lord Gray had commanded; but the garrison, consisting of eleven hundred men, were so discouraged at the loss of Calais, that, at the first attack, they retired to the citadel, and soon after surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The castle of Flammes, situated in a morass almost inaccessible, might have made a vigorous resistance; but the garrison fled at the approach of the enemy. Thus in the space of fifteen days, and in the winter season, all that had remained of the English conquests in France, was lost by the ignorance and neglect of the queen and her council.

Mary began to apprehend the season of re-valuation was near at hand, a murmuring people,

a weak administration, losses sustained in her first military attempts reflected universal disgrace on her government. To her mental disquietude was added bodily indisposition, for, having, mistaken a drop-sy for a pregnancy, she had pursued an improper regimen, and her distemper became every day more inveterate. Her malady was still farther inflamed by the anxiety of her mind through the most painful reflections, and at length brought on a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and inglorious reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

Exalted characters, whether exemplary, or infamous, should be held forth in their true colours, to excite either the imitation or aversion of those of inferior rank. The most faithful picture of this queen is only to be drawn from a perusal of her reign, which blots the page of history with the foulest deeds that ever disgraced humanity. Her characteristics were, bigotry, resentment, jealousy, perfidy and cruelty; for which last vice she was so notorious as to be branded with the appellation of "Bloody Mary." She stands upon record as a detestable instance of the accursed prevalence of those principles, which, under the sanction of religion, lead to the most diabolical actions, and, though ranked among monarchs, she appears to have been one of the basest of mortals.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Queen Mary.

A. D.

1554 Bribery first practised at elections in England.

1555 Coaches first used in England.

1556 Bellmen first appointed in the city of London. They were every night to ring their bells, and call aloud to the inhabitants, "Take care of your fire and candle; be charitable to the poor, and pray for the dead."

1557 This year there happened a great scarcity of corn. Wheat was sold for 2l. 13s. 4d. malt at 2l. 4s. and pease at 3l. 6s. 8d. the quarter.

Glass first made in England into bottles and other vessels.

1558 Wheat was this year sold for 2l. 13s. the quarter before the harvest; and for 5s. the quarter soon after.

This year there happened a most violent storm of thunder and lightning, by which two villages near Nottingham were totally destroyed; and many of the hail-stones that fell were fifteen inches in circumference.

In the same year there was a malignant fever, which, in a short time, carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

A law was passed this year, by which the women of London (not being the wives of aldermen, nor gentlewomen by descent) were obliged to wear miniver caps, being made of white woolen knit, three cornered, with the peaks projecting three or four inches beyond their foreheads. Aldermens wives had them of the same form, but they were distinguished by being made of velvet.

Handkerchiefs, wrought and edged with gold, worn by gentlemen in their hats as favours from young ladies; the value from five to twelve-pence.



## C H A P. IV. E L I Z A B E T H.

*Accession of Elizabeth. The Queen exhibits the highest proofs of moderation and prudence, both religious and political. Favours the protestant interest. Concludes a treaty with France. Mary, queen of Scots, returns to her native place after a long absence. Disgusts Elizabeth by her marriage with lord Darnley, and her attachment to the popish cause. Darnley is taken off by stratagem, and Mary espouseth Bothwell. A confederacy is formed against them. Bothwell quits the kingdom, flies to Denmark, and dies in indigence and obscurity. Mary is opposed by her subjects, and solicits the protection of Elizabeth. Equivocal behaviour of the latter. Mary is imprisoned. The regent of Scotland taken off. Conviction and execution of the duke of Norfolk. Horrid massacre of the protestants at Paris. Insurrections in England. Attacks from Philip of Spain. Trial and execution of queen Mary. General alarm from the formidable Spanish armament, called the Invincible Armada. Their efforts totally frustrated by fortunate incidents. Commotions in Ireland. The Earl of Essex sent thither as lord-lieutenant; but returns without executing the business on which he is sent. Is disgraced thereupon. Forms a rebellious confederacy, for which he is apprehended, tried, condemned and executed. Montjoy suppresses a rebellion raised in Ireland. The queen, greatly affected at divers incidents, falls into an incurable melancholy. Her death and character.*

A. D. **O**N the demise of a sovereign so obnoxious to her subjects as the late queen, the public could not but rejoice at that event, as well as the resolution of the privy council to place her sister Elizabeth, whose prudence and moderation, during the commotions of the late reign, had conciliated universal esteem, on a throne left by a tyrant and assassin.

The death of queen Mary was notified to the princess Elizabeth, who then resided at Hatfield, from whence she immediately repaired to London, and after receiving the compliments of the nobility, sent ambassadors to the different powers of Europe, to notify her accession to the throne of England.

As nothing can so well qualify for the most dignified and important offices of life, as a true knowledge of the springs of human action, this princess gave a most signal display of prudence and policy at her accession to the throne; for in appointing her privy council, she retained thirteen of her sister's counsellors to prevent an alarm on the score of religion; but in order to balance their authority, she joined eight more to them, who were strongly attached to the protestant cause. Philip of Spain could not but be alarmed at the consequences in which the death of queen Mary had involved him; yet hoping still to retain his influence over England, he dispatched orders to the duke of Ferrar, his ambassador at London, to propose a match between him and Elizabeth, the latter of whom, declined the proposal; but in such polite and evasive terms, that the Spanish monarch could not justly take offence at her refusal.

The queen, persuaded of the difficulty of eradicating principles of bigotry and superstition, proceeded at first in the revival of the protestant doctrines and worship, with much caution and deliberation. To pave the way, however, for this great and laudable design, she gave visible tokens of her attachment to the cause by recalling all the exiles, releasing those confined for their religious tenets, and restoring those, who had been attainted, to their former honours.

Pursuant to this purpose, those noblemen and persons of eminence who had suffered in the cause of the reformation through the tyranny and oppression of her sister, were amply compensated for

their zeal and fidelity. Amongst others the marquis of Northampton, who had been condemned in the late reign, was released, and restored to his estate and dignities.

These intimations of a future design raised apprehensions in the minds of the popish prelates for the fate of their religion, as they seemed to forebode a reformation. Hence the ceremony of Elizabeth's coronation was rather retarded; but it was at length indeed performed with much reluctance by the bishop of Carlisle.

At the opening of the session of parliament, Sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, eminent both as an able lawyer and persuasive orator, displayed his talents on the auspicious event of the new queen's accession to the throne, inveighed with great severity against the proceedings of the late administration, and after urging the expediency of turning their attention to religious matters, exhorted them to observe a due medium between the extremes of superstition and real religion, as the most effectual means of uniting both the Roman Catholics and Protestants in one mode of worship. He concluded with soliciting that supply in behalf of her majesty, which the exigencies of the state required.

The commons, though they had been harassed by impositions in the late reign, cheerfully granted the tonnage and poundage, together with a large subsidy on lands and moveables, and at the instance of some powerful friends attached to revolution principles, brought in and passed a bill for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and restoring the tenths and first fruits to the crown, which had been surrendered by Mary.

To add to the dignity and influence of the queen, her legal right to the crown was recognized by virtue of an act of the thirty-sixth of Henry VIII. and to promote the most desired reformation, the following bills were passed, viz. that the service should be performed in the vulgar tongue; that the supremacy of the church of England should be vested in the sovereign; that all acts relative to religion, which had passed in the reign of Edward VI. should be renewed and confirmed; that the nomination to bishoprics should be vested in the queen, who might exercise her supremacy by any person she should appoint for that purpose; that



Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.



Born  
September 7. 1533.

Crowned  
January 15. 1559.

Died  
March 24. 1603.



that all persons in office should take the oath of supremacy, and that no person; under severe penalties, should, by word or writing, support any foreign authority in this kingdom; that there should be an uniformity of worship; and that, on the vacancy of any bishopric, the queen might resume its manors and temporal possessions; making a just recompence to the see of personages improper.

The queen, thus confirmed in her succession, as well as royal prerogative, by parliamentary sanction, revived a tribunal called the High Commission Court, which was composed of commissioners, vested with the authority of the viceregent appointed in the reign of Henry VIII. Of nine thousand four hundred ecclesiastics, who held benefices in England, those who chose rather to renounce their livings than the Romish religion, amounted to fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifty canons, and about four-score of the inferior clergy; a circumstance, that, by giving way for the induction of protestant divines, greatly promoted the work of the reformation.

Nor was less attention paid to the foreign than domestic concerns of the nation; which having sustained considerable loss, as well as disgrace, from the war, a treaty was concluded by the English ambassador with France on the following terms; that Henry should retain Calais, and all the towns he had wrested from the English, for eight years, at the expiration of which they should be restored to the queen of England; that he should give ample security for paying to Elizabeth, or her successors, the sum of five hundred thousand golden crowns, in default of restoring the places at the time appointed; that the French should give hostages for the performance of this article; that neither he, the king or queen of Scotland, nor Elizabeth, should attempt any thing against each other, directly or indirectly, to the prejudice of this treaty; and that they should not encourage or protect the rebellious subjects of each other.

This political stroke could not fail to ensure a final adjustment of all differences with Scotland; so that a general tranquillity afforded leisure for promoting the internal welfare and happiness of the kingdom. But the prosperity of England, under a protestant queen and government, could not but raise the jealousy of their popish neighbours; insomuch that the dauphin and his consort Mary, at the instigation of the pope, and monarchs of France and Spain, who were incensed at the accession of a protestant princess on the throne of England, assumed the title of king and queen of Scotland, England and Ireland; and arrogated to themselves the arms of England. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the queen's ambassador at Paris, remonstrated on this insult offered to his mistress, and receiving a very frivolous answer, repeated his complaint; but was told by the French ministry, that the queen of Scots was as much intitled to the arms of England, as Elizabeth was to the appellation of queen of France.

This circumstance could not fail of adding to the apprehensions of Elizabeth, who considered both Mary and the Spanish monarch, as highly inimical to her person and interest, from motives both ambitious and religious. As the only means, therefore, to frustrate their most vigorous and artful designs, she wisely determined on such measures as might conciliate the affections of her subjects. Having from early life sedulously applied herself to the study of men and things, and

being, of course, capable of discerning merit, she appointed men of capacity to the important offices of state; dispensed justice impartially; evinced a well-judged œconomy; deported herself with complacency; and demonstrated so ardent a regard for the welfare of her people, as produced the warmest returns of confidence and affection.

A. D. 1559: To form a powerful interest in the north, Elizabeth abetted a numerous party, who declared for the reformation, and with such apparent effect, that conferences for a peace were actually opened at Edinburgh. But the progress of this important transaction was retarded by the premature death of Henry of France, who, being slain in a tournament, was succeeded by Francis II. a prince of weak intellects, solely at the devotion of the house of Guise, and consequently averse to the protestant cause. But all his efforts were baffled by the superior genius of Elizabeth, who reduced him to the necessity of concluding a treaty, by which it was stipulated, that the king and queen of France and Scotland, should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England; that Elizabeth should be farther satisfied for the injury already done her in that particular; that commissioners should be appointed to settle the point; and, on failure of agreement, the matter should be referred to the arbitration of the king of Spain; and that the king and queen of France and Scotland should be obliged to confirm the concessions that had been made by the French plenipotentiaries to the Scottish confederates.

Notwithstanding the conclusion of this treaty, and the accession of the parties previously in opposition, to divers articles in furtherance of the reformation, Francis and Mary peremptorily refused that part which referred to Elizabeth, on pretence that she had treated with their rebellious subjects; though their real design was to wrest the crown from the then possessor, and place it on the head of their young neice.

But all these efforts were not only frustrated, but proved subversive of the very designs they were intended to accomplish, and eventually terminated in the misery and death of the unfortunate Mary, through the politic conduct of queen Elizabeth, who, from the experienced fallacy of foreign allies, deemed it most essential to the interest of the nation, to select, as ministers at home, men of the most approved integrity as well as abilities. The ambassador to the court of Spain met with a very cold reception from Philip, who, being highly averse to the establishment of the reformation in England, restored the collar of the order of the garter, and declined renewing the alliance with the English queen.

To try the effect of lenient measures, the pope dispatched certain instructions specified in a brief to be delivered in form to the queen by his nuncio, who, to the exhortations therein contained respecting her conformity to the catholic religion, is said, as a lure, to have promised, that the pope would annul the sentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, confirm the English liturgy, and allow the people to communicate in both kinds at the sacrament. These proposals were, however, rejected, as vague, temporizing and delusive.

A. D. 1560. The reformation in England instigated the resentment and cruel persecution of the Protestants, (commonly called Hugonots) in France, until they formed a conspiracy against the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, who



were their inveterate enemies. The prince of Condé was supposed to favour them in private, and a scheme was formed, for surprizing the duke and cardinal at the court of Amboise. This design being discovered, was construed into a conspiracy against the king, and twelve hundred persons were executed, for having been privy to the plot.

The presence of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé at the general assembly had well nigh proved fatal to them both; the former was so narrowly observed that he could not escape; the prince was committed to prison, and afterwards condemned to the block; but the death of Francis II. saved him from that ignominious fate. The queen-mother was appointed regent, during the minority of her son Charles IX. who succeeded his father; the king of Navarre was constituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the sentence against Condé was reversed; and the authority of the princes of Lorraine greatly diminished.

A. D. 1561. In consequence of these fortunate events in France, Elizabeth peremptorily demanded of Mary, by her ambassador, an immediate ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; but Mary evaded compliance, by informing the ambassador, that she would wait the arrival of some Scottish noblemen, whom she expected in France, and with their concurrence satisfy the queen of England. However, to ward off the resentment she had reason to expect from her non-compliance, she set out for Calais, where she embarked with a splendid retinue, but was greatly affected at leaving that kingdom, as appeared by her exclaiming, "Farewell France, farewell beloved country, which I shall never more behold."

An English fleet was ordered out to intercept her in the passage, which, through favour of a fog, she fortunately escaped, and arrived in her native kingdom, after having been absent for the space of thirteen years. She was received by her subjects with the greatest acclamations of joy; but had the mortification to find such severe laws, in force against her, that it was with difficulty she was permitted to celebrate mass in her own private chapel.

As the flame of religious dissensions now raged in Scotland with unabating fury, and the spirit of persecution equally possessed the protestants and papists, Mary, at this so critical a juncture, wisely affected a partiality for the protestants, and committed to leading men of that party the administration of affairs. Her favourite ministers were the prior of St. Andrew's, and Maitland of Lethington, by whose prudent advice she regulated her conduct in such a manner, as conciliated the affections of her subjects. With the advice of her council she dispatched secretary Maitland to London, to inform Elizabeth of her happy arrival in her own dominions, and to solicit her friendship.

Soothed by these conciliatory measures on the part of Mary, the queen of England agreed to maintain a proper correspondence with her, and many letters passed between them, abounding with expressions of the most unreserved friendship, while, according to the mode of courts, their words spoke a language foreign to their hearts.

Having received, at divers times, intimations from the Roman pontiff of his persisting in his claim to ecclesiastical supremacy even in England, the queen laudably resolved entirely to throw off the yoke of papal tyranny. She therefore denied the nuncio admittance into her presence, declaring, that she would never acknowledge a coun-

cil summoned by the bishop of Rome, and acting under his direction. In consequence of this behaviour, Philip solicited the pope to denounce sentence of excommunication against her; he treated her ambassadors with contempt, and permitted the officers of the inquisition to prosecute the English traders in his dominions. Elizabeth, therefore, apprehending a storm from this quarter, equipped a powerful fleet, which secured the empire of the sea; she augmented the garrisons, and repaired the fortifications of Berwick, trained the militia, encouraged trade, and, by her wise and prudent measures gained absolute dominion over the hearts of her subjects.

A. D. 1562-3. The propriety of her general conduct was soon rendered evident, as the catholics began to cabal in private, and form schemes for the re-establishment of their religion. Divers schemes were also concerted against her by the earl and countess of Lenox, Arthur Pole, nephew to the late cardinal, with his brother Edmund, and Anthony Fortescue.

The suspected persons were soon apprehended, and, upon examination, confessed that they had entertained a design of repairing to France, where they were promised a supply of men, who were to be transported into Wales, where they proposed to proclaim Mary queen of England, while Pole should be declared duke of Clarence. They stood, indeed, self-convicted, but from motives either of policy or humanity, the royal clemency was extended towards them in a full and free pardon.

On the meeting of parliament this year, the life of the queen being greatly endangered from the small-pox, the commons presented an address to her majesty, entreating her to fix the succession in an explicit manner, in order to avoid the calamities which a competition might produce. But she equivocally evaded a direct compliance with the prayer of the address, assuring them, she would ever be attentive to the true interest and happiness of her people. The parliament granted, however, the necessary supplies, and passed many wholesome laws for the relief of the poor, and the encouragement of commerce and agriculture. Some religious improvements were also made during the course of this session, upon the plan established in the reign of Edward VI. and the tenor of their proceedings might be deemed worthy the august assembly of a nation. At the close of the parliament a peace was concluded with France; the conditions specified, that two hundred thousand crowns should be paid to the queen for restoration of hostages, and confirmed the former claims and pretensions of both parties.

A. D. 1564. Animosities between the rival queens were apparently subsided; an amicable and affectionate literary intercourse took place, the scene of dissention and disquiet was totally reversed. This agreeable pause, however, from strife and contention, was but of short duration, such was the mutual and unconquerable antipathy of the parties. Elizabeth was averse to the very thoughts of a competitor, as well as fearful of her marrying some Catholic prince, who might be able to assert her pretensions. Mary, on the other hand, had been taught to consider Elizabeth as illegitimate, an heretic and usurper, who had intercepted her right to one of the most honourable scepters in Europe, and fomented rebellions in the heart of her kingdom. Thus operated the respective opinions and prejudices on the minds and conduct of the respective queens.



A. D. 1565. After a series of vicissitudes, religious and political, it was deemed expedient that Mary should form a matrimonial alliance, and lord Darnley was the object of that queen's choice, and the approbation of the counsellors; it being by them premised, that this young nobleman being descended from the same family with herself would, by such an alliance, preserve the royal dignity in the house of Stuart. As he was an Englishman by birth, and could not by his power or connections, give any cause of suspicions to Elizabeth, it was presumed that the purpose of this marriage would not be disagreeable to that jealous princess. Elizabeth appeared, indeed, at first, most cordially to acquiesce with the proposed match, and apprehending that the treaty was verging towards an issue, permitted Darnley, on his first application, to follow his father into Scotland; but no sooner did she hear, that preparations were making for celebrating the nuptials, than she exclaimed against the marriage; sent Throgmorton to Scotland to command Darnley, upon his allegiance, immediately to return to England; committed the countess of Lenox, and her second son, to the Tower; confiscated all Lenox's English estates; and though it was impossible for her to assign one plausible pretence for her displeasure, she threatened, protested, and complained, with all the vehemence of rancour, suspicion, and jealousy, as if she had been injured in the nicest point.

The pen of candour must hand down to posterity the whole of her transactions with, and respecting, Mary queen of Scotland, as equivocal, designing and malicious: if there can be any palliation admissible, it must be, the calling to remembrance, that she was but mortal, consequently frail, and that it was the lot of humanity to err. However, notwithstanding all her machinations, the proposed nuptials were at length consummated on the twenty-ninth day of July.

The adherents to the protestant cause, apprehensive for the fate of the reformation in consequence of this alliance, assembled at Stirling, affected an extreme concern for the interest of religion, engaged in an association for their mutual defence, and applied to Elizabeth for her assistance. That princess, having publicly declared her disapprobation of the match, sent an ambassador to the queen of Scots, demanding that the lord Darnley should be delivered into her hands, according to the stipulations of the late treaty, by which the two queens obliged themselves to give up the rebellious subjects of each other. The Scottish queen, in reply, assured Elizabeth that she would prefer no claim during her life, provided she might be pronounced by parliament presumptive heir to the crown of England.

The late marriage was not succeeded by any happy events, either to the parties in particular, or the Scottish nation in general. Darnley's perfections centered solely in his person; his mind was low and sordid, his temper impetuous and open to the adulation of sycophants, and his behaviour to his consort, by whom he had been so much aggrandized, and even courted to testify his affection, was sullen, reserved, and disgusting. This of course produced a coldness on her part, and at length furnished cause for suspicion of an illicit commerce between the queen and one Rezzio, an Italian musician, which terminated in his death, from the hands of assassins suborned for that purpose by her husband, the lord Darnley.

A. D. 1566—7. On the nineteenth of June,

Mary was delivered of a son at the castle of Edinburgh, which being announced by Sir John Melville (an eminent historian) in quality of ambassador to the English court, exceedingly disturbed the mind of Elizabeth; however, she disguised her concern by affecting all the compliments and parade of ceremony usual upon such occasions at courts, and the resorts of the great; and sent the earl of Bedford to assist at the baptism of the young prince James; the ceremony being performed in Stirling castle, in the presence of the ambassadors of England, France and Savoy.

The queen of England, being the patron of literature, and encourager of the liberal arts, in the summer of this year, honoured the university of Oxford with her royal presence, and eminently displayed her own genius and learning. She answered a Greek oration in the same language, and in a Latin speech assured the university of her favour and protection. On her return to London, the parliament was assembled, and a motion made in the lower house, for petitioning her majesty to marry, and settle the succession to the crown. This motion was suggested by the earls of Pembroke and Leicester, but vehemently opposed by Cecil, who was, therefore, reviled without doors, in lampoons, and libels. The address being presented, she signified her intention to marry, but observed, she could not declare her successor, without exposing her own person to danger. The commons, dissatisfied with her answer, repeated their importunity; and the queen, at length, remitted the third part of the subsidy they had granted, and dismissed them with a speech, not the most conciliatory or popular.

The period of Mary's disgrace and humiliation now approached. Lord Darnley, after the most unworthy degradations, being taken off by means unknown, earl Bothwell, a man of dissolute morals, who was suspected of being accessory to the insidious transaction, was admitted to the utmost familiarity with the queen, and determining thereupon to obtain her hand at all events, he raised a body of eight hundred horse, and interrupting her in her return from Stirling, conveyed her to his castle at Dunbar, in order to effect his purpose. Having obtained a divorce from his wife, he conducted the queen to the castle of Edinburgh, where she created him duke of Orkney, and finally married him on the fifteenth of May. These circumstances not only disgraced Mary in the eyes of all Europe, but rendered the character of Bothwell odious to the whole Scottish nation; and as he was strongly suspected of having been accessory to the death of Mary's former consort, the earl of Murray thought it high time to crush the power of that ambitious and turbulent nobleman.

The principal nobility formed a confederacy at Stirling, and had resolved to protect the young prince, and avenge themselves of the murderers of lord Darnley. The confederate lords, at length, appointed their grand rendezvous at Edinburgh; Bothwell made some faint opposition, and the queen, conscious of the weakness of her cause, and the inefficacy of resisting so powerful a combination, proposed a conference, and surrendered herself into the hands of the confederates, who conducted her to Edinburgh amidst the most palpable insults of the populace.

Bothwell, in consequence of the queen's surrender, escaped to Dunbar, and finding means to elude the search of his pursuers, procured a passage



sage to Denmark, where he died in indigence and obscurity. The unhappy Mary was conveyed by order of the confederates under a strong guard to Lochleven, with orders to the governor to take her under his custody.

The queen of England affected to exert her authority very strenuously in behalf of the unfortunate Mary. She dispatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to mediate between her and the confederate lords, and to express her displeasure at Mary's confinement. He was instructed to threaten, in her name, that she would release the queen by force, should they refuse to set her at liberty on reasonable conditions. He was furnished with a plan of accommodation between their sovereign and them; and directed to propose, that the young prince should be educated in England. But as he was debarred all access to the queen, his design, together with that of his royal mistress, was totally defeated.

A. D. 1568. To obviate the supposed political intentions of Elizabeth, the confederate lords, after much debate on the affairs of the nation, came to a resolution of transmitting three instruments to her, to which she was to affix her sign manual. These imported Mary's resignation of the crown to her infant son; a commission appointing the earl of Murray regent during his minority; and another, nominating a council to govern the realm, in case of that nobleman's death, or his declining the office of regent. These deeds, through compulsion, she subscribed; and Morton accepted her resignation, in the name of the three estates of Scotland, though he was vested with no such power by the assembly. They then proceeded to crown the young prince, who was only thirteen months old, and the ceremony was performed at Stirling by Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney; but Throgmorton refused, by order of Elizabeth, to assist at this ceremony, and was soon after recalled.

During her connection with the infamous Bothwell, Mary found but few friends amongst the Scottish nobility; but the pity and compassion of many were excited towards her, after his expulsion; particularly such as were attached to the catholic religion, who, lamenting her ill fortunes, and piqued at her rigorous treatment, assembled at Hamilton, in order to concert measures for supporting the cause of their unfortunate sovereign. The recovery of her liberty was, in an essential degree, owing to the strenuous exertions of George Douglas, who put her into a boat, caused her to be rowed to shore, and afterwards conveyed to Hamilton, where she found herself at the head of six thousand men, assembled by the different lords in her interest, who asserted her claim to the crown, and contended for the invalidity of her resignation, as extorted by the most cruel and rigorous proceedings.

Notwithstanding the superiority of the queen's party in point of numbers, the regent, at the head of the opposition, having drawn together his forces, boldly confronted, and totally vanquished them in a pitched battle at Langside near Glasgow, after the field had been strewed with blood and carnage. The queen fled with the utmost precipitation, and, embarking with the lord Herries, and a train of sixteen persons, landed at Workington in Cumberland, from whence she was conducted to the castle of Carlisle.

Flattering herself with expectation of friendly aid from Elizabeth, immediately on her landing the

dispatched a messenger to the court of London, soliciting her protection at this critical juncture. But the reply which she obtained from the queen of England, with the advice of the council, equally surprised and alarmed her. She was given to understand, that she must remain a prisoner, till she should renounce her claim to the crown of England; and vindicate herself from the charge of being accessory to the murder of lord Darnley, who was a natural subject of England, and therefore came under the sanction of its laws.

The unfortunate Mary was exceedingly affected at this unexpected incident, and as the only means of palliating her conduct, assured Elizabeth of her desire to submit her cause to the decision of so good a friend, and dispatched lord Herries to London, with a letter to the same purpose. This concession was the very point, to which Elizabeth laboured to bring the matter, and she instantly sent to the regent, requiring him to send some persons to London, to assign the cause of his usurpation, and mal-treatment of his lawful queen.

Murray, with all submission, replied, that he would himself repair to England, accompanied by other commissioners, and submit his cause to her arbitration. The persons appointed by the English council, for the examination of this important affair, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suffex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; and York was fixed as the place of conference.

The commissioners appointed on the part of the Scottish queen were, Lesley, bishop of Ross, the lords Herries, Levingston, and Boyd, with five persons more. Those deputed by the kingdom, were, the earl of Murray, regent, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Lindsay, the abbot of Dumferling, George Buchanan, the celebrated poet and historian, and some others.

The queen's commissioners having presented a paper, exhibiting a detail of the crimes alledged to the charge of the regent, he related, with great precision, the particulars of his late proceedings; affirming, that the lords had taken arms to revenge the death of lord Darnley, upon Bothwell; that the queen had voluntarily resigned the crown to her son, and appointed the earl of Murray regent of the kingdom during his minority. Mary's commissioners refuted these allegations; and requested that the queen of England would assist their mistress in the recovery of her crown, and the suppression of such rebellious attempts; they also presented an attested copy of the protestation made by the earls of Huntley and Argyle, charging Murray and Morton, as the contrivers of Darnley's murder, and affording a just plea for their opposition to the regent, as principal abettor of that atrocious crime.

The queen of England, apprehending from the state of enquiry, that further investigation would fully criminate the regent, commanded the commissioners to repair to London, and as soon as they arrived, joined with them some of the principal members of her council. Murray was then summoned before the English commissioners, reprimanded by them for the odious aspersions he had thrown on the character of his sovereign, and at length, asked what he could alledge in his own vindication. Matters being now brought almost to a crisis, the regent made no scruple to produce the proofs of his charge against the queen of Scots, and among the rest, some letters and sonnets all written with her own hand to Bothwell, together with a paper containing a promise



of marriage with that nobleman. These papers had been most carefully preserved, as some affirm, by the favourite in a silver casket; nor could he be persuaded, by the most pressing entreaties of the unfortunate queen, to destroy them; but had, to gratify his own vanity, deposited them in the hands of the governor of Edinburgh castle.

There is not a point in the annals of history, concerning which writers, through prejudice or partiality, are more divided in their opinions than as to the ground of charge exhibited on this occasion, against the unfortunate princess. Some affirm, that these letters and verses were forged, for the purposes of the regent and confederates, and that the accusation of the queen's conduct, contained in the paper written by Buchanan, is founded on false and malicious representations; others as explicitly assert, that these papers have been since proved, that the objections made to their authenticity are frivolous and absurd, and have been fully refuted by several writers. Upon an impartial survey of the whole, the conduct of the queen of England exhibits the most glaring proofs of jealousy, ambiguity, and duplicity; and she evidently appears to have amused her rival with flattering hopes and expectations, in order to protract the time of her imprisonment, till she might find a convenient opportunity of taking her off.

A. D. 1569. Elizabeth now turned her attention from domestic concerns to those of a foreign nature; and the term stipulated in the treaty with France, for the restitution of Calais being long expired, she dispatched ambassadors to require the performance of that article. The chancellor d'Hopital made use of various equivocations, to evade an immediate answer to their demand; however, Elizabeth thought it more prudent to submit to the loss of that place, than engage in a dangerous and expensive war, in order to maintain a doubtful title, and hazard fresh dangers and difficulties.

Such was the fury of persecutions in the Low Countries, that the prince of Orange was obliged to take refuge among the French Hugonots, whom Elizabeth had succoured with a considerable supply of men and money. This interposition of the queen interrupted all commerce between England and the Low Countries; and Philip, king of Spain, prohibited the exportation of oil, sugar, and spices, from his dominions.

The inconvenience and hazard of detaining queen Mary a prisoner must, doubtless, have occurred to the discerning mind of Elizabeth, of which time gave eventual proof. The duke of Norfolk was the peer who possessed the highest title of nobility, and as there were no princes of the blood, the antiquity of the family, the greatness of his estate, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him indisputably the first subject in England. Nor were the qualities of his mind unworthy of his elevated station; humane, generous, and affable, he had engaged the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, and loyal, he enjoyed unenvied the favour of his sovereign.

The duke was at this time in the single state, and being almost coeval with the queen of Scots, it was suggested that a match would be at once agreeable to themselves, and conducive to the honor and interest of the nation. The scheme met with the concurrence of their friends in general, inasmuch, that it was first intimated to the duke by secretary Maitland, and next by the regent of Scotland,

previous to his departure from England; so that proper steps being taken, the earl of Murray, through the medium of Sir Robert Melville, communicated the proposal to Mary, who replied, that as she esteemed it her duty to sacrifice her inclinations to the welfare of the public, she would, as soon as she could be divorced from Bothwell, follow the advice of her nobility and people, in the choice of another husband. Norfolk, persuaded from the jealous disposition of Elizabeth, of the impossibility of procuring her consent to the marriage by methods of duty, determined to form such a powerful combination, as should intimidate her into compliance.

Though Norfolk was a professed Catholic, such was his popularity, that it proved no barrier to the proposed match, which met with the hearty concurrence of the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Suffex; the lord Lumley, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton embraced the scheme with great cordiality; and even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite, zealously promoted the interest of Norfolk. These proceedings equally chagrined and perplexed Elizabeth. She wished that Mary was removed from her dominions, where she daily acquired new interest; at the same time she dreaded the thoughts of her enlargement, lest it might afford opportunity of strengthening her interest, and reviving the detested competition for regal sway.

Notwithstanding all her art, finesse, and duplicity, Elizabeth could not suppress the violence of her emotion, on Leicester's explicit declaration of the intended marriage; on the contrary, she gave proofs of the most malicious resentment both by words and actions.

The earl, however, apprehensive of the fatal consequences of persisting in the design, set out on his return to court, resolving to exert his utmost endeavours in order to recover the confidence of Elizabeth; but he had proceeded no farther than St. Alban's, when he was intercepted by an armed body, who conducted him to the court near Windsor, and soon after he was committed prisoner to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevil. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the queen of Scots ambassador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council; Pembroke was confined to his own house, and Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton, were delivered up in charge to proper officers.

The unfortunate Mary was treated with the utmost rigor. She was conveyed to Coventry, a place of greater strength, where no person, for some time, was allowed to visit her; and the lord viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, in the office of her keepers.

Intelligence having been received at court of an intended insurrection in the north, Northumberland and Westmoreland were cited before the great officers of state; but in being interrogated, and no proof appearing against them, they were dismissed. The report, however, daily gained ground, and the queen summoned these two noblemen to answer to the charge exhibited against them. This summons induced them to take arms, but before they were fully prepared and Northumberland was hesitating between opposite dangers, he received intelligence, that some of his enemies were on the way with a commission to seize him; he therefore instantly repaired to his associate



Westmoreland, and with him entered into a resolution of joining their interests; so that from their attachment to the popish religion, they drew to their standard immense numbers of people.

Thus prepared for their design, they issued a manifesto, declaring that their sole intention was to re-establish the religion of their ancestors, to punish evil counsellors, to settle the succession to the crown, and to restore the duke of Norfolk, and other faithful peers, to the enjoyment of their liberty, and the favour of their sovereign. Their army amounted to four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, and they hoped to be joined by all the Catholics in England. Suffex, accompanied by some other lords, marched against them, at the head of seven thousand men, and found them already advanced to the bishopric of Durham, of which they had made themselves masters. They fled before him to Hexham, and understanding that the earl of Warwick and lord Clinton were coming against them with greater force, they dispersed in the greatest consternation, without making a single effort in support of the cause they affected to espouse. The inferior class retreated to their respective habitations, and the leaders escaped into Scotland, where Northumberland was apprehended by the regent, and sent prisoner to the castle of Lochleven; but Westmoreland escaped to Flanders.

There seemed to prevail at this time a most absurd and ridiculous disposition in the people to rebel; an insurrection was attempted by some obscure zealots for the popish cause, but they were soon apprehended and treated with the utmost rigour. Sixty petty constables were condemned to the gibbet, and no less than eight hundred persons are said, on the whole, to have fallen by the common executioner. Norfolk found means so far to insinuate himself into the favor of the queen, that she released him from the Tower, and on his engaging to abandon all thoughts of the Scottish alliance, permitted him to retire to his seat in the country, and pass his time in ease and tranquillity.

Intimations have been given by some writers, that the regent of Scotland had perfidiously engaged with Elizabeth, to have Mary conveyed into the North, and delivered up to him; but while they hesitated on the consequences of such a scheme, the fate of Murray, who was slain in the revenge of a private injury, by the party aggrieved, prevented the execution of their design.

A. D. 1570. The fury of party zeal was now revived with greater violence, and the kingdom of Scotland exhibited one scene of anarchy and confusion. The partizans of Mary took up arms, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh. Elizabeth ordered the earl of Suffex to raise an army to retaliate this injury. Accordingly, he invaded Scotland, and committed hostilities on all Mary's adherents, on pretence, that they aided and abetted the rebellion against the queen of England.

But, in process of time, on agreement that the rebels should be surrendered to Elizabeth, her army evacuated Scotland, and the ambassadors of Mary, France, and Spain, continuing their importunity with Elizabeth, on the score of the treaty for the release of the queen of Scots, she appointed Cecil, and Sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, her commissioners to treat on this affair; in consequence of which, the following propositions were offered for effecting a lasting peace between the two kingdoms; that the queen

of Scots, besides relinquishing all claim to the English crown, during the life of Elizabeth, should agree to a perpetual league offensive and defensive, between the two kingdoms; that she should espouse no Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, nor any other person, without the consent of the states of Scotland; that reparation should be made for the damage which the English had suffered in the late incursions of the Scots; that the assassins of the late king should be brought to condign punishment; that the young king should be sent into England to be educated; that six hostages, all of them noblemen, should be delivered to the queen of England, together with the castle of Hume, and some other fortress for the performance of these articles.

Upon these conditions the queen of England stipulated to exert her power in restoring Mary to the crown of Scotland. Her commissioners also proposed to the deposed queen a plan of accommodation with her subjects in Scotland, and after reasoning on that subject, it was resolved, that Elizabeth should desire Lenox, the regent, to send commissioners to negotiate a peace under her mediation. After the point had been debated twenty days, the English commissioners returned, and made such a report to their mistress, that she declared her satisfaction with the negotiation, and said she did not doubt but the only difference remaining would be removed on the arrival of the commissioners from the regent of Scotland, without whose consent the young prince could not be conveyed to England. In the mean time, proposals and answers were, by Mary, communicated to the kings of France and Spain, intimating the necessity she was under of submitting to the conditions, unless they would succour her friends in Scotland. Those potentates, however, paid very little attention to her representation; the French monarch, indeed, was never favourably disposed towards Mary, and he was now wholly employed in devising means for crushing the Protestants throughout his kingdom.

At length, in direct repugnance to an article of the late treaty, the Scottish commissioners arrived in London, and refused to deliver up the young prince on any terms, desiring, at the same time, that the treaty might be rendered null and void. The negotiation, therefore, ceased, and the bishop of Ross was ordered to depart; but the regent countermanded the order, and insisted on his residence in England in order to superintend the conduct of Elizabeth relative to the Scottish nation.

A. D. 1571. On the first meeting of the new parliament at Westminster in the month of April, several laws were enacted to maintain the right of the queen of England, as well as that of the succession. It was declared treason to affirm, during the life of the queen, that she was not the lawful sovereign; that any other possessed a better title; that she was an heretic, a schismatic, or infidel, or that she could not determine the succession of the crown: whoever should assert in writing or printing, that any person, except the issue of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir, or successor, was, for the first offence, to be imprisoned during a year; and for the second, they were to incur the penalty of a premunire.

From the tenor of the last clause, it evidently appeared that Elizabeth intimated her resolution of excluding the Scottish queen from all pretence of succeeding to the throne of England. Several wholesome statutes passed for the suppression of popish



pish superstition and idolatry; it being decreed, that whoever should publish bulls or mandates of the pope, or should, by means of these, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, should themselves, as well as those who were so reconciled, be guilty of treason. Whoever imported any *Agnus Dei*, crucifixes, beads, or such other implements of superstition, was subjected to the penalties of *premunire*. The former laws against taking interest, which was called usury, were enforced by a new statute; and a supply of one subsidy, and two fifteenths, were granted to her majesty.

Norfolk, in direct opposition to reason and common sense, was fool-hardy enough to revive his former despicable plan of rebellion, and for which he had been some time imprisoned in the Tower. There was one Rodolphi, a Florentine, who had long resided in London, and acted privately as an agent for the court of Rome. This man projected a scheme, in concert with the Spanish ambassador, for the release of Mary, by means of a domestic insurrection and foreign invasion. When their intention was communicated to Norfolk, the duke told Rodolphi, that he would do every thing in his power to relieve the Scottish queen; and that his project was feasible. On Norfolk's approbation of the plan, three letters were wrote in his name, by Rodolphi, to the duke of Alva, the pope, and the king of Spain; but the duke refused to sign them. Rodolphi repairing to Brussels, communicated the scheme to the duke of Alva, who readily came into it, and assured him that he would employ his best endeavours to obtain the concurrence of the Spanish monarch.

This project had not yet reached the knowledge of the queen of England, nor of her secretary Cecil, lately advanced to the peerage by the title of lord Burleigh. The first ground of suspicion was from an effort of Norfolk, which led to a full discovery, from the following circumstance. Mary proposing to send a sum of money to her partizans in Scotland, it was entrusted to the care of one Brown, a domestic to the duke of Norfolk, in order to be forwarded to the frontiers. This person, either ignorant of the scheme, or employed as a spy in the family, delivered the money to Burleigh, who immediately caused Brown, and Hickford the duke's secretary, to be apprehended, and to undergo a severe trial. Being threatened with torture, Hickford confessed that he had secreted some papers under the matts of the duke's bed; which being found, full evidence appeared against his master.

Norfolk being apprehended, previous to his knowledge of the confession extorted from his secretary, peremptorily denied the charge; but the queen ordered him to the Tower in order to be brought to immediate trial. The bishop of Ross had, on some suspicion, been taken into custody, before the detection of Norfolk's guilt; and every method was used to extort from him what he knew relative to the conspiracy. He at first alledged, in vindication of his non-compliance, the dignity of his character; but, on being told that, as his mistress was no longer a sovereign, he could not be considered as an ambassador, and that a discovery had been made by Norfolk's servants, he revealed the whole plot, and, by his evidence, fully convicted the duke of the charges alledged against him.

The discovery made by the bishop corroborated the other circumstances adduced in proof of Norfolk's guilt, so that his trial was fixed for the 12th day of January, and he was condemned by the

sentence of twenty-five peers. But the queen, notwithstanding his guilt was greatly enhanced by a repetition of the crime, relented much at the issue of his trial, and though her ministers enforced the necessity of his being made a public example, to deter others from disloyal practices, she hesitated, from time to time, putting her hand to the warrant; and thereby protracted the execution of the sentence.

So desirous were both the ministry in particular, and the parliament in general, for bringing the condemned culprit to condign punishment, that the commons presented an address to her majesty, praying her to proceed to the execution of the duke, as the most necessary step for her own preservation, and the peace of the kingdom; and this sanction she imagined, when joined to the greatness of his guilt, would, in the eyes of the impartial world, justify her severity towards that unfortunate nobleman. He submitted to his fate with great courage and resolution, and though he solemnly denied, that he had ever entertained any disloyal thoughts against the queen's authority or person, he frankly owned the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. His particular friend the earl of Shrewsbury was much affected by his fate, and great part of the populace, who attended his execution, testified the utmost concern.

In order to quell the tumults and riots which still disturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom, the queen gave orders for the reparation of the works at the different sea-ports, keeping the military in train, and having a naval armament ready for immediate service. Nevertheless, insurrections still prevailed in Scotland, and the regent dying suddenly about this time, was succeeded by the earl of Hertford.

The disturbances in France, and the rigour and cruelty there exercised towards the Hugonots, greatly affected the queen so that she was induced to furnish them secretly with some assistance. Besides employing her influence with the German princes, she permitted a person, called Henry Champernon, to raise and carry into France, a regiment of gentlemen volunteers, among whom Sir Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to discover the first specimen of his military genius.

So powerful was the opposition of the protestant party, that the French monarch, notwithstanding the prevalence of his bigotry and prejudice, from motives of convenience, relaxed in his operations, and, by way of temporizing, indulged them with liberty of conscience in matters of religion. The event, however, proved the fallacy and perfidy of the late proceedings on the part of France, which were designed to effect the total extermination of the Hugonots. In order to deceive and decoy their leaders into the snare laid for them, Charles offered his sister Margaret in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral de Chatillon, with all the most considerable Protestants, had repaired to Paris, in order to attend the celebration of the nuptials, which they hoped, would allay the violent animosities of the two parties. The queen of Navarre was poisoned by orders from the court; and the admiral was dangerously wounded by an assassin; yet the treacherous monarch artfully protracted the departure of the Hugonots till the eve of St. Bartholomew, the period fixed upon for the perpetration of his bloody design.

A. D. 1572. The horror and consternation excited by the massacre of that day are beyond all descriptions. Preparation being made for the execution



tion of that infernal project, the signal was the found of the palace clock at the dead of night; the executioners were the Catholic soldiers, headed by the duke of Guise, who, like a blood-thirsty fiend, with his rueful band, broke into the recesses of unsuspecting innocence, and murdered every Protestant that fell in his way, without regard to age, sex, or condition. The ensuing dawn disclosed the shocking scene: rivers of blood overwhelmed the streets; the cruel and bigoted king enjoyed the ghastly sight, and the more barbarous queen-mother drove over the bodies of the slain, and, with her chariot wheels, dashed about their blood and brains. Upon this melancholy and memorable occasion, it was computed, that near ten thousand Protestants fell victims to the diabolical influence of popish superstition and cruelty, which also extended to the provinces in general; for, having received the dreadful mandate, they imitated the example of the Parisians, and with them concurred in the extirpation of the wretched Hugonots.

A. D. 1573. Walsingham, the English ambassador remonstrated with Charles on the perfidy and cruelty of his late proceedings as repugnant to the laws of God and of nations; but that blood-thirsty monarch endeavoured to apologize, by alledging that the admiral had formed a conspiracy to assassinate him, and adding, that he, as well as the whole royal family of France were disposed to live on terms of the strictest amity with her majesty of England. Elizabeth affected complacency with this temporizing declaration, admitted the apology, and assured him of the continuance of her friendship; consented to a treaty proposed for a marriage between her, and the duke of Alençon; and the queen of France being delivered of a daughter, Elizabeth stood god-mother to the infant, who was baptized by the name of Mary Elizabeth, in the presence of the earl of Worcester, as proxy for the queen of England.

But the subjects of England could not be so easily appeased, or so readily prevailed on to stifle their resentment, as their sovereign. They proposed to raise a formidable army, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own expence; but Elizabeth, fearful of widening the breach between the two parties, refused her consent, and by restraining the laudable zeal of her subjects, defeated their design.

In Scotland dissensions so universally prevailed, that the friends of the deposed queen were compelled to submit to Morton the regent. In the mean time Sir W. Drury marched from Berwick with a reinforcement, and a train of artillery, to assist the regent in reducing the castle of Edinburgh, then in a very defenceless state; the governor, with a handful of men, being an officer of long experience and approved valour, made a vigorous defence for three and thirty days; but at length was obliged to surrender, though on honourable terms. The queen of England denying to protect him and his adherents as her prisoner, they were delivered up to the mercy of the regent, who ordered the brave governor and his brother to be publicly executed.

A. D. 1574. This year was marked by the death of Charles IX. of France, a monster of perfidy, cruelty and tyranny, who had glutted his insatiate thirst for blood, by the horrid massacre of thousands, and died at the age of 35 years as he lived, execrated by all who were susceptible of the least impressions of humanity. The queen-mo-

ther assumed the regency by virtue of a will, and governed the kingdom, till his brother, the king of Poland, arrived, and succeeded him on the throne of France, by the title of Henry III. By this event, Mary lost the support she had experienced, during the life of Charles. The people of France were divided into two religious factions, actuated by the most implacable fury, nor could any means, coercive or persuasive, restrain their zeal, or introduce a degree of moderation amongst the inflamed and violent parties.

A. D. 1575. On the accession of Henry III. to the regal dignity of the French dominions, Elizabeth dispatched an ambassador, with congratulatory compliments, and to obtain his assent to the articles of the treaty of Troyes, to all of which he immediately acceded. But as he proceeded with rigour towards the Protestants, she furnished John Casimer, son to the elector Palatine, with a sum of money to levy a body of German auxiliaries, for the service of the duke of Alençon, who had joined that party.

A. D. 1576. This reinforcement terrified the new king into lenient measures, insomuch that he indulged the Hugonots with a peace on the most favourable terms; an accommodation, which though as deceitful on the part of the court as any of the former, gave the highest offence to the Catholics; so that the duke of Guise, without regarding the royal authority, aimed at the total extirpation of the Protestants, which must naturally have incurred the resentment of queen Elizabeth.

A. D. 1577. As a proof of approbation of the general conduct of Elizabeth, she obtained a voluntary grant from parliament of a considerable subsidy, and to gratify this instance of loyalty, she renewed the treaty of commerce with Portugal, by which her subjects were permitted to trade to Madeira, and the Azores. Martin Forbisher, an eminent navigator, sailed this year from Harwich with five ships, in order to discover a North-west passage to the East-Indies, though his laudable efforts were not crowned with the desired success.

The king of France, from a well-grounded persuasion of the bigotted attachment of his subjects to the popish religion, was under a political necessity of espousing their cause; but being naturally indolent and irresolute, after some ineffectual attempts, he agreed to a new peace, which, like the former, gave no satisfaction to the Romanists. Each faction, however, continued to prepare for that rupture, which they were sensible must soon happen; and religious disputes universally prevailing, private animosity produced public dissension.

An absurd project was formed by Don John of Austria, of first subduing the Low Countries, and then subjecting Great Britain, through a marriage with Mary queen of Scots; but his towering views were soon frustrated by being compelled to sign the treaty of Ghent; in consequence of which the Spanish troops were sent into Italy, and the states were confirmed in the possession of their dominions. But the queen of England, apprized of the design of the Spanish monarch, warmly espoused the protestant interest, and demanded a particular account of the resolution of the states-general.

The conduct of Elizabeth was, upon the whole, so wise and pacific, that it was attended with the blessings of peace and plenty to her kingdom in general, though, during the course of this year, the nation was alarmed with the fear of a contagion, from an incident at the summer assizes at Oxford, where



where the stench brought from the gaol by the prisoners affected the bench, juries, and audience in such a manner, that three hundred persons died of the infection.

The regent of Scotland having rendered himself obnoxious to the people by his tyranny and oppression, it was deemed a matter of serious import to the interests of England; the queen therefore sent Randolph into Scotland, on pretence of congratulating the young king on the progress he made in his studies; but, in reality, in order to remonstrate with the regent. But this was far from having the intended effect: he persisted in his arrogant and oppressive course, till Erskine, the king's governor, and his four preceptors, represented his conduct in such a light, as incurred the displeasure of his sovereign; so that to avoid any dangerous consequences that might ensue, he dropt some hints of an inclination to retire, of which the opposite party availing themselves, demanded that dismissal, which he seemed so readily to offer. James was only in the twelfth year of his age, yet Morton resigned his authority into the hands of the king, and withdrew from the government. But, disgusted with an inactive life, he soon returned to court, and, though he resumed not his former title, carried the same sway in all councils of state.

A.D. 1578-9. To avoid the designs of the Spanish monarch, Elizabeth deemed it expedient to form an alliance with the king of France, and in furtherance of the same, affected to approve of the proposals of marriage that were made her by the duke of Anjou. The French king had some time since sent over two ambassadors to obviate some difficulties that attended the match; and now added a third, one Semier, a man of the most insinuating address and keen penetration. This gentleman so wrought on the passions of the queen, that she seemed to have conceived a warm affection for the person of the duke of Anjou, so that the earl of Leicester, and others, affirmed, she was infatuated by the arts of incantation.—Semier, in revenge, endeavoured to ruin Leicester in the opinion of the queen; and was the first who informed her of his marriage with the widow of the earl of Essex.

Elizabeth, who with all her sagacity, was not exempt from the foibles of woman, was so affected by this intimation, that (from motives, whether of jealousy or resentment, cannot be ascertained,) she committed the earl of Leicester prisoner to the castle of Greenwich, and would have removed him thence to the Tower, had not the earl of Suffex, though his enemy, generously interposed in his behalf, and represented the injustice of punishing a subject for contracting a lawful marriage. Leicester, enraged to find himself supplanted by an obscure stranger, is said to have employed one Tudor, a life-guard-man, to assassinate Semier, and the queen, apprized of his resentment, took the foreign envoy under her immediate protection, and issued her royal mandate to secure him and his attendants from every kind of personal insult or injury. This extraordinary attention to Semier induced the duke of Anjou to pay a visit to the queen, but, after a short interview, he abruptly returned to France. The visit, however, occasioned some literary speculation, and one Stubbs, a student of Lincoln's-inn, acquired much popularity by a treatise he wrote, entitled, "The gulph in which England will be swallowed up by the French marriage." But the author was sentenced

to lose his right hand, and undergo a long imprisonment.

About this time there happened several remarkable events, one Matthew Hammond was executed for blasphemy at Norwich; the Turkey company was established, by virtue of a treaty with Amurath, sultan of the Turks; and Sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, paid the debt of nature, and was succeeded by Thomas Bromley, appointed lord chancellor of England. About the same time, died Sir Thomas Gresham, who built the Royal Exchange, and dedicated a large building to the purposes of learning, and the encouragement of arts, where he founded lectures on the sciences of theology, the civil law, medicine, geometry, rhetoric and music.

A.D. 1580-1. Elizabeth's espousal of the reformation in the Low Countries produced the resentment of the Spanish monarch, who sent, under the sanction of the pope, a body of seven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, where the inhabitants, always mutinous and averse to the English government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and ready to take up arms on the first encouragement. The insurgents excited some disturbances on their first rising up in arms; but were soon quelled by the earl of Ormond, in conjunction with others of her majesty's officers both naval and military, who, by their vigorous efforts, reduced the malcontents to their former obedience.

Apprehensions of commotions were soon after raised in England, through the insidious arts of some foreign ecclesiastics who endeavoured to alienate the affections of the people from their lawful sovereign. Four of these emissaries were executed, for publicly asserting that the queen had been lawfully deposed by the pope. To prevent the progress of their pernicious doctrines, a proclamation was issued, enjoining all persons, who had children, wards, or relations, in foreign seminaries, to deliver their names to the ordinary in ten days; to bring them home in four months; to certify the ordinary of their return; or, in case of their refusing to come home, to withhold from them all supplies of money; to forbear relieving, or lodging any priest or jesuit, on pain of being reputed, and punished as favourers of rebels and sedition. Amongst those who signalized themselves in the popish cause, were Edmund Campian, and Robert Parsons; the former published a treatise called the Ten Reasons, in favour of the church of Rome, and being taken, was executed; but the latter escaped to the continent.

To add to the memorable occurrences at this period, Sir Francis Drake returned to his native country, after having circumnavigated the terrestrial globe. He had amassed a large fortune amongst the Spaniards in the Isthmus of Panama, and having there got a view of the Pacific ocean, engaged to employ his whole substance in a new adventure through those seas so little known at that time to any of the European nations. By the interest of Sir Christopher Hatton, a great statesman and favourite of the queen, he procured her consent and approbation, and sailed from Plymouth in 1577, with four ships well manned and stored with provisions. Sir Francis, in this extraordinary exploit, discovered much nautical knowledge and experience; for, having entered the South-sea by the straits of Magellan, and fearing, if he took the same course homewards, he might be inter-



cepted by the enemy, he endeavoured to find a passage by the north of California, but failing in that attempt, directed his course towards the East-Indies, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope, made good his passage to England.

When the king of Spain, by his ambassador, demanded restitution of the captures, which he alledged were made in a manner contrary to the law of nations, Elizabeth vindicated the conduct of her admiral, by retorting on that monarch, his fomenting rebellions among her subjects in Ireland. The treasure was, however, sequestered, and large sums paid to a Spanish merchant, empowered, by letters of attorney, to sue for the prizes which Drake had taken without a commission. Philip, however, sullied his honour, by withholding from the proprietors, that right for which he had contended, and appropriating the whole of what he obtained in restitution, to public purposes.

The authority of Morton, the late Scottish regent, soon ceased together with his life; for, a charge being preferred against him of compassing the death of his sovereign, he was apprehended and imprisoned in the castle of Dumbarton, and, notwithstanding Elizabeth's intercession in his behalf, was beheaded at Edinburgh the very day after his conviction. He died unlamented, and so little regarded, that after his execution, the populace passed the scaffold without discovering the least tokens of regret.

As a proof that the court of France regarded the projected marriage in a very serious light, they dispatched an embassy with the following terms: that in case the king of France should die without male issue, and the duke of Anjou should have two sons by this marriage, the eldest should succeed to the crown of France, and the other ascend the throne of England; that in case of one son only, he should inherit both realms, and of every two years reside eight months in England; that the duke should not fill up any post or office in England with a foreigner; that he should not convey the queen out of the kingdom, without the express consent of the nobles; that he should not transport the jewels of the crown to any other country, and that all the strong holds in the kingdom should be garrisoned by English troops, commanded by English governors. By a separate article, both parties agreed, that the consummation of the marriage should be deferred, till some particular and private concerns were settled by consent of parties, and with the concurrence of the French king.

A short time after the duke of Anjou arrived at the court of London, and was received by the queen with demonstrations of cordial affection. On the anniversary of her coronation, she, with her own hand, fixed a ring upon his finger, in token of pledging her troth, according to the contract. She even proceeded so far as to take up the pen to subscribe the articles; but at this critical juncture, she suddenly with-held the pen, and appealing to the lords of the council, demanded their opinion as to the consequences of the intended marriage, which she thought would terminate in her death, and afterwards prove a source of dissention as to the succession to the throne of England.

The disappointed duke, after a private conference with his intended royal bride, retired with the most poignant mortification, and as a proof of his resentment, dashed the ring with violence on the ground, exclaiming against the fickleness of the

queen and inconstancy of the English people. To compensate, however, the disappointment in some degree, his grace was amused with divers public entertainments during a residence of about three months, and on his departure for Paris, liberally rewarded for the trouble of his visit.

A. D. 1582. A statute passed this session of parliament, declaring all those guilty of high treason, who should attempt to alienate the subjects from their fidelity to the queen, or persuade them to abandon the established religion.

The young king of Scotland, through the undue influence of the earls of Lenox and Arran, who had instigated him to the most unpopular proceedings, incurred a general odium; so that on his return from Athol with but few attendants, he was seized by the earl of Marr, and several other persons of distinction, and conveyed to Ruthven castle, the residence of the earl of Gowry, who had taken part with the two earls from a misrepresentation of circumstances.

A. D. 1583. As the most powerful means of affecting the release of her captive son, the queen of Scots applied to Elizabeth, conjuring her in the most affecting terms to exert her influence in behalf of majesty in distress. So pathetic was her expostulation, that the queen desired her council to deliberate on the conditions, on which Mary should be released. They accordingly drew up several articles, which were presented to the queen of Scotland; but this treaty, like all the former, proved abortive.

In the close of this year, Elizabeth sent Walsingham her secretary into Scotland, under pretence of establishing a more intimate union between the two kingdoms; but in reality to strengthen the English faction, and sound the abilities of the young king, who being endowed with politeness and affability, ingratiated himself with the secretary; insomuch, that from the favourable account he transmitted to his mistress, James was enhanced in her regard, and afterwards treated in a manner more becoming his dignity.

A. D. 1584-5. The states of Holland sustained considerable loss in the death of the prince of Orange, who was treacherously shot by an infamous Burgundian, and in consequence thereof the duke of Parma obtained great advantage over them. His eldest son Philip being in the hands of the king of Spain, and educated in the Romish religion, the states conferred the government of Holland and Zealand upon his second son Maurice; and the prince of Parma, availing himself of this circumstance, invested Antwerp; so that the states, thus involved in complicated distress, as their last resource, sent ambassadors to England, soliciting the protection of Elizabeth, and even offering to submit themselves to her disposal; but Elizabeth prudently declined the offer, and promised to assist them with a very considerable body of forces, provided some towns were put into her hands by way of security for payment.

To perfect, if possible, the important and much desired work of reformation, several statutes were enacted in the month of November, against jesuits and popish priests, which, though rigorous, were absolutely necessary for the security of the protestant interest. William Parry, a Catholic, had obtained the queen's pardon for a capital crime, and having got leave to travel, withdrew to Milan, where he openly professed his religion, which he had artfully concealed while he remained in England. On his return he was examined, when he





*Ambassadors from the STATES of HOLLAND imploring ASSISTANCE of  
QUEEN ELIZABETH, to deliver them from the YOKE of SPANISH TYRANNY.*



fed he had been persuaded to assassinate the queen, by Morgan, an English refugee in France; that he had procured admittance into her majesty's presence, by discovering a feigned conspiracy; but being struck with remorse, he laid aside his dagger and treasonable designs; till happening to read a book written by cardinal Allen, who affirmed it was laudable to kill excommunicated princes, he had resolved to execute his former purpose. This fanatical regicide suffered the punishment due to his horrid intention, and was publicly executed as a traitor against his lawful sovereign.

The Spanish monarch had prosecuted his military operations with such success against the United States, that Elizabeth, to curb his ambition by checking the progress of his conquests, engaged, by a treaty, to succour them with five thousand infantry, and one thousand cavalry, under the command of an English general; and to pay these troops during the war, on condition of being reimbursed, after the peace should be re-established.

The same treaty also stipulated, that Elizabeth should be put in possession of Flushing, and the Brille, as security for the payment; that the English governors of those places should have no jurisdiction over the inhabitants; that the towns should be restored to the estates on the payment of the money; that the English general, and two other persons nominated by the queen, should have places in the assembly of states; and that neither peace nor truce should be made without the mutual consent of Elizabeth and the confederates; that in case of the queen's sending a fleet to sea, they should join it with a like number of ships, to be commanded by the English admiral; and that a reciprocal commerce should be maintained between the subjects of England, and the United States.

The queen having embarked thus far in her engagements, in opposition to the efforts of Philip of Spain, was determined to transfer the seat of war to America, the grand source of that monarch's wealth as well as power. Pursuant to that design, a fleet of twenty sail was fitted out, and the command given to Sir Francis Drake, who, in his passage, took St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verde islands, and afterwards reduced Carthagena, and St. Domingo. In his return through the gulph of Florida, he burnt St. Augustine and St. Helena, and touching at Virginia, took on board a number of people, who, having been sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to plant that colony, were greatly reduced in point of number, and in a starving condition. These colonists most cheerfully embarked on board the English ships, and brought over with them a cargo of tobacco, a plant before unknown in this country.

So attached was the queen to the interest of the reformation, that she not only espoused the cause of the United States against the encroachments of the Spanish monarch; but also succoured the Hugonots in France, headed by the prince of Condé, who, in conjunction with the king of Navarre, assembled his troops, in order to withstand the assaults of the duke of Guise, who strenuously espoused the catholic cause, but without success; on the contrary, he was suddenly surrounded by the enemy, and escaping with great difficulty, repaired to the court of England, where he was treated with all due honors.

A. D. 1586. The United States, to conciliate the esteem of the queen of England, shewed very singular respect to the earl of Leicester, on his arrival in Holland in quality of commander in chief

of the English auxiliaries. They not only honoured him with the most distinguished titles, but even with tokens of royalty itself. These proceedings, instead of meeting with the approbation of the queen excited her displeasure, as she conjectured their aim was to engage her further than she chose to embark in their interests. The States had promised themselves important services from the abilities of Leicester; but they were grievously disappointed, their enemies extending their conquests, in spite of all his endeavours; and to add to their misfortunes, Sir Philip Sidney, his nephew, was slain in a skirmish between a party of the Spanish and English troops, to the regret not only of his uncle, but the whole army, by whom he was universally respected as a most amiable and exalted character. His name has been immortalized by the writings as well of cotemporary as of succeeding authors.

Having been baffled in all his attempts, the earl took leave of the United States and embarked for England. The queen, convinced of the necessity of being on friendly terms with her northern neighbours, dispatched an ambassador to king James with proposals for an offensive and defensive league between the two nations, as a mutual security against the devices of the catholic princes; and a treaty was concluded on the following terms: that both powers should defend the protestant religion against all its enemies in either kingdom; that if either of the powers should be attacked, the other should give no assistance either directly or indirectly to the aggressor; that in case England should be invaded at a distance from Scotland, James should furnish the queen with a thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry; and that in case Scotland should be attacked in the same manner, the queen should assist James with three thousand horse, and double that number of infantry; but in case of England's being invaded in any place within sixty miles of the borders, the king of Scotland should join Elizabeth's army with all his forces; that the two powers should mutually deliver up, or at least expel from their dominions, the rebellious subjects of each other; that neither party should conclude any treaty to the prejudice of these articles, without the other's consent; that this treaty should be ratified on both sides by letters patent; that it should not derogate from former treaties made between the two crowns, or from those made by either crown with other potentates, except in what concerned religion; with regard to which, this league, offensive and defensive, should remain firm and inviolable; that this treaty should be confirmed by the states of Scotland, when the king should have attained the age of five and twenty, and in like manner, it should receive the sanction of the English and Irish parliaments.

Notwithstanding this very politic treaty with James of Scotland, and the security Elizabeth might hope to derive against the attempts of foreign enemies, she was constantly annoyed by the machinations of domestic foes. Popish emissaries were continually plotting against her, and some bigotted devotees, at the instance of their priest, had actually engaged to take her off. A number of miscreants were hired for this horrid purpose, by one Babington, a yeoman of Derbyshire; but through the vigilance of secretary Walsingham, they were apprehended at Harrow in the disguise of peasants, and delivered up to the proper officers. They confessed the conspiracy, pleaded guilty at their trials, and were executed to the number of fourteen



teen in St. Giles's fields, the place of their rendezvous.

As the queen of Scots was suspected by Elizabeth of privately abetting these insidious attempts on her life, it was determined to bring her to immediate trial; but as Mary, through confinement, had received no intelligence of the discovery of Babington's plot, it was with equal surprize and concern, that she was conducted to Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire, which was to be the last stage of her mortal pilgrimage. Her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scotchman, were arrested and committed to prison; and, on examination, are said to have owned a correspondence with Babington; that their mistress dictated the letters in French, which Curle translated into English, and then they were written in cyphers. Copies officially attested were transmitted to the French court, to criminate Mary on the one hand, and of course exculpate Elizabeth on the other.

A provisional law having passed with immediate reference to this long determined event, it was deemed expedient to try Mary not on the common statutes of treason, but by the precise letter of this provisional law. Accordingly a commission was issued to forty peers and five judges, or the major part of them, to try and pass sentence on Mary, daughter and heiress of James V. king of Scots, commonly called queen of Scots. Thirty-six of these commissioners arriving at Fotheringay, presented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to submit to a trial. She perused the letter with great composure; but expressed surprize, that Elizabeth should command her as a subject; she declared that the laws of England were unknown to her; that she was destitute of council; nor could she conceive who were to be her peers; that she was even robbed of her own papers, and no person permitted to plead her cause.

The commissioners would by no means admit of the plea drawn either from royalty, or captivity; Mary, therefore, incensed at this derogation from her dignity, declared, that sooner than bow the knee as a subject to any earthly potentate, she would suffer a thousand deaths; yet she was ready to vindicate herself in a full and free parliament. She exhorted them to consult their own consciences, and remember, that the theatre of the world was far more extensive than the kingdom of England. At length, wrought on by an observation, hinting the suspicion she would incur by avoiding a trial, she agreed to appear, if they would dispense with her non-admittance of subjection; till at length she was constrained on terms of no effect and merely formal, to comply with the injunction of the commissioners.

After these preparatory measures, the solemn scene was began, and the council for the crown opened the charge against the arraigned queen; when, in order to aggravate her guilt, Babington's plot was adduced amongst other circumstances. She peremptorily denied that charge in particular, and, on his confession being read, wherein mention was made of the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, she shed a flood of tears, exclaiming, "Alas! what has the noble house of Howard suffered for my sake!"

She frankly acknowledged she had exerted her utmost efforts to regain her liberty, but positively denied she had ever harboured a thought against the life of Elizabeth. This, indeed, was the principal

article of the impeachment, and the only one which could apologize for the violent measures that were taken against her: in order, therefore, to prove the point, the written evidence of her two secretaries were produced; but she affirmed, they had been either intimidated or bribed into a confession of what was absolutely false; she said she was not to be convicted but by her own words or hand writing; she desired she might be confronted with her secretaries; demanded a copy of her protest, an advocate to plead her cause, and a fair hearing in full parliament.

But as it appeared from many cases in point, that these demands in matters of high treason were inadmissible, they were urged in vain by the unfortunate royal culprit. The court, after having sat several days, adjourned to the twenty-fifth of October, at the Star-chamber in Westminster, when all the commissioners appeared except Shrewsbury and Warwick. The different papers and copies in support of the respective charges being produced, and formally attested by the depositions of witnesses in court, immediate reference was had to the affair of Babington, and sentence was thereupon pronounced against the queen of Scots, for having been privy to Babington's plot; and imagined divers devices against the life of the queen, contrary to the form of a statute specified in the commission.

To preclude the young king from any disagreeable consequences that might ensue from this transaction, a declaration was issued, importing, "that the sentence did not derogate from James, king of Scotland, in his title and honour, but that he was in the same rank and right, as if the said sentence had never been pronounced."

The queen's most sanguine wishes were now gratified in the conviction and sentence of her unfortunate rival Mary queen of Scots; notwithstanding which, with her usual dissimulation, she affected to disapprove of the measures adopted by parliament, so that when they addressed her that the sentence might be put in execution, she intreated them to wave a request so repugnant to her inclination; and, on their renewing their instances, affected to amuse them with ambiguous replies.

Averse, however, as she pretended to be to the execution, she at length complied with the request of parliament, to the publication of the sentence pronounced against Mary; which being done according to usual form, two persons were sent to notify it to that princess, and exhort her to prepare for approaching death. She received the message without the least sign of emotion, and, with a cheerful countenance, thanked God, that her toilsome pilgrimage would soon have an end. She was then divested of all badges of royalty, an indignity of which she complained to Elizabeth; she desired she might not be put to death in private; that her body, after her suffering, might be sent to France; that her servants might enjoy the small legacies she should bequeath, and be permitted to depart unmolested to their own country.

But the princes of Europe could not behold these transactions of the English parliament with an indifferent eye, and therefore united their respective interests in endeavouring to protract at least the sentence pronounced against the queen of Scots. Even Henry III. of France, notwithstanding his known aversion to the house of Guise, took upon him to interpose in her behalf, and to appear in defence of the common rights of royalty. Believre, his ambassador, being admitted to the queen's



*Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England?*



*Born .  
December 7. 1542 .*

*Crowned at Sterling  
in her Infancy, 1543.*

*Beheaded  
February 8. 1587 .*



queen's presence, remonstrated on the death of Mary, as an outrage against the law of nature, and the dictates of humanity, as well as a flagrant insult to every sovereign in particular. The peremptory behaviour of the French ambassador induced the queen to demand, if he was authorized by his master to use such language. He replied in the affirmative, and avowed his assertion in writing. She then laconically told him, that she should transmit her resolution by her own ambassador; and Bellievre departed without effecting the business on which he was sent.

A. D. 1587. Neither was any great regard paid by Elizabeth to the entreaties or remonstrances of James, who was no sooner informed of the trial and condemnation of his mother, than he dispatched Sir William Keith, gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London with a letter written with his own hand, conjuring Elizabeth to spare the life of a beloved parent; otherwise he should think himself indispensably bound, by every tie of duty and honour, to revenge her death; and intreating her to defer the execution of the sentence, until he could find an ambassador with such proposals as he hoped might prove satisfactory. The execution was deferred with much reluctance on the part of Elizabeth, and the master of Gray, and Sir Robert Melville, arriving at length in London, proposed that their king should give the chief of his nobility, as hostages, for the future good behaviour of his mother, who should resign her right of succession to her son, and this resignation should be guaranteed by foreign princes. The queen rejected these proposals with the most scornful disdain, and when the ambassadors importuned her to defer the execution for a week, she vehemently replied, "No; not for an hour."

After these various applications, entreaties and remonstrances had passed in all their different forms, Elizabeth sent for Davison, who had lately been made secretary, and commanded him to draw out a warrant for the execution of Mary queen of Scots, which having signed, she desired it might be carried to the chancellor, in order to have the seal affixed to it. Next day she sent two messengers successively to interdict the mandate of the preceding day, and when she was told the warrant had already passed the great seal, she affected the utmost concern, and asked, what need there was for such expedition? The order for the execution was directed to the earls of Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, and Cumberland, who were ordered to have the queen of Scots beheaded in their presence. Those noblemen, therefore, repaired to Fotheringhay castle, and, being introduced to Mary, acquainted her with the nature of their commission, and required her to prepare for death the next morning.

Mary bore this alarming information with serenity and composure; she declared that she could not be induced to believe that Elizabeth would have consented to her death; then laying her hand on a New Testament which happened to be on the table, she solemnly protested, that she had never devised, or consented to any design against the person of Elizabeth. She desired with peculiar earnestness, that now, in her last moments, her confessor might be permitted to attend her, the denial of which argued an equal want both of religion and humanity, as such indulgence is granted to the most infamous delinquents. Mention being made of Babington, she solemnly disclaimed all knowledge of the conspiracy; and the revenge of

her wrongs she resigned into the hands of the Almighty Judge of the world.

The business necessary previous to her dissolution she settled with deliberation and accuracy. She wrote her will with her own hand, distributing her money, jewels, and cloaths among her servants, according to their rank and merit. Early the next morning she retired to her closet, and spent a considerable time in devotion. Her whole deportment, upon this affecting occasion, was solemn, and becoming her exalted rank. When the high sheriff entered her chamber and told her that her hour was come, she replied, that she was ready, and bidding adieu to her weeping servants, followed him with a serene and composed aspect. She was attired in a mourning habit, but with an elegance and splendor which she had long laid aside. An Agnus Dei hung by a diamond chain at her neck, her beads at her girdle, and in her hand she carried a crucifix of ivory. In passing through a hall adjoining to her apartments, Sir Andrew Melville, master of her household, meeting her, fell on his knees, and shedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune, in being destined to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland, "Weep not, (said the wretched queen) but rather rejoice, that Mary Stuart will soon be freed from all her cares. Tell my friends, that I die constant in my religion, and firm in my fidelity towards Scotland and France. God forgive them, who have thirsted after my blood. Thou, O God! who art truth itself, and perfectly understandest the inward thoughts of my heart, knowest how sincerely I have desired an union between the realms of England and Scotland. Commend me to my son, and assure him I have done nothing prejudicial to the state or crown of Scotland. Admonish him to persevere in amity with the queen of England; and see that thou do him faithful service."

When she surveyed the executioner and the implements of death, together with all the apparatus and appendages to the approaching scene, exhibiting a dismal, melancholy view, she gave evident proofs, by the serenity of her countenance, of composure and resignation to her fate. The surrounding spectators could not refrain the tears of sympathy, now compassionating the fate of a princess endowed with accomplishments to adorn her dignified station, and conciliate the affections of her subjects, and the regard of mankind in general. When her warrant was read, to which she listened with a careless air, like one whose attention was engrossed by thoughts of another nature, the dean of Peterborough repeated a long exhortation, which she twice interrupted, desiring him to forbear, as she was firmly resolved to die in the Roman catholic religion. When the dean ceased to exhort, she prayed first in Latin, from the office of the Virgin Mary; and afterwards in English, fervently recommending the church, her son, and queen Elizabeth, to the protection of the Almighty. When her acts of devotion were finished, she gave the necessary orders for preparations to her female attendants, and chid them for want of resolution upon that trying occasion, bidding them cease their womanish lamentations, for now the period of her sorrows was come. To her male attendants she exhibited the same proofs of courage and serenity, and bade them adieu with a placid countenance. With equal magnanimity she cordially forgave all concerned in her death, and after solemnly declaring her innocence as to the crime of



compassing the death of queen Elizabeth, either by direct or indirect means, gave the token to the executioner, who at one stroke put a period to her existence.

Thus fell, by an untimely fate, Mary queen of Scots, in the forty-fifth year of her age, having passed almost nineteen of the same in a state of captivity. Her person was attracting and her manners engaging; which caused her to be respected by the one sex, and admired by the other. As it is the lot of humanity to err, and the best characters are not exempt from foibles, her womanish frailties in the instance of her passion for Darnley, in the judgment of candor, will be deemed venial. With respect to that part of her conduct, which was the effect of her attachment to the doctrines and principles of the Romish church, it must be imputed to the prejudices of education, and that unlimited sway which furious zeal and blind bigotry have maintained over the most liberal and enlightened minds. Her crimes were more than compensated by her sufferings in this state of existence, which will ever fully the character of queen Elizabeth. Succeeding monarchs will do well to shun her foibles, and imitate her virtues.

The queen of England was no sooner informed of the death of Mary, than she affected the utmost astonishment, and most extravagant sorrow. She commanded the members of the council to quit her presence, and Davison the secretary to be prosecuted in the Star-chamber. She dispatched her relation Robert Cary with a letter to the king of Scotland, expressing her grief at the lamentable accident, which (she said) happened contrary to her intention; and professing the warmest regard and affection for him and his concerns.

The young king, who was neither so short-sighted, nor untaught in the school of human nature, as not to discern the egregious fallacy of Elizabeth's words and actions, discovered a just resentment for a long oppressive and cruel treatment of his royal parent, and refused her ambassador access to his person. The Scottish nation in general espoused his cause, vowing vengeance against Elizabeth, and offering to stand by him at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. James also, to confirm his resolution, ordered his ambassadors to be recalled; however, through the influence of some of his courtiers, he was dissuaded from commencing hostilities. In the interim, Lord Hunsdon arrived with a commission from the English court, and James, through his arts, relaxed both in his resentment and military operations.

A. D. 1588. Philip of Spain, as was natural to suppose, availed himself of these commotions, and was preparing for an invasion of England, of which the queen receiving intelligence, she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet of ships to destroy his vessels, and intercept his provisions. This active commander sunk two galleys in the bay of Cadiz, took, burnt, and destroyed an hundred vessels loaded with provisions and ammunition, together with a large galleon, loaded with merchandize. He then reduced three forts at Cape St. Vincent, and destroyed all the small craft along the coast as far as Cascaes at the mouth of the Tagus, where the marquis of Santa Cruz lay with his squadron; but he could not bring him to an engagement.

The Spanish monarch, determined to fulminate the anathemas of the church, as well as military thunder against the English queen, procured from the pope a consecrated banner, with fresh bulls

for excommunicating Elizabeth as an heretic, publishing a crusade against her, and absolving all her subjects from the oath of allegiance. He pretended to be the next catholic heir to the crown of England, as a descendant from the two daughters of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and determined to land his forces at the mouth of the Thames, in the neighbourhood of London.

Fired with religious as well as military enthusiasm, he equipped a most formidable armament, consisting of one hundred and thirty sail of ships, manned with nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers, eight thousand two hundred and fifty seamen, and two hundred and eighty galleys, mounted with two thousand three hundred and forty pieces of cannon.

The queen of England, apprized of this vigorous effort, strenuously exerted herself in the equipment of an armament to ward off the fatal blow that was generally apprehended from the superior force of this formidable armada. She made choice of officers of approved valour and experience. Lord Howard of Effingham was appointed lord high admiral of England, and sent with a strong squadron to the westward, where he was joined by Sir Francis Drake, now appointed vice admiral. She ordered lord Henry Seymour to cruise along the coast of Flanders, with forty English and Flemish ships, to prevent the prince of Parma from putting to sea with the Spanish troops under his command.

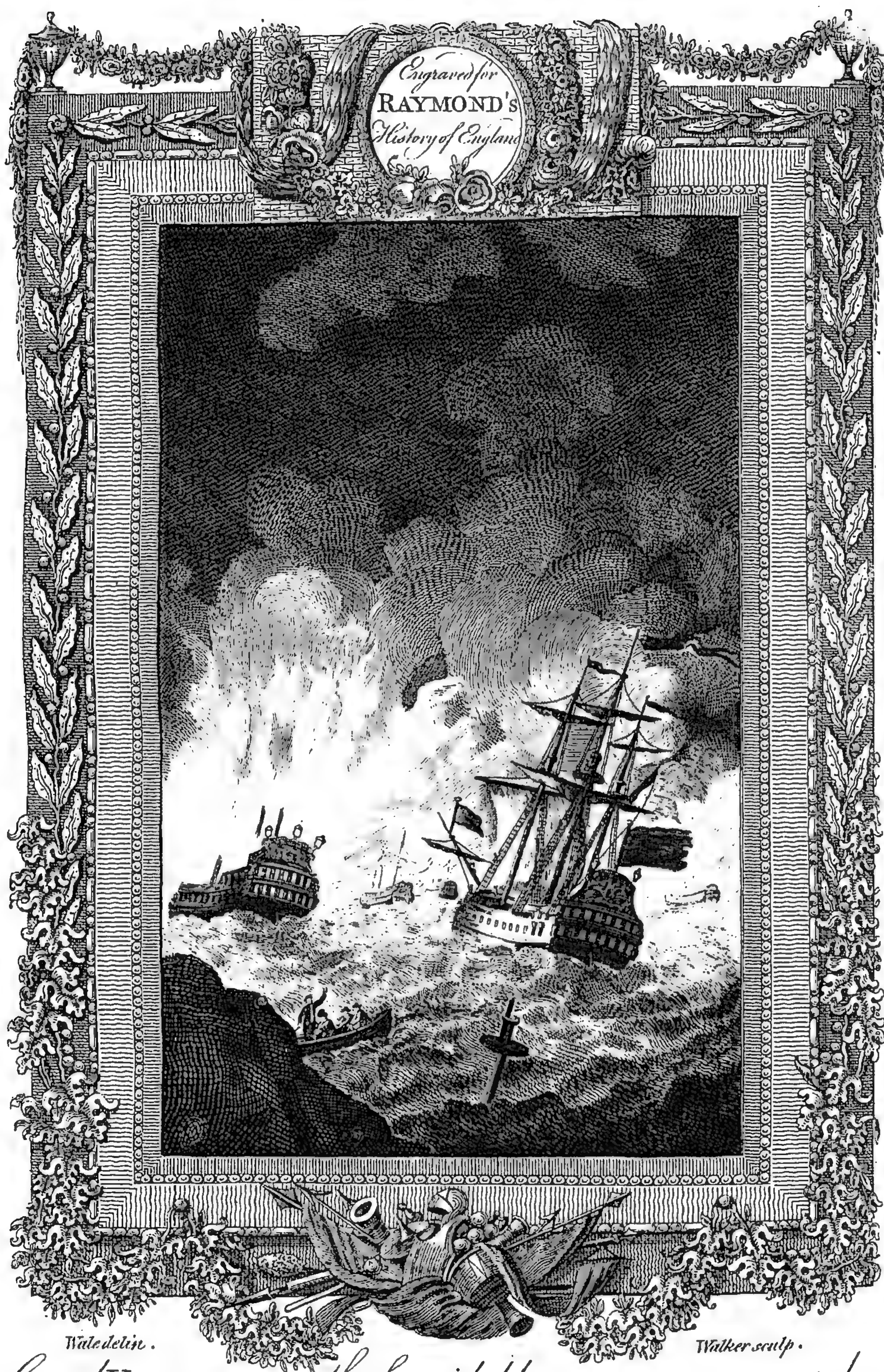
Detached bodies were posted along the different coasts, to give alarm in case of an attempt of invasion; while the main army, headed by lord Hunsdon, was appointed as a guard to the queen, who endeavoured to animate her troops by appearing personally on horseback at Tilbury, and addressing herself to them in a spirited harangue.

In order the more effectually to frustrate the attempts of Philip, Elizabeth wisely secured the friendship, and obtained the assistance of the neighbouring states. With this view, she sent new instructions to her several ambassadors; and by her friends, wrought upon James to oppose the popish party, and the hostile intentions of the Spanish monarch, whose mighty armament was fully equipped for the important destination by the beginning of May; but fortunately for the English, the marquis of Santa Cruz, admiral and commander in chief, was suddenly taken off by a fever at the critical time on which they had received sailing orders. Santa Cruz was succeeded in the command by the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of very high descent, but wholly inexperienced in maritime matters.

The English took care to avail themselves of this fortuitous circumstance in augmenting their armament; at length, however, the Spanish fleet, elated with assurance of victory, sailed from Lisbon, but next day was encountered by a violent storm, which dispersed the ships, sunk some of the smallest, and obliged the rest to take shelter in the Groyne, where they put in to repair.

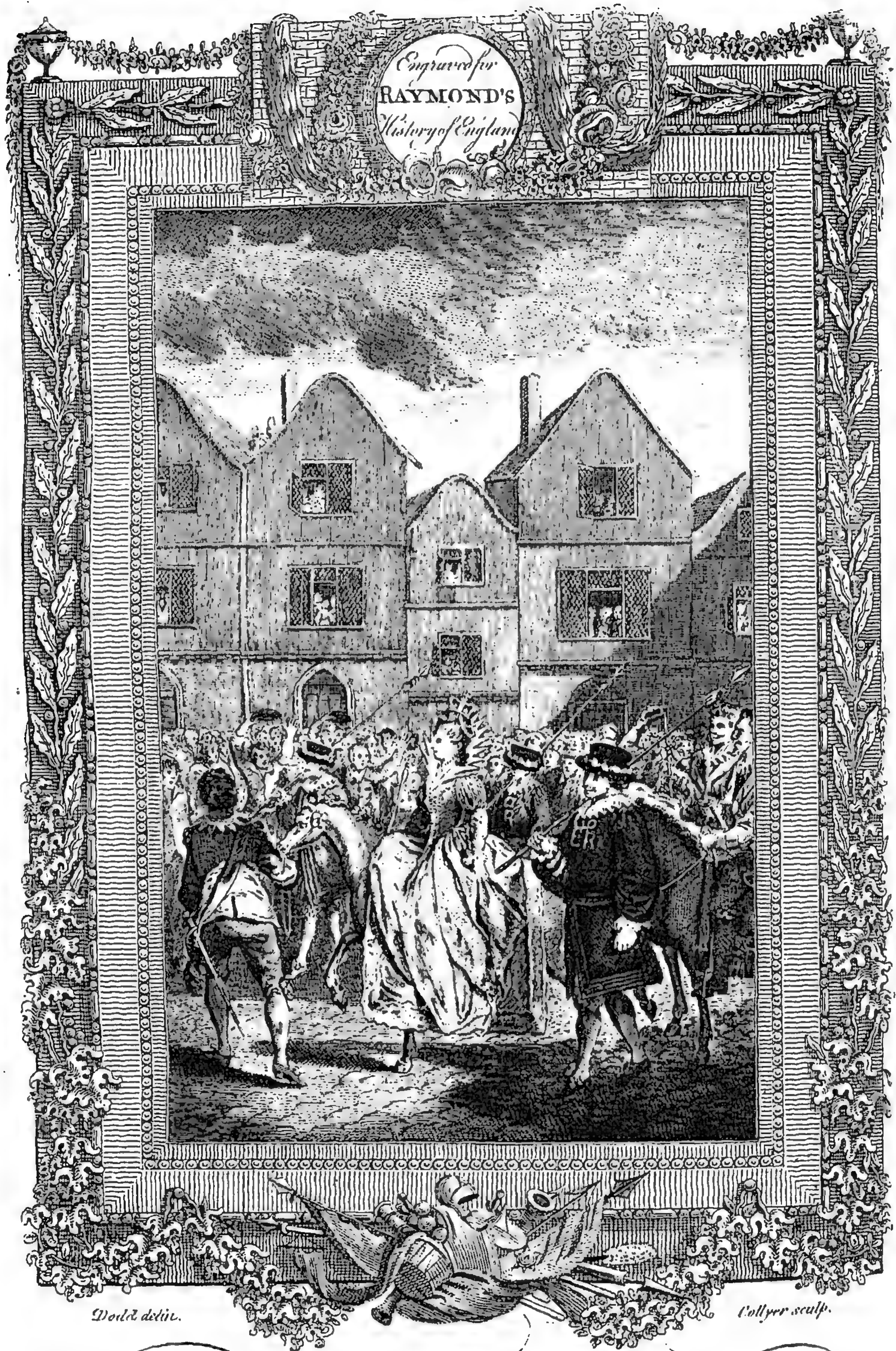
The English admiral, on receiving intelligence of this accident, gave the signal to the fleet for weighing, and immediately made for Spain, hoping from the loss the enemy had sustained through stress of weather, to annoy them in their harbours; but the wind shifting, he returned to Plymouth, on suspicion that they might avail themselves of this opportunity, to enter the English channel, while he was absent. Nor was his suspicion groundless; for on the very day after his return





*W. delin.* *Walker sculp.*  
Grand VICTORY over the formidable SPANISH ARMADA, by  
Lord Howard, the Admirals S.<sup>r</sup> Francis Drake, Forbisher,  
in the Year 1588.





*The PROCESSION of QUEEN ELIZABETH to ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL,  
to return Thanks for the Conquest of the Great Spanish Armada.*



to port, the Spanish fleet was seen off the Lizard on the coast of Cornwall.

Lord Howard had just cleared the harbour, when he observed the Spanish Armada advancing in full sail towards him, drawn up in the line of battle. He strictly enjoined his officers to avoid a close engagement with the Spaniards, as the size of their ships and the number of their men would be a disadvantage to the English; but ordered them to cannonade at a distance, and to watch every opportunity of intercepting any of their scattered vessels. As the Armada proceeded up the channel, the English hung upon their rear, and annoyed them by an incessant firing. This manœuvre produced a very good effect on the part of the English, who, being animated by the prospect of that honour, which they must receive from the conquest of this tremendous Armada, deemed invincible; several noblemen and persons of fortune distinguished themselves by fitting out ships at their own expence, and engaging as volunteers in the service of their country. Among these were the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas, and Sir Robert Cecil, and the famous Sir Walter Raleigh.

The Spanish admiral had by this time brought to an anchor off Calais, in order to obtain the assistance of the duke of Parma; but this design was happily defeated by means of a scheme concerted by lord Howard, in order to prevent the enemy's fleet from joining. He caused eight of his smaller ships to be filled with all kinds of combustible materials, and sent them into the midst of the Armada. The Spaniards immediately cut their cables and put to sea, and the English attacked them next morning while they were endeavouring to muster off Gravelines. The engagement began at four in the morning, and lasted till six in the evening, during which the English, who had both wind and tide in their favour, sunk and drove ashore thirteen sail of the line, took one of their galleons, and another fell into the hands of the Zealanders. The damages sustained by stress of weather, as well as losses in the late action, together with want of provisions, induced the Spaniards to make for their own coast; but as the winds were against them in the passage through the channel, they proposed to sail north about, and return to Spain by way of the Orkney Islands. The English chased them during some time, and had not their ammunition fallen short, they had compelled the whole Armada to surrender at discretion.

This conclusion of the enterprize would have been more advantageous to the English; but the event proved fatal to the Spaniards. A violent tempest overtook their fleet after it had passed the Orkney's; seventeen of their ships, having five thousand men on board, were cast away on the Western-islands, and the coast of Ireland. The people of Spain were filled with consternation at the loss of upwards of half the fleet, and the advantages obtained by the English. Of the whole Armada, through various accidents, fifty-three ships only returned to Spain, and those in a very shattered condition; so that through the disadvantages of wind and tide, and the terrible loss the Spaniards sustained by distress of weather, their mighty hopes fell to the ground, and success upon the whole declared in favour of the English.

Thus terminated this mighty enterprize, which had been preparing for three years, had exhausted the revenues of Spain, filled the Catholics with the most sanguine hopes, and the Protestants with

the most terrible apprehensions. A public thanksgiving on this occasion was ordered by Elizabeth, who repaired, in great solemnity, to St. Paul's, to perform that sacred duty; and eleven standards taken from the enemy were hung up in the cathedral, as trophies of the success of the English. The queen bestowed rewards on many of her officers, who had so nobly exerted themselves in defence of their country; and the whole kingdom was one continued scene of joy.

But amidst these great and unexpected successes, she could not conceal an extreme concern for the loss of her unworthy favourite Leicester, who died of a fever, at the very time in which the queen's patent was making out for appointing him her viceroy of the kingdom of Ireland. This nobleman possessed no merit political nor military, yet the queen, from private attachment, advanced him to such points of government, as exposed her own foibles, and might have proved destructive to the nation in general.

A. D. 1589. A political scheme was now discovered between some noblemen and the duke of Parma, who had supplied them with a sum of money to excite commotions in Scotland; but the king immediately assembling a powerful army, they were obliged to surrender at discretion. In the mean time, the Scottish monarch had concluded a treaty of marriage with the princess Anne, daughter to the king of Denmark. James repaired thither in October, attended by a numerous retinue; the nuptials were solemnized at Upslo, and they passed the winter in Denmark.

The success obtained by the English, and the adverse fate of Spain, in the defeat of their mighty armament, excited fresh commotions in that kingdom. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural son of one of the royal family of Portugal, had trumped up a claim to the crown of that kingdom, and had solicited the assistance of Elizabeth in asserting his pretensions. The queen gave her consent, and Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, undertook to espouse his cause as private adventurers. Those officers having embarked about twelve thousand sailors and soldiers, sailed from Plymouth in April, and landing near Ferrol, invested Corrunna. They took the lower town by assault, but the upper part, situated on a rock, they could not reduce for want of artillery. The count d'Androda marching to its relief with a body of eight thousand men, they raised the siege, and attacked him at the bridge of Brugas, where he was defeated. But these adventurers failed in their attempt, through an epidemical distemper, which obliged them to reembark their forces and return to England.

Notwithstanding this failure, the earl of Cumberland, the spring following, undertook another expedition, and sailing to the Azores took and demolished the castle of Fayal, and brought home a great number of valuable prizes.

At the end of the year died Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, a minister not more distinguished by the abilities of his head than the virtues of his heart. Though he had passed through many great and lucrative employments, such was his integrity and generosity, that he died poor, and was interred in a private manner. He left only one daughter, first married to Philip Sidney, and afterwards to the earl of Essex. A kind of general mortality ensued amongst the most able and faithful servants of the crown; the principal of these were, Ambrose Dudley, earl of



Watwick, Sir Thomas Randolph, chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Thomas Crofts, comptroller of the household, George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and Thomas lord Wentworth, formerly governor of Calais, and last, though not least either in ability and integrity, Sir Christopher Hatton, chancellor of England, and of the university of Oxford.

As the trade to the East Indies was justly deemed the source of Spanish wealth, Elizabeth determined to attack them in that quarter; for which purpose she dispatched a fleet of seven sail of the line to intercept the India ships, but this scheme was frustrated by the precaution of the Spanish monarch, who had issued orders for a convoy of fifty sail to protect them.

Lord Howard, in obedience to orders, stood out to sea with five sail, but the rear-admiral's ship being unfortunately surrounded by the enemy, he achieved prodigies of valour in its defence, till being overpowered by numbers, and having himself received many wounds, he gave orders for blowing her up, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy: this rash order was, however, countermanded, and the gallant admiral Grenville died of his wounds in a few days.

A. D. 1592. The queen, from her attachment to the protestant cause, still continued to protect the Hugonots in France, where she sent them a considerable reinforcement, and issuing a proclamation, forbidding her subjects from assisting the leaguers, or the king of Spain, with corn, ammunition, or naval stores. Fifteen ships of war were sent to annoy the Spaniards in the West Indies, under the command of Sir Walter Raleigh; but his fleet being dispersed in a storm, the expedition was countermanded. She also dispatched a small squadron to cruise off the Azores; and Sir Martin Forbisher, to the coast of Spain, in order to wait for the Spanish carracks from the East Indies. Burroughs, who commanded the first of these squadrons, burned one galleon, and took another very richly laden. Whether from Elizabeth's zealous attachment to the protestant interest both at home and abroad, or the ambition and jealousy of her disposition, she was seldom free from numerous and frequently powerful enemies. Amongst the rest, Sir John Perrot, late lord deputy of Ireland, was suspected of abetting insurrections in that kingdom, and being brought to trial, was convicted, and committed to the Tower, where he ended his days after a long confinement.

A. D. 1593. Such was the rancour and animosity between the protestant and popish parties, that the latter were ever devising means of harassing the former both at home and abroad. Hence political intrigues and hostile efforts never ceased; the court of Spain was neither idle in devising or executing projects. They excited new commotions in Scotland, which, together with the detection of a dangerous conspiracy of some catholic noblemen, greatly alarmed the queen, who, fearful of the designs of James, sent to congratulate him on the discovery of the plot; to assure him of her assistance, and pressed him to punish the disaffected lords; at the same time requesting Bothwell's pardon, who had twice attempted to seize the king's person, and fled to England, where he was protected by the queen, who refused to deliver him up to James according to treaty. But the Scottish king retorted on Elizabeth the very plea she urged in favour of Bothwell, as the

ground of his non-compliance; though, at the same time he promised to bring the heads of the insurgents to severe trial, and, on conviction, to treat them with the utmost rigour.

The finances of James being nearly exhausted, and the fitting out a force to quell the commotions in his kingdom requiring a supply, he sent Sir Robert Melville to England to obtain the same. Melville did not succeed in his negotiation; and Bothwell returning privately into Scotland, so ingratiated himself with the nobility, that they introduced him into the king's bed-chamber, where imploring pardon on his knees, and seconded by the intercession of the English ambassador, he obtained forgiveness. But as the highest acts of clemency cannot influence abandoned minds, Bothwell, in violation of the laws of duty and gratitude, returned to his former infamous practices, was arrested by the hand of justice, and suffered the punishment due to his atrocious crimes.

The parliament, this session, voted her majesty a supply adequate to the extraordinary demands of the state; harassed by internal commotions, they enacted a severe law against seditious sectaries, and disloyal persons; for these two kinds of criminals were always, in that age, confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of society. This statute bore as hard upon the puritans as the catholics, as by it all persons above sixteen years of age, absenting themselves from divine service, as performed in the church of England, for the space of one month, were ordered to be imprisoned.

The perfidy of the French nation soon became as apparent as that of the Spanish; for the former, instead of employing the English auxiliaries in the expulsion of the forces of the latter from Britany, used them only as a check upon the invaders; so that Elizabeth would have recalled her troops, had she not been prevented by the marshal d'Aumont, who assured her, in his master's name, that a vigorous attempt would soon be undertaken, for the entire reduction of Britany.

The French king being convinced, from the prevalence of popish bigotry and superstition in his kingdom, of the impossibility of obtaining the confidence of the people, while he was in any degree favourable to the contrary principles, solemnly renounced the reformed doctrines, and declared himself a convert to the church of Rome; which when Elizabeth was made acquainted with, she severely upbraided him with apostacy; which he frankly imputed to the indispensable necessity of his circumstances. However, she dispensed with his conduct from political motives, and an affected friendship still subsisted between them.

The queen, having so effectually secured her crown and government by parliamentary sanction, the attempts of her enemies were not only frustrated, but generally retorted on themselves. Rodrigo Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, domestic physician to the queen, being arrested on suspicion, acknowledged that he had been bribed to poison her, by Fuentes, and Ibani, who had succeeded the duke of Parma in the government of the Netherlands; but he declared that he had no other view, than to defraud them of their money, and never intended to perform his promise. But this subterfuge, in a matter of such importance, could not avail; so that the doctor and two accomplices suffered as traitors, though the foreign noblemen were never brought to condign punishment.

A. D. 1594. As the most effectual method of avenging herself on her foreign enemies, Eliza-  
beth



both afforded the French monarch very powerful assistance, and entered into a new treaty with him, that no peace should be made with the Spaniards, without the consent of both parties.

Such was the extraordinary valour of the English, in every action with the common enemy, that the queen, from motives of humanity, was frequently compelled to check the impetuous ardour of her commanders, both naval and military; to which she imputed the vast effusion of the blood of her loyal subjects. Sir Martin Forbisher, her brave admiral, lost his life with many others, before Brest. It had been stipulated in the late treaty, that Morlaix should be granted to the English as a place of retreat, but the French general evaded this agreement by causing it to be inserted in the articles, that none but catholics should be admitted into the city.

Bickerings had long prevailed between the French and Spanish monarchs, till at length they came to an open rupture; and the queen of England, leaving Henry to defend himself, thought it expedient to employ her armament in more important exploits. Notwithstanding she had an irreconcilable antipathy to the Spaniards, as her most implacable enemies, she would not expend her subsidies in the maintenance of an offensive war; but annoyed her enemy by granting commissions to private adventurers, who acted against them at their own expence. Richard Hawkins, commander of a merchantman, authorized by letters of marque, sailed into the South sea, where he took several prizes; James Lancaster, on the coast of Brazil, took nine and thirty ships, and made himself master of Fernambuco, where he loaded fifteen vessels with sugar, and the cargo of a rich carrack, and returned to England with immense booty.

A. D. 1595. Sir Walter Raleigh failed in the spring, on a voyage to the inland parts of South America, and having captured the city of St. Joseph from the Spaniards, took his course up the river Oroonoke, and returned to England, after a disappointment in search of gold mines, and the loss of half his crew by excessive heat of climate. This expedition was succeeded by another under the conduct of Sir Francis Drake and Sir Thomas Hawkins, who failed in conjunction against the Spanish settlements in America. The land forces, which they embarked, were commanded by Sir Thomas Baskerville. They safely arrived at St. Domingo, but their design being discovered, the Spaniards fortified the place in such a manner, that when they attempted to force it, they were repulsed. After this miscarriage, Hawkins died, and the fleet sailed to the continent, where they burned Rio de la Hacha, Santa Martha, and Nombre de Dios, and resolved to attack Porto Bello; but this scheme was prevented by the death of that gallant and experienced commander Sir Francis Drake, who was carried off by the flux, a disorder very prevalent in those climates.

Baskerville, on the demise of the two admirals, was under the necessity of taking upon himself the naval as well as military command; but as he found, from the distempered state of the men in general, he could do nothing effectual, he returned to England; indeed, neither party derived any benefit from this expedition.

Philip of Spain, whose restless and vindictive spirit was ever plotting schemes against the queen of England, raised new commotions in Ireland, through the instigation of Macguire and Mac-

mahon. The earl of Tyrone having been accused of maintaining a correspondence with the rebels, so forcibly vindicated his innocence before the governor, that he was dismissed as a loyal subject. But his fallacy became shortly notorious, by an open declaration for the rebel party, surprising the garrison of Blackwater in the absence of the governor, and committing acts of hostility against the loyalists, who were now opposed by a very powerful army, led on by commanders of approved valour, who had signalized themselves on the continent.

To suppress this alarming insurrection, before the rebels could be reinforced by a detachment of troops from the king of Spain, the queen ordered a body of men into Ireland, under the command of Sir John Norris, on whose approach to Armagh, Tyrone abandoned the fort of Blackwater, reduced the town of Dungannon, and the neighbouring villages to ashes; when the English general was compelled, for want of provisions, to retire, after leaving garrisons in Armagh and Monaghan, and agreeing with the insurgents for a truce till the beginning of the ensuing year.

A. D. 1596. In order to put a stop to the rebellion, without farther effusion of human blood, the queen offered a pardon to the insurgents on condition of their disbanding their troops, repairing the forts they had damaged, restoring the effects they had seized, and discovering their connections with foreign princes. These lenient measures were spurned at, though they agreed to protract the truce four months longer; during which the perfidious Tyrone privately corresponded with Philip, and at length, in order to make a shew of loyalty, transmitted to the queen's general letters he had received from Spain. But before the expiration of the truce, he capitulated with Norris, and delivered hostages in consequence of a pardon for himself and accomplices, though he would by no means make any profession of loyalty to the queen.

The English troops under Sir John Norris, having been recalled from Britany, in order to be sent into Ireland, the king of France was thereby much distressed, and under a necessity of applying to Elizabeth for a present supply for the relief of the province of Picardy. This was not granted, but the queen offered to send troops to garrison Calais, Boulogne, and Dieppe; but Henry did not think proper to trust her with the keeping those places. After this, the Spaniards invested Cambray, and Henry sent over Lommenie, his secretary of state, to press the queen of England for a speedy reinforcement; which being refused, the place was surrendered to the enemy. Elizabeth's neglect of compliance with so very important a request, at so critical a juncture, disgusted the king of France, and his council were desirous of making peace with the Spanish monarch.

The queen, at the instance of Burleigh, demanded of the United States, an immediate reimbursement of the sums she had advanced for their service; but as they were at that time incapable of raising the same, from the vast expence they had incurred in maintaining the war with Spain, they obtained a longer time, on condition of fitting out a fleet of four and twenty sail, to join the queen's navy against the Spaniards.

As their expeditions against the Spaniards in the East Indies had not proved the most successful, the English council determined to attack their dominions in Europe, where they were informed,



Philip was making great preparations for an invasion of England. A powerful fleet was, therefore, assembled at Plymouth; it carried six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand and seventy-two seamen. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Effingham, high admiral. The lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, and others, had commands in this expedition.

This mighty armament, under commanders of the first eminence for courage and conduct, sailed from England on the first of June, and being favoured with a fair wind, steered towards Cadiz, which was appointed as the place of general rendezvous. After having in vain attempted to land on the western side of the island, it was proposed, in a council of war, to attack the ships in the bay. The proposal being approved, the attack was made with such irresistible fury, that the enemy were obliged to cut their cables, and stand farther into the bay, where many of their ships were bulged upon the shore. Effex then landed with eight hundred men at the Puntal, and marched to attack a body of five hundred Spaniards, when the latter retreated into Cadiz; and being so closely charged, and the inhabitants thrown into such disorder, no measures could be taken for the defence of the place. The English entered the city by violence, and possessing themselves of the marketplace, and the garrison retiring into the castle, the inhabitants capitulated, on condition of being permitted to depart unmolested with their wearing apparel; but that all their other effects should be distributed as booty among the soldiers; that they should pay five hundred and twenty thousand ducats for the ransom of their lives, and send forty of their chief citizens to England, as hostages for the payment of the money.

But the grand object of this expedition, which was the capture of the enemy's ships, was defeated by the Spanish admiral's commanding them to be set on fire, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It is supposed, that the loss which the Spaniards sustained in this enterprize amounted to no less than twenty millions of ducats, besides the mortification which those proud and haughty people suffered by seeing one of their chief cities taken, and a fleet of such immense value destroyed in one of their own harbours.

The earl of Effex, emulous of fame, viewed this action as introductory to higher exploits, and therefore vehemently asserted the impropriety of giving up Cadiz, pledging himself to defend the place till succours should arrive from England; but the greatest part of the officers being desirous of returning with their booty, his motion was overruled, so that they returned to England, after having burned or plundered the adjoining villages.

Effex, who flattered himself that he had gained an absolute ascendancy over the mind of the queen, was highly chagrined to find that several offices of power and profit were disposed of, in the conferment of many of which he thought himself secure. Amongst these were Sir Robert Cecil, son to lord Burleigh, who was appointed secretary, a post to which he had strongly recommended Sir Thomas Bodley: his displeasure was still augmented by the queen's appointing Sir Francis Vere governor of the Brille, a place he had long solicited for himself; the queen slighted his recommendations, because opposed by old Cecil, a faithful servant, yet at the same time she discovered

visible tokens of distinguished respect for the earl.

Advice having been received that the Spanish monarch, notwithstanding the loss he had sustained by the English in Cadiz, was making preparations at different ports for a descent upon Ireland, the queen was determined to defeat his design, and to destroy the shipping in those harbours.

To this purpose, she equipped a formidable armament, naval and military, and appointed the earl of Effex commander in chief of the whole; lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, and lord Montjoy, were deputed to act in their respective stations under Effex. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with several other noblemen, served as volunteers. The commander's instructions were to destroy the Spanish fleets at Ferrol, and to proceed to the Azores. Effex sailed from Plymouth on the ninth day of July, but the fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, and the ships obliged to put in at different ports of England. He again attempted to sail about the latter end of August, but the fleet was damaged in such a manner, that laying aside all thoughts of assaulting Ferrol, he had no other object than that of laying in wait for the fleet on their homeward passage from India; he therefore made for the Azores, while Raleigh, being parted from the other admirals, arrived at Flores, and sailing to Fayal, took that town before he joined the commander in chief, who suspended him for proceeding without warrant from his superior officer.

Raleigh, however, from motives of generosity or expediency, was soon restored to the command of which he had been deprived for a time; though this circumstance laid the foundation of that violent animosity which afterwards prevailed between those two gallant commanders. Effex proposed to wait at the island of Graciosa, for the India fleet, but was persuaded by a pilot to sail to the isle of St. Michael, a safer harbour. At this island he met with three vessels, which had straggled from the fleet; these he brought with him, and made himself master of Villa Franca, where he found a considerable booty, and store of refreshment for his people. In the mean time, Sir Walter Raleigh destroyed an Indian carrack.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary prudence and sagacity of Elizabeth, an attachment to favourites frequently led her into measures which proved derogatory to her character, and subversive of the interests of the nation. To this foible was imputed the failure of the late expedition; Effex, the commander in chief, being unacquainted with naval affairs. The council were divided in favour of the earl and Sir Walter Raleigh, but the queen, with her usual policy, affected a neutrality in dispensing tokens of favour. The ambitious earl found that in his absence the lord high admiral had been advanced to the title of earl of Nottingham, a circumstance that gave him great offence; but was in some measure compensated, by his being promoted to the honour of earl marshal of England.

The urgency of public demands compelled the queen to call the parliament together so early as the month of October, in order to represent the necessity of an immediate supply, the treasury being exhausted through the immense expences incurred from the Spanish war.

A. D. 1598. During these transactions, Philip, to detach the French king from all connections with Eng-



England, made proposals for terms of accommodation, of which the queen obtaining intelligence, sent Sir Robert Carew to France, in order, if possible, to break off the treaty; but all her attempts were in vain, as the former was determined to give peace to his kingdom. The negotiations were carried on at Verbins; and on the twelfth of June, the truce was ratified by Henry, who recovered the possession of all the places, which had been taken by Philip during the course of the wars, and afforded himself an opportunity of regulating the internal policy of the nation.

The queen being deprived of so powerful an ally as the king of France, thought it expedient to found the disposition of the United States, as to the prosecution of the Spanish war. Though from her antipathy to king Philip, she was disposed to carry it on, she affected a desire of peace, alledging the heavy burthen it entailed on her subjects. The United States, sensible of the importance of her alliance, acceded to her proposals, and readily subscribed a treaty to the following import: That the states should give security for the payment of eight millions of florins, to which the queen limited her demands; that she should furnish eleven hundred and fifty men to garrison different fortresses, and to be paid by the states; that for the future, she should be discharged from her engagement to furnish any other auxiliary troops; that the power of the deputy of England, stipulated in the former treaty, should be abolished, though the queen reserved to herself the liberty of sending one person to sit in their council; that the states should furnish her with forty ships of war, five thousand foot soldiers, and five hundred cavalry, to act offensive or defensive against her enemies in case of necessity.

Soon after the signing of this treaty, lord Burleigh, who directed the queen in all political concerns, quitted this scene of precarious existence. He died in an advanced age, and as to his character, it may be said in brief, that he possessed those qualities which are necessary to form the courtier and the statesman. Elizabeth was consoled in some measure for the loss of her minister Burleigh, by the news she received of the death of her capital enemy, Philip, king of Spain, who was at length summoned to pay the debt of nature, in the sixty-second year of his age, after embroiling all Europe by his ambition during a reign of forty-two years.

The removal of an implacable foe afforded time for the council to attend to the commotions in Ireland, which now prevailed with greater ardour than ever. The earl of Tyrone had again rebelled, defeated and slain Sir Henry Bagnal, and reduced the fort of Blackwater. This renewal of the rebellion occasioned a dispute between the earls of Essex and Nottingham, about the nomination of a governor for Ireland; and the queen preferring the person recommended by the latter, Essex, transported by the violence of his passion, forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her with contempt. Elizabeth, justly provoked at his behaviour, so derogatory to her dignity, retorted it with a blow, attended with language equally significant of her displeasure; and the haughty impetuous earl expressed tokens of resentment as warm as those he had received from his incensed sovereign. However, through the interposition of Egerton the chancellor, who was attached to the earl, and some private rea-

sons that might urge both parties, the matter subsided, and Essex was restored to the good graces of the queen.

The insurrections in Ireland now threatening the most dangerous consequences, it was determined in council to exert the most vigorous measures in order to effect their total suppression. To this purpose, it was proposed, with the concurrence of the queen, to appoint lord Montjoy to that office, though he was much more of the scholar than the soldier. But Essex, whose darling passion was ambition, solicited the office for himself, and the queen, influenced by her prevailing foible, appointed him governor of Ireland, under the title of lord lieutenant.

A. D. 1599. To extend his power and enforce his authority, the queen vested him with a commission more full and ample than any preceding governor had received. The earl left London in the month of March, attended by the acclamations of the populace, and accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from an attachment to his person, had engaged in the service, and proposed to acquire fame, and military experience, under so celebrated a commander. The first instance of authority which he exercised, after his landing, though imprudent, was generous; and, in both respects, agreeable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horse; a nobleman who had offended the queen, by marrying without her consent; and whom she had therefore prohibited Essex from employing in any command under him. The queen was no sooner informed of this instance of disobedience, than she wrote him a severe letter, reprimanding him for his presumption, and ordering him to recall his commission to Southampton. But either from his attachment to his friend, or a consciousness of his influence with his royal mistress, he did not attend to the order, till it was repeated with a degree of vehemence.

Essex, persuaded of the necessity of vigorous efforts against the rebels without delay, determined to lead his army immediately into Ulster, against Tyrone, the capital enemy; but the Irish counsellors assured him, that the season was too early for such an enterprize, and therefore advised him to employ the present time in an expedition to Munster. In compliance with this advice, he compelled all the rebels of Munster either to submit or fly to the neighbouring provinces. But as the Irish were alarmed at these proceedings as preparatory to a design of total and absolute subjection, they united in the common cause, and the inhabitants of Munster not only revolted, but engaged in a design, with their countrymen in general, of detaching themselves entirely from the English government.

The queen's army being greatly reduced in number, from the fatigue of long marches, and the effects of a climate to which they were unaccustomed, the earl of Essex on his return to Dublin, transmitted to the English council an account of his condition, and informed them that unless he immediately received a supply of two thousand men, it would be impossible for him that season, to undertake any enterprize against Tyrone. To obviate all pretence for farther delay, the queen immediately sent over the number required; and Essex began to prepare for an expedition into Ulster, where the rebels had commenced their ravages.

But a kind of aversion to the expedition against the Irish, who were considered as fellow subjects, together



gether with the renown Tyrone had acquired, had such an effect upon the English soldiery, that many affected sickness, and some of them deserted; so that Essex, after leaving the necessary garrisons, could hardly lead four thousand men against the rebels. However, he marched with this small army; but being soon sensible, that as the winter was now approaching it would be impossible for him to subdue an enemy, who though superior in number was determined to avoid every opportunity of coming to a general engagement, he therefore acceded to a proposal made by Tyrone for a suspension of arms for three weeks, to be farther renewed as might afterwards be agreed upon. This circumstance, however, raised suspicions not the most honourable to the character of the lord lieutenant.

Nor could these proceedings be pleasing to Elizabeth, or the nation; or fail of affording the enemies of Essex ground for censure, after such mighty and formidable preparations. However, to anticipate any misrepresentations of his conduct that he foresaw might ensue, he wrote a letter to the queen, insinuating the advantages his enemies would take of the late event, to prejudice her against him, and beseeching her not to listen to their suggestions, till he should arrive, and personally vindicate his conduct.

This precaution did not produce the desired effect on the mind of his spirited mistress, who with singular austerity peremptorily enjoined him not to depart from Ireland, till he should know her farther pleasure. Essex, however, finding the queen extremely incensed against him, and suspicious of the efforts of his numerous foes, notwithstanding the royal injunction, determined to set out for England, and as a pretence to palliate such conduct, caused a report to be spread, that her majesty was dangerously ill, and that her life was even despaired of by her physicians. Leaving, therefore, the government of Ireland in the hands of the lord chancellor Loftus, and Sir George Carew, he embarked on the twenty-fourth of September, and in four days reached the court of Elizabeth, prostrated himself as an humble suppliant, and submitted his case to her wisdom, candor, and clemency.

A. D. 1600. In this transaction, as in all former ones with favorites, the queen was impelled by a kind of unavoidable necessity, to descend to the woman in ordinary with her sex. The behaviour of Essex, at first, soothed her into an insensible complacency; but as, on reflection after his departure, she was convinced of the censure which he had justly incurred from the people, as well as the council, from presuming to act in affairs of the utmost importance to the nation, without the order or permission of his sovereign, when he waited on her a second time, she behaved towards him with great austerity, and after upbraiding him with his unjustifiable conduct, commanded him to be confined to his own apartments, from whence he was committed to the custody of the lord-keeper, nor was even his countess suffered to visit him. This rigorous treatment, however just, so sensibly affected the mind of the earl, that it brought on him a very dangerous distemper, a circumstance that proved incontestibly the passion of the queen for this favorite. However, as she knew the cause, she adopted proper remedies to his disorder; so that through her assiduities, the earl was soon restored to perfect health.

The late impediments to military operations in Ireland favoured the efforts of the rebels, who proceeded in their ravages, and reduced the province

of Ulster; inasmuch, that Tyrone, encouraged by pope Clement VIII. aspired at the dominion of Ireland, and would probably have succeeded, had not his designs been frustrated by the seasonable appointment of lord Montjoy to the government of that kingdom, who not only stopped him in his career, but severely chastised the insolence of his adherents.

The pope, availing himself of the rebellion in Ireland, determined to revive the embers of disloyalty in England; and with this view, he sent two bulls into England, one addressed to the Romish clergy, the other to the people; in which both clergy and laity were forbidden, after Elizabeth's death, to acknowledge any sovereign, who would not swear not only to tolerate the exercise of the Catholic religion, but even to promote and support it by command and example. The same horrid practices were carried into execution in Scotland, where a plot was laid to murder king James, but timely prevented by the discovery and interposition of two loyal subjects, Sir Thomas Erskine, and John Ramsay.

Lord Montjoy, by his vigorous and successful exertions in quelling the rebellion in Ireland, had not only acquired the esteem of his sovereign, but eclipsed the fame of Essex, and afforded the queen an opportunity of stigmatizing the conduct of that nobleman with the severest reproaches. To express her disapprobation more fully, she had taken a resolution to have him examined in the Star-chamber, but at length according to usual custom, personal attachment overcame resentment, and she referred his conduct to the judgment of the privy council. Previous to his appearance at this august board, the queen signified to them, that her royal will and pleasure was not to have him condemned to any capital punishment, as guilty of treason; but merely to have him made sensible of his failure in point of allegiance, his neglect of her instructions, and disobedience of her positive commands, through the excess of his vanity, and the impetuosity of his temper; in this she pretended to be influenced by the partiality of the people towards him, who represented him as abused by the aspersions of many of his former rivals in power.

The charge was opened with all possible rigour against the earl, by Coke the attorney-general, who held forth his conduct in the most censurable point of view, alledging as the principal instances of conviction, his contempt of the queen's majesty, in appointing the earl of Southampton general of the horse, contrary to her injunction; his abandoning the enterprize against the rebel Tyrone; his conferring the order of knighthood, contrary to the express letter of his patent; the indignity of the terms he had suffered the rebels to propose; and lastly, the abandoning his government, not only without the queen's permission, but in absolute defiance of her positive orders. The solicitor-general confirmed the allegations of his brother Coke, represented the distressed state of Ireland in consequence of his default, and adduced other instances in conviction of the culprit.

Essex, in pleading for himself, artfully adopted the most submissive and respectful language, declaring, that he determined on no account to contend with his sovereign; he said, that having retired from the world, and resigned every aspiring claim, he was ready ingenuously to confess every failing and error into which he might have been led by youthful folly, or an impetuous temper; that the concern of his mind for the offences against her majesty



majesty was infinitely more poignant, than all his outward calamities; nor did he decline making a public confession of whatever she had imputed to him; but that amidst all his acknowledgements, he must insist upon one reserve which he would maintain with his latest breath; namely, the assertion of a loyal and dutiful heart, an unfeigned affection for her majesty, and an absolute devotion to her service, as far as his contracted abilities would permit, adding, moreover, that if the council would admit as a confirmed truth his unfeigned loyalty, notwithstanding the errors into which he might have fallen, he would, with heart-felt satisfaction, submit to the severest decree.

Such were the grace, elegance, and pathos with which the earl acquitted himself upon this solemn occasion, that he not only fixed the attention, but penetrated the hearts of the audience. The council were so sensibly affected by the powers of his elocution, that they admitted his claim to loyalty, and Cecil his professed foe, abated of his rigour, and adopted terms of moderation, insomuch that the sentence pronounced with the assent of the council, by the lord-keeper, was to the following effect: "If this cause had been heard in the star-chamber, my sentence must have been for as great a fine as was ever put upon any man in that court, together with imprisonment for life in the Tower. But as we are now in another place, with a view to a less rigorous process, my sentence is, that the earl of Essex be deprived of the posts of privy-counsellor, earl marshal of England, and master of the ordnance; that he return to his own house, there to remain a prisoner, till it shall please her majesty to free him from this and every other part of his sentence."

This sentence was received by Essex with such graceful humility and winning complacency, as induced her majesty not only to testify the highest approbation of his behaviour upon the occasion, but further to convince him, that she still retained an assurance of his loyalty, by preventing his sentence from being recorded; and giving him his liberty, though she forbade him the court. In consequence of this indulgence, he prepared to retire into the country, but, previous to his departure, sent a letter to the queen, fraught with those flattering insinuations, which he knew were most prevalent with Elizabeth. Nor did they fail of effect on the present occasion; for though she returned for answer, that facts and not words, were the proofs of sincerity, she intimated the probability of retrieving his former character by his future conduct, and consequently of being restored to that rank and dignity which he had justly forfeited. But through a kind of fatality the event proved fatal to the unfortunate earl.

A. D. 1601. In consequence of the lenity of the late proceedings, it was the universal opinion that Essex would be restored to his former dignities; but the impetuosity of his temper urged him to such rash and precipitate measures, as frustrated the design he wished to accomplish. He was now grown so confident of his influence with the queen, that he applied to her for a renewal of his patent for a monopoly of sweet wines, which was near expiring, and regarded this event as the critical circumstance that would determine whether he could ever hope to recover his authority.

The enemies of the earl, who were numerous and potent, could not fail of embracing this favourable opportunity of representing his conduct

to the queen upon the occasion as insolent and arrogant in the highest degree; so that his petition was rejected in such terms as the form and manner of it was thought to deserve. Essex, who had hitherto suppressed his resentment, now imagining that the queen was inexorable, broke through all the restraints of submission and prudence, and undertook a design to restore himself to favour by force, and to destroy all his enemies about the person of her majesty. He had ever been accustomed to carry matters with a high hand against his sovereign, but being now as it were reduced to despair, he gave full scope to the impetuosity of his disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect.

To carry his purposes, as it were, by force, he pursued every measure to gain the good-will of the people, opened his house for the reception of all malcontents, entered into a private correspondence with the king of Scots, (whose title to the crown of England he promised to support at the hazard of his life and fortune) and even prevailed on the lord Montjoy, lieutenant of Ireland, to engage to bring over part of his army into England to support his claim. He had formed a select council of malcontents, consisting of the earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir John Davis, and Sir John Littleton.

Having engaged a number of frantic partizans in his interest, consisting of one hundred and twenty persons of the first rank in the kingdom, it was determined, in a council held at Drury-house, to proceed in their designs with the utmost vigour and resolution. Among other dangerous schemes, it was debated in this malecontent assembly, whether it was most expedient to begin their attack with the palace or the Tower, or whether they should engage in both enterprizes at one and the same time; and after much dispute, it was determined, that Essex should sound the disposition of the citizens of London in his favour.

But intelligence of the designs of this frantic cabal having reached the ear of the queen and council, orders were immediately issued for doubling the guard of soldiers; and a message was dispatched to the lord-mayor, commanding him to preserve the peace in the city. At the same time, she sent Sir Robert Sackville, the treasurer's son, to Essex-house, under pretence of a visit, but in reality, with a view of discovering whether there were any just grounds for suspicion of a combination there formed against the government. In a short time, Essex was summoned to appear before the council, assembled in the dwelling house of the treasurer, from which circumstance, together with the late visit from Sir Robert Sackville, he concluded that the conspiracy was either fully discovered or strongly suspected. To evade an immediate scrutiny into his treasonable proceedings, and to excuse his non-attendance at the council-board, he pleaded indisposition, and dispatched messengers to his firmest adherents, requesting their advice and concurrence in the present emergency. In consequence of these dispatches, there assembled at Essex house, the following day, a great number of the confederates, whom the earl acquainted with the particular situation of affairs. By some it was deemed most prudent to throw himself at the queen's feet, and implore her mercy and protection; he was by others advised to address the mayor and citizens of London, for their aid and assistance on the present occasion.



The latter proposal being preferred to the former by the majority of the confederates, amongst whom was the earl of Southampton, and many of the earl's warmest adherents, it was resolved to carry it into execution as soon as possible. But Elizabeth, who by means of spies and agents obtained intelligence of the minutest transactions which passed in these rebellious councils, having commanded the magistrates of London to keep the citizens in readiness, sent the lord-keeper, the earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, comptroller, with the lord chief justice Popham, to enquire into the design of these unusual preparations.

Having at length got access to the earl, and proposed to him some interrogatories on the part of the queen, Essex briefly assigned (as the cause of the unusual military preparations in the city, and elsewhere,) the necessity of protecting his life at all hazard against the combined efforts of his professed enemies.

After much altercation, in which they commanded the earl and his adherents, upon their allegiance, to return to their duty, it was resolved by the confederates to make them prisoners, and accordingly, Essex, turning from them suddenly into another room, that in which they were was immediately locked, and a guard appointed to watch over them. Such a flagrant indignity offered to the queen's majesty in the persons of her messengers, was adding crime to crime; so that Essex, seized as it were with a fit of despair, sallied forth with about two hundred confused followers, armed only with swords, exclaiming, "For the queen! for the queen! they seek my life, they seek my life!" The citizens flocked about him in amazement, but none appeared ready to second his attempt, and though he cried, "Arm, my friends, or the opportunity of saving my life will be lost," they still remained inactive, and even Sir Francis Smith, the sheriff, from whose attachment he conceived mighty expectations of assistance, no sooner saw him approach, than he hastily withdrew, and repaired, with all possible speed, to the residence of the lord-mayor.

In this confused state of things, intelligence was sent the unfortunate earl, that he had been officially proclaimed a traitor in all the public places of the city, by lord Burleigh, and the earl of Cumberland: he therefore, in a fit of despair, quitted the sheriff's house, and exclaimed in the streets, "that England was sold to the Infanta of Spain," entreating the populace to take up arms immediately, as the only method of preventing so alarming a circumstance. This frantic resolution producing not a single effort in his favour, he attempted to return to his own house as a temporary asylum, but was intercepted by a party of citizens, under the command of Sir John Levison. In his attempt to force his way, Sir Christopher Blount, a person for whom he had the highest esteem, was taken prisoner, Tracy, a young gentleman, was slain, with some adherents of inferior note, and the earl, at length, after having been shot through the hat, found means to escape towards the river, where, taking a boat, he at last reached Essex-house. On his arrival, to add to his confusion and despair, he was informed that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of his chief friends, had betrayed his trust, and attended amongst others at the court, as an evidence against him: at first he resolved to hazard his life by fighting his way through his enemies, rather than submit his neck to the stroke of the axe; but in cool deliberation, his resolution failed, and he sued for an impartial trial, in the humblest terms.

The queen, who affected the utmost coolness during the late tumults, preserved the same temper, and, without any apparent emotion, gave orders for the trials of the most considerable of the accomplices. Essex and Southampton, who had been committed to the Tower, were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, the lord treasurer Buckhurst acting as lord high steward. The charges, and particularly the treasonable confederacy of Drury-house, with all the circumstances relative to the plot, were proved by such incontestible evidences, that nothing to the purpose could be offered in defence of the culprits. Conviction being so full and decisive, the noble prisoners could not flatter themselves with the least hopes of mercy, as their crimes were so flagrant and palpable. Essex intimated, that as he could not spurn at pardon on the one hand, so neither could he degrade himself in begging it on the other. Southampton behaved with more submission; he implored the good offices of the peers in so affecting a manner, as drew tears from the spectators.

On a view of his approaching dissolution, he seemed seriously anxious for the concerns of a future state, and greatly affected at his general, and late conduct in particular. This induced him to disclose to his chaplain the particulars of the whole treasonable confederacy both in England and Scotland, in consequence of which discovery, Sir Henry Neville, the queen's ambassador at the court of France, was remanded home and imprisoned; but lord Montjoy, though accused, was continued in his government of Ireland, as he had filled the important post of viceroy with the highest honor and dignity, as well as inviolable regard to the interests of the nation.

The mind of the queen was rent between the dictates of resentment, and the suggestions of affection, in the case of her unhappy favourite, who approached the time of his removal from a precarious state of temporary existence. Such, indeed, was her struggle between the opposite passions, that from her excessive feelings, her situation might have been more pitiful at this juncture, than that of the unhappy earl himself. At length, however, after the most reluctant struggles, and the most ambiguous behaviour, regard to her own dignity and personal security prevailed, and she sent down a warrant by lord Darcy, signifying the time appointed for his execution; the chief cause that induced her to consent to his death was his supposed obstinacy in omitting to present, as she had hourly, almost from the time of his sentence, waited an address from him, to implore her candour and clemency.

This unhappy nobleman submitted to his fate with a degree of composure and resignation becoming the solemn and awful occasion, and which indicated a sense of the justice of his sentence. At his own particular request he suffered in the courtyard of the Tower, attended by three divines, his particular friends.

Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, as memorable in the dramatic as the historic page, exhibited during life, a character contrasted by eminent virtues, and notorious foibles. If he was brave, generous, sincere, he was also ambitious, jealous, and vindictive. If his virtues gained him popularity, his foibles brought him to an untimely end, and it may be said of him in a word, that he fell a sacrifice to his own ambition, fostered and inflamed through the affection of his queen at the early period of thirty-six years.

Several of the unfortunate earl's associates were tried



tried and condemned; some were executed, but the queen, desirous of shewing her clemency, pardoned the greater part; and indeed with much justice, as they were drawn in meerly from their attachment to Essex, and wholly unacquainted with the more criminal part of his intentions. The earl of Southampton was detained in the Tower till the accession of king James, by whom he was set at liberty and restored to his former honours.

The king of Scots, desirous of cultivating the favour and friendship of Elizabeth, dispatched the earl of Marr, and the abbot of Kinloss, to congratulate her majesty on the detection and suppression of the late conspiracy. These ambassadors were instructed to enquire, whether any measures had been taken by the queen to exclude their master from the throne, and they managed his affairs so dexterously, that not only Elizabeth, but the majority of the council, were won over to his interest, and among the rest, secretary Cecil, whose authority after the fall of Essex was unlimited.

The parliament being convened at the usual season, the lord-keeper stated to them, that from the exigencies of the state in contending with both foreign and domestic enemies, the public finances were greatly reduced; so that they granted her majesty a very extraordinary supply, in consideration of which, she repealed several acts by which the manufacturing part of the people had been greatly distressed.

A. D. 1602. Intestine commotions having now subsided, attention was paid to the necessary preparations against the common enemy, and a squadron of nine ships was sent under the command of Sir Richard Levison, in the spring, to annoy the trading vessels of the Spaniards, who had fomented and assisted the Irish rebellion. The admiral attacked the port of Sesimbria in Portugal, where they received intelligence that a very rich carrack had taken shelter. Though the harbour was defended by a castle, the English squadron broke in, took the carrack and brought her home, where she was valued at a million of ducats.

Lord Montjoy, in the government of Ireland, exhibited such proofs of his political talents, and general abilities, that if any partiality was shewn to him in the affair of the confederacy, it eventually tended to the interest of the nation. The Spaniards continuing their aid to the rebels, sent them fresh succours, which landing at Kinsale, invested and took the place; but after a short siege by Montjoy, and having the mortification of seeing the rebel earl of Tyrone utterly routed, in attempting its defence, the Spanish general was glad to surrender, on condition that he might be permitted to re-embark with the remainder of his forces.

The defeat of Tyrone and other insurgents, who were driven into Ulster, afforded the pleasing prospect of putting a speedy period to the rebellion in Ireland, which was greatly furthered by the expulsion of the Spaniards from that kingdom: Tyrone at length finding his parties unable to withstand the vigorous efforts of the royal army, applied for pardon to lord Montjoy in the most submissive terms; but the viceroy would comply on no other conditions than the absolute surrender of his life and fortune to the queen's mercy. Compelled by necessity, Tyrone therefore came to Mellifont, presented himself before the deputy, in a habit and posture suitable to his then state, and after acknowledging his offence in the most humble manner, was committed to Dublin castle. O'Rourke, another

leader, surrendered soon after; and thus this dreadful rebellion, which had cost the English nation much blood and treasure, was entirely suppressed, and the whole kingdom reduced to a state of subjection and tranquillity under the auspicious government of the lord Montjoy.

A. D. 1603. The mind of the queen being at that time seized with a deep melancholy, she was insusceptible of any satisfaction from so fortunate an event as that of the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland. There are divers opinions concerning the cause of this melancholy; some ascribe it to the assiduity with which some leading men paid their court to James, her presumptive heir; but others, with much greater probability, impute it to her grief, for having consented to the death of the unfortunate Essex, to whom she had, on so many occasions, discovered an irresistible attachment.

It appeared after his demise, that the earl, on his return from Cadiz, had received from her majesty the present of a ring, which she desired him to keep as a pledge of her affection, assuring him, that into whatever disgrace he should fall, or whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet if he sent her that ring, she would immediately, upon sight of it, recollect her former tenderness, afford him a gracious hearing, and lend a favourable ear to his apology. The earl, after his trial and condemnation, determined to try the experiment, and committed the invaluable gift to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, who was Essex's mortal foe, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay and many struggles in her own breast, impelled by policy and resentment to sign the warrant for his execution. The fatal secret was not disclosed to the queen, till a short time before the death of the countess; when, struck with the treachery of her conduct, and compelled by remorse when too late, she desired access to her majesty, and, imploring pardon, confessed her guilt. Elizabeth, struck with the dire relation, burst into a most violent rage, and exclaiming, that God might forgive her, but she never could," rushed from her, and thenceforth resigned herself to the deepest melancholy.

The fate of Essex was supposed to have brought on the melancholy which so apparently affected her after his demise; but the shock she sustained on the discovery of Nottingham's treachery, and the anxiety which ensued thereupon, were beyond all description, and could only terminate with her life. The physicians giving no hopes of her recovery, the great officers of state attended on her majesty, entreating her to sign her last will as to a successor. She briefly returned for answer, "The throne of England has always been filled by a succession of princes, nor do I desire any other than a royal successor." On being requested to be more explicit in her declaration, she added, "I desire that a king should succeed me, and who should that king be, but the king of Scotland."

Secretary Cecil waited on her the day before her death, and finding that her speech faltered, desired that she would by some sign confirm the resolution of the preceding day, if she still retained the same, upon which she put her hand to her head, as a token of affirmation.

Notwithstanding the nomination of James to the suc-



succession was approved in general; it was deemed expedient by the council to keep up a strong force for the peace and good order of the nation. Accordingly fleets were stationed in the different harbours; all the peers were summoned to town, and if any commotion happened on the queen's death, it was determined to vest the earl of Northumberland with the chief command of the forces.

During these necessary proceedings by way of caution, the queen's disorder seemed to approach to a crisis; and when she was attended by the archbishop of Canterbury, she appeared fervent in devotional exercises preparatory to her final exit. At length the gradual symptoms of death came on, and she expired without a groan in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign. She was interred in a manner suitable to her dignity in Henry the Seventh's chapel, by the special mandate of king James, who affected to testify the highest regard for her memory.

Writers cotemporary and future universally agree in attributing to queen Elizabeth all the charms of feature, figure, elegance, and grace. They likewise acknowledge her extraordinary proficiency in the languages ancient and modern, as also in the different sciences, and in universal history. Her political talents, upon a review of the transactions of her reign, appear to have been extensive, and it must be confessed, upon the whole, that she was formed by endowments, natural and acquired, to govern a great and powerful nation. Her conduct at times evinced great ambiguity and duplicity, though, from peculiar exigencies, it might admit of a candid palliation. Her prevailing foibles were, doubtless, ambition, avarice, and jealousy. The latter must have arisen from an extraordinary attachment to favorites; but if her foibles proved fatal to the peace and life of the unfortunate queen of Scots, they proved no less destructive to the queen of England, who fell a victim to their unconquerable predominance. Her reign is marked by a wise administration, and she may be held up as a sovereign worthy the admiration of succeeding monarchs; for though she might have been a fallible woman, impartiality must admit that she was a great queen.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

- A. D.
- 1559 Apprentices of London obliged to wear blue cloaks in summer, and blue gowns in winter.
  - 1560 The spire of St. Paul's (the timber part of which was 260 feet high, and the roof 720 feet long and 140 feet broad) burnt down by lightning.
  - 1561 On the 16th of July there happened a violent storm of thunder and hail, which destroyed 500 acres of corn at Chelmsford in Essex.
  - Gunpowder first made in England.
  - 1563 The slave trade on the coast of Guinea begun by the English.
  - 1565 Knives first made in London.
  - Tobacco first brought to England.
  - 1566 The foundation of the Royal Exchange in London laid by Sir Thomas Gresham.
  - Needles first made in England.
  - 1567 Two marshals appointed by the citizens of London to clear the streets of vagrants, and to send the sick, lame and blind to the workhouses and hospitals.
  - Upon an inquisition taken by order of the queen, only 58 Scotchmen were found in London.
  - 1569 On the 11th of January began drawing the first lottery mentioned in the English history. It was to produce money for the service of government, and continued drawing, night and day, till the 6th of May.
  - Book-keeping first used after the Italian method in England.
  - 1570 The art of gauging discovered.

1571 On the 17th of February there happened a great earthquake in Herefordshire, when Marclay hill was removed from the place where it stood, and continued in motion two days: it carried along the trees, hedges and sheep, overturned Kynaston chapel, which stood in its way, left an opening forty feet in depth, and thirty-two in length, and at last settled and formed itself into an hill twelve fathoms high.

Dissenters first separated from the church of England.

1572 Masks, muffs, fans, and horse hair for the women, first used in England.

The first Presbyterian meeting-house in England was built at Wandsworth in Surrey.

1577 The high-sheriff, with 300 other persons, died suddenly of an infection caught from the prisoners at the Oxford assizes.

This year Sir Francis Drake made a voyage round the world.

1579 Linen-staining first known in England.

1580 Cambricks and lawns first worn in England, and reckoned a great luxury in dress.

1582 Coaches first used in England.

Gregorian calendar first used in England.

1583 This year a very singular prodigy happened in Dorsetshire. A field of three acres, with the trees and fences, at Black-moor, moved from thence, passed over another field, and settled in the highway to Hearn.

1587 Artichokes first planted in England.

1588 Chatham chest founded for the relief of maimed and superannuated English mariners.

Fire ships first used by the English navy in the general engagement with the Spanish armada.

1589 The art of knitting stockings first practised in England.

1590 The band of gentlemen pensioners established.

Sail cloth first made in England.

Iron mills first erected in England for cutting iron into bars for the use of the smiths.

The first white paper made in England at Dartford in Kent.

The most distinguished personages for learning, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were the following:

Richard Hooker, some time master of the Temple, was one of the most celebrated writers of the age in which he lived. His "Ecclesiastical Polity" is written with a classic simplicity, and esteemed one of the completest works, both for style and argument, that ever appeared in the English language. Queen Elizabeth used to call him "The judicious Hooker." He died on the second of November, 1600.

Sir Philip Sidney was the delight and admiration of the court of Elizabeth. He was the ornament of the university, and appeared with equal advantage in a field of battle; at a tournament, in a private conversation among his friends, or in a public character as an ambassador. His talents were equally adapted to prose or verse, to original composition or translation. He died the sixteenth of October, 1586.

Sir Thomas Bodley was particularly distinguished as a man of letters; but much more for the ample provision he made for literature, by the library he founded at Oxford. In 1599, he opened his library, a mausoleum which will perpetuate his memory as long as books themselves endure. He died the twenty-eight of January, 1612.

Edmund Spenser, the celebrated author of the "Fairy Queen," was the father of the English heroic poem, and of true pastoral poetry in this island. He stands distinguished from almost all other poets, by that faculty by which a poet is distinguished from other writers, namely, invention; and excelled all his cotemporaries in harmonious versification. The stanza of Spenser, and the old words which constantly occur, contribute to give that great poet an air of peculiarity; and hence all the imitations of him resemble the original. After the death of Sir Philip Sidney, he languished without a patron, and died in want of bread, in 1599.



*Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.*



*Wale delin.*

*Virginton sculp.*

*Born  
June 19. 1556.*

*Crowned  
July 25. 1603.*

*Died  
March 27. 1625.*



## B O O K XII.

From the Beginning of the Reign of JAMES I. to the Restoration of CHARLES II.

## C H A P. I.

## J A M E S I.

*Accession of James I. His partial attachment to individuals. Instance of indignity to the memory of his predecessors. James concludes a treaty with Henry IV. of France. Revival of religious dissensions. Equivocal conduct of the king. His arbitrary proceedings. Detection and prevention of the gunpowder-plot. Various fates of the conspirators. The king attempts an union of the kingdoms without effect. Insurrections in England and Ireland. The rebel Tyrone flies for refuge to Rome, and there dies. Peace concluded between Spain and the States of Holland after a war of fifty years. James's eldest son Henry created prince of Wales. The assassination of Henry the IVth of France. Dissolution of the British parliament. Effects of religious controversy. Robert Carr introduced to the king, and raised to the highest honors. James promotes the civilization and cultivation of Ireland. Death of Henry prince of Wales. Cruel fate of Sir Thomas Overbury. Divorce of lady Essex, and her marriage with the earl of Rochester. He is disgraced, and succeeded in the royal favour by George Villiers. Charles created prince of Wales. Sir Walter Raleigh released from confinement. He makes an expedition to the Spanish settlements, but proves unsuccessful. Returns to England, and is put to death. Death of the queen. Charles prince of Wales visits the court of Madrid. Horrid massacre at Amboyna. An expedition is projected for the relief of the Palatinate, which miscarries through the perfidy of the French. Death and character of James I.*

A. D. 1603. **J**AMES of Scotland had the good fortune of succeeding to the crown of England at a time, when that kingdom had arrived at it's summit of glory. His right of accession was confirmed by universal plaudits on his being proclaimed, according to custom, at the most populace places in the metropolis. But he had no sooner ascended the throne, than he selected, as objects of his peculiar favour and attachment, those of the nobility who had signalized themselves in espousing the cause of his mother. The earl of Northumberland, with the lords Thomas and Henry Howard, and the lord Montjoy, were made privy counsellors, notwithstanding their being strongly suspected of popery; indeed, the Howard family in general were gratified with titles and preferments, by which it plainly appeared, that James highly disapproved of the behaviour of Elizabeth towards the duke of Norfolk and his family. His disapprobation of the principles and conduct of the late queen carried him indeed beyond the bounds of duty and decorum; for such was the contempt with which, in reality, he treated her memory, that he neither went into mourning himself, nor would admit any person into his presence in a mourning habit. Nor an individual of any consideration, who had suffered from their attachment to the unfortunate Mary, escaped his notice, for in six weeks after his arrival in England, he is supposed to have conferred the honour of knighthood on no less than two hundred and thirty-seven persons. Nay, so far from following the example of his predecessor in the partial bestowal of honors, James was so profuse of honours and titles, as to occasion a pasquinade's being affixed to one of the doors of St. Paul's, in which was proposed, an art for assisting frail memories in retaining the titles of the upstart nobility.

This prepossession in favour of particular per-

sons, not from any inherent merit or superiority of character, but from mere caprice, or a casual ascendancy in point of birth, never prevailed more than throughout the whole reign of this prince, who appears to have been little actuated by the maxims of sound policy, but wholly governed by fancy and inclination. By the very unpopular measure of importing great numbers of his northern friends, and advancing them to posts of dignity and emolument about his person, he incurred the disapprobation of many of the most powerful of his English subjects, which terminated at length in his own disadvantage. Amongst these the duke of Lenox, the earl of Marr, the lord Hume, the lord Kinloss, Sir George Hume, and secretary Elphinstone, were admitted into the English privy council; after which Sir George Hume was made earl of Dunbar; Hay was created first viscount Doncaster, and then dignified with the title of earl of Carlisle; and Ramsay was preferred to the earldom of Holderness.

At the instance of those very persons on whom the honors were conferred, these promotions were made preparatory to the coronation, which was solemnized at Westminster on the twenty-fifth day of July, by Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury; but as the king, though familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the tumult of a mixed multitude, and was fond of tranquillity and ease, a proclamation was published, forbidding all persons to resort to the ceremony, except the nobility, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London. Indeed, this proclamation was justifiable on the score of prudent precaution, as the plague raged at this time with such fury in London, that thirty thousand died of it within the compass of a year.

To compensate for the partiality evident in lavishing honors and titles upon his countrymen,



James thought it expedient to continue the great officers of state, on the late queen's demise, in their respective departments of government, so that the whole administration of affairs abroad and at home was vested in the hands of English subjects. Among others, secretary Cecil, son of the famous Burleigh, was created lord Effendon, and afterwards earl of Salisbury, and maintained an extraordinary influence both at court, and in the cabinet.

As Cecil must naturally have incurred the odium of James from the avowed part his father had taken in the persecution of queen Mary; his continuance in office, notwithstanding his political abilities were generally confessed, was matter of universal surprize. Besides, Cecil himself had strenuously opposed the power of the earl of Essex, whom James professedly considered as a martyr to the Scotch succession. The fact is this: Cecil who knew mankind, and was versed in those arts which generally prevail, had, on the first approach of Elizabeth's dissolution, ingratiated himself with James, without the knowledge of the queen or any of her ministers, and thereby paved the way for the continuance of his favours. Having once ingratiated himself, he obtained the entire confidence of his sovereign, who being a weak as well as vain prince, was moulded at pleasure by this subtle courtier.

The eyes of all the catholic princes in Europe were fixed upon James, as the son of a queen who died a martyr to their religion; and mighty expectations were formed of his reviving the supremacy of the holy see in England. Accordingly, ambassadors arrived from almost all the catholic princes and states to congratulate the king on his accession to the throne, and enter into new treaties, as well as form fresh alliances with him. Among the rest, Henry IV. of France, willing to found his inclinations, sent over the marquis of Rosne, afterwards created duke of Sully, the most celebrated politician in the French court.

This ambassador, whose consequence was much raised by his own merit, and extensive power and dominion over his master, proposed a league with the king of England in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern potentates, to invade the Austrian dominions on all sides, and humble the lawless ambition of that arrogant family. But as the penetration of the French ambassador soon discerned that James was averse to the noise and tumult of war, he was obliged to desist from his former proposal, and to concert measures with the English ministry for the security of the United Provinces. It was therefore agreed between the powers of France and England, that James and Henry should permit the Dutch to raise troops in their respective dominions; and should supply the republic with the sum of one million, four hundred thousand livres a year, for the maintenance of their forces; that the whole sum should be advanced by Henry, but that the third part should be deducted for a debt due by him to Elizabeth; and that if the Spaniards attacked either of the princes, they should assist each other; Henry with an army of ten thousand men, and James with an army of six thousand.

A treaty founded on so solid a basis, and confirmed by articles apparently advantageous to the respective parties concerned, seemed to promise a permanent peace, and the continuance of those blessings with which it is generally attended. But as human affairs are ever fluctuating, amidst

a most profound tranquillity, both foreign and domestic, some noblemen about the person of the king received intelligence that a plot was formed to overturn the government, and to place upon the throne of England, lady Arabella Stuart, nearly allied to the king, and descended equally with him from Henry VII. But as there is no authentic account upon record, so the whole is merely conjectural, and founded only on what could be gathered from the report of the times. The principal persons concerned in it, are said to have been Watson and Clarke, two popish priests, lord Grey, a puritan, lord Cobham, a man of a wavering and impetuous temper, together with Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Edward Parham. It appears very strange, that Raleigh, who had ever strenuously exerted himself against Spain, should act in confederacy with papists; yet it is recorded, that he and Cobham were particularly charged with promoting the cause of popery, by distributing a very considerable sum of money among the distressed in England. As Raleigh, Grey and Cobham, were generally believed, after the demise of Elizabeth, to have opposed the succession of James, till conditions should be settled with him, they were extremely obnoxious to the court and ministry; hence some have inferred, that this plot was merely a contrivance of Cecil, in order to rid himself of his old friends, who were now become his inveterate enemies. But in fact, nothing can be inferred with precision, or deduced with any reasonable ground from the detail, either abstractedly or generally considered; as for its motley representation, and the jarring principles and interests of the parties supposed to be concerned, it bears very little semblance of truth.

The old disputes between the protestant and popish parties, were now revived. The latter upon the accession of James, flattered themselves that the papal supremacy would be restored in England: but as he gave them to understand the contrary, which equally disgusted the papists, as it gave encouragement to the protestants.

A. D. 1604. To adjust these matters in an amicable peaceable manner, the king appointed a meeting of the respective parties at Hampton-court, to proceed to a debate on the different topics. The conference was held in the beginning of this year, and the king, who took a considerable part in it, gave strong proofs of his theological knowledge, and spoke with great precision and weight of argument on the subject. The puritans vainly imagined, that their sovereign, who had been educated in Scotland, and professed a sincere attachment to the church there established, would at least mitigate the severity of some laws enacted against them; but they were extremely mistaken in their conjecture, for James, having observed in many of the puritanical clergy, a strong republican spirit, and an aversion to monarchy as well as hierarchy, determined to prevent the spreading of that sect.

The result of this debate after a variety of propositions were stated, arguments adduced, and inferences drawn, by the advocates for the hierarchy on the one part, and those of the puritanical sect on the other, it was the king's decided opinion in favour of the former, to the general disgust of the latter, which was not a little augmented by his majesty's enforcing the cause of the hierarchy by citing one of his favourite maxims, "no bishop, no king." The puritans petitioned



tioned the king, notwithstanding his late rigorous behaviour towards them, for greater liberty and indulgencies; but as he was attached to the contrary principles, all their remonstrances and petitions were ineffectual.

However attached James might appear to the hierarchy, or even the papal supremacy, he could by no means admit of the jesuitical tenet of the pope's unlimited power over crowned heads. As he therefore deemed it necessary, for the number of his subjects who were zealously attached to the reformed religion, to proceed in some respect against the papists, a proclamation was published, commanding all jesuits and other catholics, having any orders from foreign powers, to depart the kingdom within a limited time. But as a kind of salvo for this rigorous edict, his subjects in other matters, were left to their own entire option as to the embracing or rejecting of any doctrine, tenet, or ceremony, from which his attachment to the popish religion was inferred by all dispassionate, thinking persons, who saw through his duplicity and ambiguity in the whole transaction. But the policy, ambiguity, fallacy and inconsistency of this monarch, may be best drawn from a due attention to the following speech delivered in parliament, and cited here as forcibly illustrative of his general character.

"When I have done all that I can for you, I do nothing but that which I am bound to, and am accountable to God should I do the contrary; for I acknowledge, that the greatest and most essential difference between a rightful king and an usurping tyrant, is this; that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think, that his kingdom and people are only ordained for the gratification of his desires and unreasonable appetites; the righteous and just king doth, on the contrary, acknowledge, that he himself is only ordained for promoting the wealth of his people, and that his greatest and principal happiness must consist in their prosperity. If you be rich, I cannot be poor; if you be happy, I cannot be unfortunate; and I protest, that your welfare shall be the constant object of my study and attention. That I am a servant is most true, and that as I am head and governor of all the people in my dominions, considering them in number and in different ranks; so if we will take the people as one body and mass, then as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the head, so must a righteous king acknowledge himself to be ordained for his people, and not his people for him; for although a king and people be relative, yet can he be no king if he want people and subjects. But there be many people in the world that want a king; wherefore, I will never be ashamed to confess it my principal honour, to be the great servant of the commonwealth, and ever think the prosperity thereof my greatest felicity, as I have already observed."

From this speech it is evident, that the principles of James concerning the duties of a rational being placed in authority, and entrusted with the government of mankind, were, upon the whole, justly founded; though they appear to have had very little or no influence over his general conduct and character. It affords, indeed, a lesson of instruction to the greatest monarch, who by following the same, must ensure renown and affection to themselves, and liberty and happiness to their subjects,

which can never be more effectually promoted than by an equipoise of prerogative in the one scale, and privilege in the other.

Notwithstanding the excellent maxims inculcated in this speech, it was so far from answering the purpose of a general conciliation of parties, that it incurred the displeasure of all but the zealous partizans of the church of England, whose principal aim was to ruin the interest of the Puritans. Nor was it long before the practices of James, which, from their being diametrically opposite to those maxims of government he had laid down in his speech, proved the fallacy and duplicity of the royal author: nay, such was his conduct, that the Protestants in general began to suspect his attachment to popery. Indeed he soon began to aver his principles openly; for when he issued writs for summoning the parliament, he published a proclamation, enjoining his subjects not to chuse any outlaw for their representative, and added, "If any person take upon him the place of a knight, citizen, or burghers, not being duly elected, according to the laws and statutes in that case made and provided, he shall be fined and imprisoned for the same."

Nothing could more effectually tend to sap the foundation of the liberty of the subject, than an edict, vesting the king's proclamation with the authority of a statute constitutionally passed throughout both houses of parliament, and stamped with the royal signets, and more especially, as, upon this occasion, touching the right of election. Sir Francis Goodwin being declared duly elected knight of the shire for the county of Bucks, after a full hearing of a petition of Sir John Fortescue, the king commanded the commons to re-consider the case, and to hold a conference with the judges, though they had refused to treat with the lords on the subject. He peremptorily enjoined this anti-constitutional conference, and in issuing his mandate, adopted the phrase "absolute king," which the commons very naturally construed as designed to introduce arbitrary and despotic measures, and, in fact, overturn the former system of government; however, for the present, to gratify the king, they appointed a committee to hold a conference with the judges on the subject of the legality of the late election. But James, to evade what he might deem inexpedient to enforce so suddenly, proposed to reject the petitions of the present claimants, and issue a writ for the choice of another representative.

The grand point agitated in this session was, the proposed union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland; but the late arbitrary and illegal proceedings so disgusted the members, that no remonstrances nor arguments could prevail upon them to agree to his favourite scheme, though he ordered himself to be proclaimed king of Great Britain, and quartered the cross of St. Andrew with that of St. George in the English flag. When the king, therefore, found he could not bring them to compliance, according to his usual custom, he exerted the royal prerogative, and having, in a fullen style, informed them that he stood in need of no pecuniary aid, gave orders to the chancellor for their prorogation.

A due attention to the general conduct of this prince respecting both his words and actions, cannot fail to discover a prevailing disposition, not only to the exertion of despotic power, but the revival of its detestable appendage, popish superstition.

This



This is evident not merely from the treaty concluded and signed at London between England and Spain, but from the immediate recall, on his accession, of all the letters of marque granted by queen Elizabeth, before terms of peace had been even proposed on the part of Spain; as if, because king of Scotland, he had finished the war between the two kingdoms, without any articles of treaty or agreement. Unhappily for James, his pusillanimity, his indolence, and his love of amusement, ever prevented him from making any progress in the knowledge or practice of foreign politics; and, in a short time, lessened that regard which the neighbouring nations had paid to his illustrious predecessor. Indeed, from the whole tenor of his proceedings, and particularly a partial attachment to adulatory sycophants, now selected as objects of his favorable regard, he gave great disgust to his English subjects in general.

A. D. 1605. This year stands memorable in the annals of history, for a transaction that blots the principles which suggested it, and the characters of the miscreants who undertook the plan and execution of it, with an indelible stigma. It was suggested by popish malice, and undertaken by popish bigots and desperadoes by them suborned.

Many of the adherents to the Catholic cause, having been disappointed in their expectations of favour and indulgence on the accession of king James to the throne of England, entered into a confederacy for exterminating at one fatal stroke, the king, royal family, and the major part of the members of both houses of parliament, by an explosion of gunpowder, and this diabolical plan was from thence denominated, "The gun-powder plot."

Some of the conspirators were men of birth and fortune; and one Catesby, who had a large estate, had already expended a considerable sum in several voyages to the court of Spain, in order to introduce an army of Spaniards into England, for overturning the then government, and introducing the Roman catholic religion; but being disappointed in his design, he communicated this plan to Piercy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland, who, at first, proposed in preference the assassination of the king, but was soon brought over to the more effectual scheme of the gun-powder plot, as comprizing the whole circle of their enemies.

The leaders of the confederacy having now unanimously agreed upon the means of executing their horrid design, imparted the same to the whole cabal, who were bound to secrecy by the most solemn oaths, regardless of the dire consequences of so fatal a project.

Some indeed from a scrupulous regard for those of the same persuasion, observed, that in the execution of the scheme, many Catholics must fall, either as members of parliament or belonging to the king's suite; but Tesmond, a jesuit, and Garnet, superior of that order in England, soon silenced their doubts, and convinced them that the sacred cause required that the innocent must in this case be sacrificed with the guilty. These consultations were held in the spring and summer of the preceding year, and intended to have been carried into execution towards the close of the present.

It had been determined by the confederates, that Piercy, who at that time belonged to the band of pensioners, should hire a house contiguous to the spot, on which the grand assembly of the nation was to be convened; so that by means of com-

munication, they might undermine that very place, and there lay the preparatory train of powder. Every art and stratagem was devised, that could prevent suspicion, or expedite the work, in the prosecution of which they were so indefatigable, that in a short time they had dug so far through the wall, as to be able to hear a noise on the other side.

For the necessary purpose of disguise, Guy Fawkes, who had served in the Spanish army, upon this occasion personated Piercy's footman, and was dispatched to make enquiry, and returned with the favourable report, that a noise proceeded from a vault below the house of lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there, and that when the coals were sold off, the vault would be let to the highest bidder. The opportunity was immediately seized; the place hired by Piercy; thirty-six barrels of gun-powder deposited in it; the whole concealed with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly thrown open and every body allowed access, as if it contained nothing dangerous or unusual. In order to obviate effectually every barrier that might oppose their design of extirpating the whole royal family, it was resolved to assassinate the young duke of York, and immediately to proclaim the infant princess Elizabeth queen of England. The period fixed upon for the perpetration of this horrid massacre, was the fifth of November, but the execution was prevented by a providential stroke unforeseen by this accursed cabal.

One of the conspirators, desirous of saving the life of lord Monteagle, a Catholic, son to lord Morley, wrote to him, warning him to avoid coming to the house. Struck with such alarming information, lord Monteagle hesitated for some time, but at length deemed it most expedient to lay the matter before lord Salisbury, secretary of state, who was as much perplexed concerning it, as the nobleman from whom he had received the intelligence, till he came to a resolution of laying it officially before the king. James, conceiving the import to bear too great a semblance of truth, laid the letter before the council, who unanimously concurring in the necessity of investigating an affair so very momentous, on Monday the fourth of November, the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, whose office it was to see all things prepared for the king's coming, taking lord Monteagle with him, entered the vault, where he observed great piles of wood and faggots. As there appeared a greater quantity than the landlord could possibly want for his own use, the chamberlain enquired of him, to whom all that wood belonged; and being informed that it was the property of one Mr. Piercy, he began to entertain suspicions; knowing him to be a rigid papist, and further persuaded, as that was not his residence, he could have no domestic use for so extraordinary a stock of wood.

To make trial, however, of the ground of their suspicions, notice was sent to Sir Thomas Knevet, a neighbouring justice of the peace, who appointing a proper guard of soldiers to be ready, went with them to the spot at the dead of night, and at the entrance of the vault, met Fawkes just coming out, having completed all his preparations. The guard immediately seized him, and removing the faggots, discovered the powder. The matches and every thing necessary for firing the train, were found in the pockets of Fawkes; but the hardened and intrepid villain, conscious that he had no hopes of mercy, daringly avowed his design, and expressed





GUY FAWKES seized by SIR THOMAS KNEVET  
(and others, after having completed his Preparations  
for BLOWING UP the PARLIAMENT, A.D. 1605.)



the utmost regret that he had not carried it into execution. When brought before the council, he behaved in the same refractory manner, nor could promises or threats make him discover one of his associates, declaring "he was ready to die, and had rather suffer ten thousand deaths, than willingly accuse his master or any other." This obstinacy continued for two or three days; but being imprisoned, his resolution at length failed, and he revealed the whole plot. Lord Salisbury, who left upon record a circumstantial narrative of this infernal transaction, seems to give the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, the whole merit of the discovery, frankly acknowledging for his own part, that he could not conceive it possible for so infernal a design to enter the heart of man.

Various was the fate of the miscreant confederates. Catesby, Piercy, and others, being informed of the discovery, fled into Warwickshire; where Sir Everard Digby was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth; but this design was prevented by her taking refuge in Coventry; and the whole body hastily repaired to Holbeach, the seat of Sir Stephen Littleton, on the borders of Staffordshire. Here they were beset by the high sheriff of the county at the head of a numerous guard; and their case being desperate, they boldly determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible to the assailants. Catesby and Piercy fell upon the spot; Digby and several others of inferior note, were taken prisoners, conveyed to London, and after trial publicly executed. The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thousand pounds, because among the grounds of suspicion, he had admitted Piercy into the band of gentlemen pensioners, without tendering him the customary oaths. The lord Monteagle had a considerable pension for life, as a reward for his diligence in tracing and finally discovering this horrid conspiracy.

Such was the infatuated attachment of the king to popish principles, that in defiance of this flagrant evidence of the diabolic malignity of their influence, he still entertained the strongest prepossession in their favour, as appeared by his speech to the parliament on the 9th of November. On this occasion he observed, that though the conspirators had been induced to undertake the horrid attempt, it should not be thence inferred that Catholics in general were capable of so atrocious and complicated a crime; adding, that while with one hand he chastized the guilty, with the other he would still protect and support the innocent. Though this declaration might argue an apparent liberality of sentiment, common preservation must have dictated the necessity of prudent caution at such a juncture.

A. D. 1606. The prodigality of James was such, added to his partiality for favorites, that notwithstanding the continual grant of considerable supplies from his parliament, his finances were ever in a reduced state.

The session opened on the 22d of January, and the topic which principally engrossed attention, was the proposed union of the two kingdoms; but this could not be effected by the most pressing instances of the king, enforced by an excellent speech delivered by Sir Francis Bacon, solicitor-general; as the people continued to persist in their prejudices, and avow their hatred to the Scottish nation. An act was then passed for a more strict execution of the laws against popish recusants, and a mitigation of those enacted against the Protestants. The king, contrary to his inclination, was

compelled to affix the royal signature to this act, to gratify the parliament for their generous supplies.

A. D. 1607. Commotions were excited this year in various parts of the kingdom, at the instance of one John Reynolds, and proclamations were issued, commanding the rebels to disperse; but, as they did not obey, a party was sent to chastize them, which they effected with shedding as little blood as possible. At length, in consequence of a promise that their grievances should be redressed, they submitted, and several of the ring-leaders were convicted of high treason and executed.

These commotions were however trifling in their nature and consequences to the alarming insurrections, which were revived in Ireland, where the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel had conspired to seize the castle of Dublin, and to make a general massacre of the English families settled in that kingdom. Their design being discovered, a relation of Tyrone was instigated to commence a suit against him, for part of his estate; and the council of Ireland, pretending that the cause was too weighty for their decision, referred it to that of England, hoping that Tyrone might be brought thither and imprisoned in the Tower; but he excused himself from the journey, and offered to send over his papers, by a person who perfectly understood his concerns. This arch-rebel during the former as well as present reign, found means however to evade the stroke of justice, by flying to the sanctuary of the papal see, in which asylum, he soon after paid the debt of nature.

A. D. 1608. Nothing memorable occurred this year, except some instances of severity exercised towards a few of the principals of the Romish church; and the death of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, who was succeeded in his post of lord treasurer, by Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, a convenient tool for supplying the king in immense sums to prostitute on his sycophants and countrymen.

A. D. 1609. This year commenced with an event that affected the interests of the different potentates of Europe. This was the conclusion of a war which had been prosecuted between Spain and the United States, for a great course of years, and which was now terminated by means of the powers of England and France. It was an act not of choice, but compulsion on the part of the Spanish monarch, who, alarmed at the increase of the naval power of the Hollanders, reluctantly consented to acknowledge their independence.

James now attempted to enforce the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, by patronizing literary essays on that subject, and retaining some hirelings to propagate notions repugnant to the liberties of his English subjects.

A. D. 1610. The king was desirous of obtaining a supply, and the commons were determined to circumscribe his exorbitant prerogative. Salisbury, who was lately advanced to the exalted station of lord treasurer, in order to enforce the grant of a supply, represented the king's gracious intention of redressing the grievances of his people, the vast sums expended in keeping a formidable armament, and quelling the late rebellion in Ireland. To these arguments, he added the three numerous households, which the king was obliged to maintain, for himself, for the queen, and for the prince of Wales; and affirmed, that Elizabeth, during



her reign, had made great appropriations of the crown lands; an expedient, which though it supplied her present wants, without burthening her people, extremely increased the necessities of her successor. These, with many other instances, he cited, and from them inferred the indispensable expediency of an immediate subsidy.

But this eloquent parade of a pliant minister by no means exempted his master from the censure of excessive prodigality; however, the parliament declined an absolute refusal, and voted him one subsidy and one fifteenth, which would hardly amount to one hundred thousand pounds, and was not the sixth part of what had been demanded on the present occasion, wisely arguing, that the nation being then in a state of profound peace at home and abroad, its exigencies could neither be so numerous nor so pressing, as they had necessarily been in times of war and intestine commotions. The king's desire of creating his eldest son Henry, prince of Wales, gave rise to warm parliamentary debates during the course of this session. Several objections were started to this creation, as by the profusions of late reigns, the revenues of that principality were greatly diminished. The debts of the crown were urged as so many reasons why the expences of the king ought not to be increased, and it was insinuated to him, that the jurisdiction of a prince of Wales, when exercised by him in person, would clash with that of the crown of England. But these arguments had no force with the king, who therefore peremptorily created his son prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, and settled upon him an immense income to support the dignity of his blood and titles.

The prince maintained an amiable character, possessing many accomplishments mental and personal, and pursuing such studies and manly exercises, as were necessary to form him for the important and elevated rank, which he seemed by Providence designed to fill.

The attention of Europe was soon called to an extraordinary event that happened in France. This was the assassination of Henry IV. by the poniard of a fanatic named Ravallac. This prince, who had acquired universal fame for his valour and wisdom, was on the point of achieving a grand exploit, which would have altered the face of things in Europe, when his noble design was prevented by a frantic enthusiast, who sacrificed his own life, and that of the prince, to his unbounded bigotry and unreasonable prejudices. The villain, on his examination, boldly confessed assassinating the king, because he did not take up arms against the Hugonots, and affirmed, that his making war against the pope, was the same as making war against God.

The king of England secretly approved the cause for which the assassin was executed; however, as the Jesuits were universally supposed to be concerned in it, in order to remove so dangerous a set of men from his person, he issued a proclamation, commanding all Jesuits to quit the kingdom, and all recusants to keep themselves at the distance of ten miles from the court. He then caused the justices of peace in all the counties to administer the oath of allegiance which had passed in the third year of his reign, and which, without regard to any particular religion, established the independency of the crown against the court of Rome, and all other powers whatever.

Though James, from his general conduct and administration of government was extremely censurable, he acquired much popularity this year by

exerting a laudable care for the trade and navigation of the nation, encouraging ingenious men to make discoveries, erecting large store-houses, and, by his direction, bringing naval architecture into a greater perfection than it ever had been known in England; or perhaps in Europe. But after all these strenuous endeavours to promote the opulence and dignity of the nation, so excessive had been his profusion, that from the exigencies of the state, it was found expedient to call the parliament together at a very early season, and to state the urgency of affairs as a plea for granting considerable and speedy supplies. After long and tedious debates on that hackneyed and disagreeable subject, it does not appear that any thing decisive was resolved upon; however, it may be inferred from the king's dissolving it by proclamation, after a session of about ten weeks, that their proceedings were not highly approved by the sovereign.

A. D. 1611. A foreign incident occurred this year concerning some religious matters, which appeared greatly to interest king James, and roused him to the exertion of his utmost ability as well as resolution. Indeed, it eventually proved of the utmost moment to the states of Europe in general.

The famous theologist Arminius had been chosen divinity-professor at Leyden, and had been accused by the disciples of Calvin, with asserting the doctrine of free-will, and denying that of predestination.

The disciples of Arminius before the death of their leader in 1608, seemed to have the best of the argument. He was succeeded by Vorstius, who had published several treatises in defence of Arminian principles. But as he advanced some tenets repugnant to the opinion of king James, who was a mighty casuist in theological matters, he officiously influenced the states to deprive him of his professorship, though he desisted from any further prosecution, charitably hinting "that he left the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism to their christian wisdom, though he was persuaded that no heretic ever more deserved the flames." The States, however, had too much of the milk of humanity, as well as the genuine spirit of christianity, to condemn a man for his private opinion, and therefore raised the professor to a higher rank in another university.

After the dissolution of the last parliament, so obnoxious to the king, nothing prevailed at court, but hilarity, dissipation, and profusion. To gratify his majesty, who had ever a propensity to a favorite (from what motive we are not to determine) some sycophants around his person introduced to him one Robert Carr, a young Scot of an ancient and honourable family. This youth attracted the notice of his majesty, by happening to break his leg by a fall from his horse in a tournament. James, struck with the person of the unfortunate adventurer, paid him a visit while he lay ill of the fracture, and so rapid was the progress of his regard, that, upon his recovery, he became the growing favourite at court. His person was handsome, his years not above twenty; he was extremely ambitious, but profoundly ignorant; in short, he was a compound of every vice that can disgrace human nature. Honours and riches were soon heaped upon this minion, and he quickly became the channel, through which all favours passed from the king to his subjects. On the ninth of April, he was advanced to the dignity of viscount Rochester, and treasurer of Scotland, and afterwards installed knight of the garter.



But this season of festivity, indolence, and the indulgence of the ignoble passions, was succeeded by an event; which will ever reflect honour on that part of the reign of this monarch at least, in which it happened. This was the settlement of Ireland; in which he had been seriously engaged, ever since his accession to the throne of England, to effect which he pursued a steady, regular, and uniform plan, inasmuch, that in the space of nine years, he made greater progress in civilizing that kingdom, than had been made in all the time which had elapsed since the conquest had been first attempted. To conciliate the minds of the people to his person and government, he passed an act of oblivion as to former insurrections and commotions, allowed them the same privileges as the subjects of England, and pursued such a plan of sound policy, as promoted a total reformation both in their manners and commerce, and thereby tended to the mutual advantage of both countries.

A. D. 1612. To this James added another instance of prudence and justice, that does honor to his character. Lord Sanquar, a Scottish nobleman, had basely assassinated one Turner his fencing master; in consequence of which, petitions were preferred to the king, to obtain his pardon. But James, sensible of the odium he had incurred from an evident partiality to his countrymen, determined not only to wipe off that stigma, but, by an act of justice in the execution of a murderer, evince his regard to those laws which are the bulwark of government; so that he was deaf to all entreaty, and the delinquent was brought to condign punishment.

In the course of this year, Frederic V. elector palatine, in consequence of a treaty of marriage negotiating between him and the princess Elizabeth, James's daughter, arrived in England on the sixteenth of October. He was magnificently entertained, but the solemnization of the nuptials was deferred, on account of the sudden and unexpected death of Henry, prince of Wales, who, by his many excellent endowments, had engaged the esteem of the whole nation. As a proof of his penetration to discern, and a disposition to reward merit, he highly esteemed Sir Walter Raleigh, and it was his common saying, "sure no king but my father would keep such a bird in the cage." James has been censured by some writers as accessory to the death of prince Henry, but such opinion being merely conjectural, the charge is therefore without foundation. Indeed it might probably arise from the disregard his father shewed to the memory of the deceased, by prohibiting even a court mourning upon so public and interesting an occasion as the demise of the heir apparent.

A. D. 1613. Early in the spring the marriage of the princess Elizabeth with Frederic V. was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence, preparations having been made for the same during the course of some preceding months. The elector had been previously installed knight of the garter and raised to other honours and dignities becoming his rank as united to a princess of England. But this marriage, though extremely agreeable to the nation, was productive of many calamities, both to the king and his son-in-law. As the elector, elated by so great an alliance, embarked in enterprizes beyond his strength, and the king, desirous of assisting him in his distress, made such unreasonable demands, as incurred the universal displeasure of his people.

While the attention of James was engrossed by the nuptials of his daughter, a private scene was acting which occasioned great clamour throughout the kingdom. To complete the happiness of the minion Rochester, nothing seemed wanting but a female partner; and where high fortune concurred with all the graces of external form, such an attainment was not easily to be accomplished. But this very circumstance, instead of gratifying the vanity and ambition of the favourite, eventually banished him the court, and consigned him, during the remainder of his life, to that oblivion and penury from which he had been taken.

The king, compassionating the misfortunes of the noble families of Howard and Devereux, restored young Essex to his paternal honours and estates, and promoted the marriage of the earl with lady Frances Howard; daughter to the earl of Suffolk; but as they were too young for cohabitation, the earl was sent on his travels, in order to finish his education. During his absence, viscount Rochester became enamoured of the lady, and had gained such an ascendancy over her; that, when on the earl's return, after an interval of four years, he claimed the privileges of a husband with all the impatience of youthful ardour, she treated him with the greatest coldness and indifference.

With just resentment at such behaviour, the earl gave her up as a woman unworthy the honour of a conjugal alliance; indeed, the grand motive of his rejecting her was his discovery of her partiality for the despicable minion Rochester. The countess, not satisfied with being the mistress of Rochester, eagerly wished to be his wife, and being now lost to all sense of honour and virtue, she prevailed on her paramour to use his influence with the king, in order to procure her divorce from Essex. An affair of such importance could not be accomplished without consulting Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of integrity, sagacity, and experience, to whom Rochester was wont to communicate all his secrets. That faithful counsellor was alarmed at the proposal, and employed every argument to divert his friend from so absurd and base an attempt. Rochester had the weakness to report the conversation to the countess of Essex, who in the fury of her resentment, wrought upon him to doom to destruction his worthy monitor, for this instance of his sincere and cordial regard.

To carry this horrid design into execution, Rochester intimated to the king, that Overbury, by his blunt and peremptory manner of behaviour, had rendered himself obnoxious to him, and other favourites at court, and therefore, in order to remove him, proposed that he might be sent ambassador to Russia. The king, not suspecting the real design, immediately appointed Sir Thomas to the embassy; but the perfidious Rochester persuaded him to reject the proposal, under pretence of not being able to support his absence, and having succeeded in his design, represented the matter to the king in such a light, that a warrant was granted for sending him to the Tower, as a gentle punishment for his disobedience. Sir Jervais Elwis, the lieutenant of the Tower, was one of Rochester's creatures, and therefore not only subjected Overbury to the most rigorous treatment, but after having almost reduced him to a state of despair, by the most barbarous practices for six months together, suborned some villains to take him off by poison.

Having perpetrated this infernal design, and thereby obviated a barrier to the accomplishment of



of their desires, they determined to prosecute their designs, and the earl of Northampton, uncle to the countess, who had been prevailed on to further their impious purpose, solicited the king in behalf of his niece, and at length, by the most scandalous means, obtained a divorce, on pretence of debility on the part of the earl of Essex, but, in reality, to gratify the lady and her infamous paramour.

As a token of the continuance of his attachment to Rochester, the king, immediately after the divorce, not only granted him his permission to espouse the countess; but also created him earl of Somerset, thereby adding royal sanction to the most flagitious proceedings.

James sustained a great loss in his councils and government in general, by the death of that able statesman, Cecil, earl of Salisbury, a man deeply versed in the genius, politics and constitution of the English nation, and consequently capable of admonishing and directing a prince constantly tossed about by impetuous passions.

The earl of Suffolk, his successor, was by no means adequate to the office of raising supplies for the exigencies of a profuse, voluptuous prince. The late treasurer had projected a scheme to raise money by the creation of baronets, and two hundred patents had been purchased by private gentlemen for so many thousand pounds. But as this project did not answer the purpose, recourse was had from necessity to the old expedient of application to parliament.

A. D. 1614. As the public finances were almost exhausted, the ministry were under a necessity of exerting their utmost efforts to procure a majority to vote the supplies for the ensuing year. But the people were in general so disgusted by the arbitrary, as well as dissolute measures of the king, that instead of granting a supply, they resumed the subject which had been canvassed in the last parliament, and exclaimed against the king's usurpation, in pretending to levy new customs by the meer authority of prerogative.

The period of retaliation on the head of the infamous favorite the earl of Somerset, now approached. He had indeed found means to avert the stroke of justice for the murder of his faithful counsellor Sir Thomas Overbury, but now began to feel the stings of remorse; those attractive qualities which captivated his royal patron were upon the decline, and when he could no longer contribute to his gratification, he was no longer the object of his regard.

A. D. 1615. As enemies and ambition are mischievous fiends, which incessantly infest the purlieus of courts, it is not to be wondered that the enemies of Somerset, who, of course must have been numerous, availed themselves of this declension of the royal favour, and introduced a new object in order to supplant the present minion. With this view, they fixed upon George Villiers, a youth possessed of a fine person, improved by a genteel air and fashionable apparel. The glaring object was placed, at a comedy which was performed at Cambridge, full in the view of the king, and immediately engaged his attention, and most profound regard. The junto, perceiving that James was touched, pursued their success, and even prevailed upon the queen, and Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, to recommend the youth to the king's farther notice, who, embracing this sanction to his wishes, no longer restrained the visible tokens of his regard, but sent for him to court, and there re-

tained him as one of his cup-bearers. In this situation he daily grew in the esteem of the courtiers, and the king's attachment to him was carried to a degree of folly, though he still thought it requisite to keep up a shew of regard for his old favourite Somerset, who, being assured that he must be supplanted in the royal favour by the introduction of a youth of elegant form and engaging mien and behaviour, wisely anticipated the probable consequences of his dismissal by imploring at the hands of the king, a general pardon for his past conduct. His majesty immediately complied with the petition, and signed the pardon, but the lord chancellor, averse to so infamous a character, refused to pass it, and informed the queen of the contents. Upon this refusal, the whole party against Somerset concluded they must make their last effort, and the discovery of his guilt in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, soon involved him in all the ruin and infamy which they could desire or he deserve. Sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state, having obtained the knowledge of the murder from the apothecary's servant, who had prepared the poison, imparted the matter to the king, and the lieutenant being questioned on the fact, gave visible signs of guilt, and at length, acknowledged that he knew of some attempts being made against the life of Sir Thomas Overbury. Circumstances which amounted almost to absolute conviction.

Matters being carried thus far, the king, to exempt himself from suspicion of being accessory to so a heinous a transaction, gave orders to Sir Edward Coke to investigate the affair fully and impartially; in consequence of which the whole of the plot was revealed: the lesser criminals, Sir Jervais Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower, together with some inferior accessories, were first tried and found guilty; as were afterwards Somerset and his countess.

The inferior agents were brought to condign punishment; but, to the disgrace of humanity, the principals, who were the late favourite and his iniquitous consort, obtained pardons, and were, after some years imprisonment, restored to their liberty, and indulged with a pardon, with which they retired into the country, and languished the rest of their days in infamy and obscurity. There the hand of justice overtook them; conscience arrested their guilty minds, and they lived in misery and obscurity mutual plagues to each other.

An absurd, if not criminal, attachment to favourites influenced the mind of James as powerfully as ever. Villiers succeeded to all the honours and dignities of which the former minion had been possessed, and the king gave fresh instances of an arbitrary disposition. Lord chief justice Coke was divested of his office on pretence of some trivial misdemeanours, though the real cause of his disgrace was his opposing the king, in bestowing a vacant bishopric in commendam. Coke was succeeded by Montagu, and the lord chancellor Ellesmere, being seized with a dangerous distemper, resigned the seals into the hands of the king, who kept them till his death, and then delivered them to Francis Bacon, a man eminent for his unrivalled abilities both professional and literary.

A. D. 1616. The honour conferred on the king's son in being created prince of Wales, was inferior, (considering their vast disparity in the rank of life) to the dignities heaped on Villiers, his relatives and creatures. He was raised to the title of marquis and duke of Buckingham, and appointed knight of the garter, master of the horse, warden of



of the cinque ports, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother was created countess of Buckingham, his brother viscount Purbeck, and a numerous train of needy relatives admitted to places of trust and profit.

The king now formed a resolution of visiting Scotland in the spring of the year, in order to accomplish a scheme he had formed for reducing the Scottish clergy to a conformity with the church of England.

After so long an absence, as a kind of compliment to their sovereign, the assembly of the kirk of Scotland were prevailed on to adopt some innovations; but these innovations laid the foundation of those troubles, which afterwards brought ruin upon his son and successor.

James at the same time disgusted his English subjects by an attempt to revive a custom, which, to the disgrace of the christian religion, ever prevailed in Romish countries, where the people are allowed to take their diversion on Sundays, after the performance of divine service. With this view, he published a performance, entitled "The Book of Sports," recommending all kinds of diversions after sermon. He commanded this book to be publicly read in all churches, and severely punished such ministers as refused to comply with his royal mandate.

Sir Walter Raleigh, a man of an enterprising genius, and intrepid spirit, having been long immured in a dreary prison, where he had rendered himself useful to the community in finishing so arduous a work as the history of the world, the people compassionated his case, and conceived the warmest prejudices in his favour, which being made known to the king, concurred with other circumstances to procure his release.

A. D. 1617. Sir Walter, whose active spirit was roused by his release, spread a report of a golden mine which he had discovered in Guiana, and affirmed it to be sufficient not only to enrich the adventurers, but also to bring immense treasure to the government. The king, whose love of money was founded on his love of pleasure, granted him a commission to engage adventurers, but with this limitation, that he should not injure the subjects of Spain; but that was absolutely inconsistent with their design of carrying away the Spanish ore. Many wealthy persons, however, embarked in this project, so that Raleigh, being properly supplied with ships and men, set sail in the month of August in quest of the mine. When he arrived at the river Oroonoko, he remained at the entrance with five of his largest ships, and sent the rest to the town of St. Thomas, under the command of his son and captain Keymis, in whom he reposed the most entire confidence. The Spaniards endeavoured to oppose the landing of the English, but were repulsed and driven back into the town, after young Raleigh was killed in the assault.

The expedition proved unsuccessful, and in the event was the cause of Raleigh's untimely fate. After the fatigue of cruising about, and long marches up the country in quest of this mine without effect, the detachment he had sent off returned to their commander in chief, who, vexed at the disappointment and the loss of his son, threatened Keymis with the king's displeasure, and that commander, being soon after found dead in his cabin, was supposed to have ended his life with a pistol. The sailors, tired with this chimerical expedition, insisted upon returning to England; and when they

arrived at Kinsale in Ireland, Raleigh would have persuaded them to go with him; but instead of complying with his desire, they carried him against his will into Plymouth, where he was arrested by the king's order, and from thence conveyed to the Tower of London.

There were two considerations which rendered his death inevitable; the one was the offence given to the Spanish court, and the other much more important in the opinion of the king, though the consequence of the former, was the breaking off the treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and the Infanta, so that James without hesitation signed the warrant for putting him to death upon the former sentence. Sir Walter, finding his fate inevitable, summoned up all his courage, and suffered with becoming composure and resolution, in the old palace yard, Westminster, on the twenty-ninth of October, which was some months after his condemnation.

A. D. 1618. James was justly censured for the inhumanity, as well as temerity of his conduct, in thus sacrificing the life of an English subject, whose general character did honour to his country, merely to gratify the resentment of the haughty Spaniards, and from a pusillanimous apprehension of the breaking off the intended match between the prince of Wales and the infanta of Spain.

Raleigh having thus fallen a sacrifice to the mortal hatred the Spaniards had conceived against him, the grand point which retarded the marriage was obviated, and the articles were soon after drawn up at Madrid, importing, that the children of this marriage be not constrained in matters of religion; that the Infanta and her family be permitted the free exercise of their religion; that the marriage be celebrated in Spain by a procurator, and that after the Infanta's arrival in England, such a solemnization should be used as might render the marriage valid, according to the laws of England.

From the enormous power Villiers had acquired by his influence over the mind of his sovereign, he was constantly surrounded by a groupe of sycophants, who obtained promotion as they could flatter that exalted minion. Amongst his chief favorites was Dr. John Williams, who through his interest was made keeper of the great seal, and after advanced to the archiepiscopal see of York, not from any predilection for Williams on account of superior piety or learning, but because he could condescend to gratify the vanity and pride of his ambitious patron.

A. D. 1619. During these transactions, the king lost his royal consort, who departed this life on the first day of March, in the fifty-sixth year of her age, an event that so sensibly affected him, as to bring on a melancholy which threatened his dissolution.

Ferdinand II. succeeding to the Imperial throne on the demise of the emperor Matthias, he prepared with great vigour to assert the cause of the Catholic religion throughout his dominions. Besides the assistance of his subjects, who adhered to the Romish faith, he attached to his interest a powerful combination of the neighbouring potentates. Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, who received orders to keep on the delusion of the marriage, by means of artful insinuations, and a large sum of money judiciously distributed, had so wrought upon the king, the favourite, and the ministers in general, that nothing was transacted without his advice and concurrence.

The king of England, who was deemed entirely  
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subservient to the Spanish court, at their instance, and in opposition to the petitions of his subjects, sent an ambassador to treat with the emperor Ferdinand, but his design, from various causes, was rendered abortive.

Commotions on account of religion now universally prevailed in Germany. Tho' the emperor had declared for the Catholic cause, the Protestants entertained hopes of his being influenced to moderation at least, as being nephew to prince Maurice, who had obtained an almost unlimited authority in the United Provinces. The states of Bohemia continued their rebellion against Ferdinand, and insisting on the observance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the reformed religion, made Frederic an offer of their crown, and the young palatine, prompted by ambition, immediately embraced the tender, and advanced with all his forces into Bohemia to assert their cause, and that of their religion.

A. D. 1620-1. Ferdinand, alarmed at this sudden turn of affairs, raised a powerful army with the utmost expedition, which he sent to oppose Frederic in Bohemia under the command of the duke of Bavaria. Spinola assembled an army of thirty thousand veterans in the Low Countries. When Edmonds, the king's resident at Brussels, demanded of the archduke Albert the meaning of these preparations, he was told, that Spinola alone could resolve him, and when the English minister applied to him, he received for answer, that his orders were sealed, and therefore he must defer his curiosity till he was allowed to break them open.

But sufficient information was soon derived from the event, for intelligence was dispatched at one and the same time to England, that Frederic was totally defeated in the decisive battle of Prague, and had fled with his family into Holland; and that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate, and meeting with no opposition, but from one English regiment under the command of the gallant Sir Horace Vere, subdued the greatest part of that principality. During these struggles between the partizans of the protestant and popish religion, James remained an indolent spectator, which exposed him to the censure of the English nation, and the contempt and derision of all Europe. He might have afforded Frederic considerable aid; but dissipation and pusillanimity ever marked his character, and at this time in particular, he was fearful of embarking in any enterprize that might disgust the court of Spain, and thereby be the means of breaking off favourite match, from which, without just foundation, he proposed to himself such mighty advantage.

The king, however, though he pursued measures diametrically opposite to the opinion and voice of his people, exerted himself with his usual diligence to raise his subsidies. Accordingly at the very first meeting of parliament, he addressed both houses, expatiating on his own merit and necessities, and demanding supplies for the relief of the Palatinate; in defence of which, he declared he would hazard his crown, and even the life of his son, should he miscarry in his endeavours to procure a reasonable pacification.

This declaration to espouse the cause of the Palatinate proved agreeable to the commons, who immediately granted a subsidy, with which the king at present seemed to be satisfied. They then proceeded in a very calm and deliberate manner, to examine and redress public grievances. They found that a patent had been granted to Sir Giles Mom-

peffon and Sir Francis Michel, for licensing public houses, and for the sole vending of gold and silver lace; by virtue of which privileges, they had been guilty of such scandalous frauds and oppressions, that upon complaint to the upper house, they were committed to prison, though Mompeffon, who was Buckingham's creature, found means to escape, but he was degraded from the dignity of knight, and his estate confiscated.

Having carried this much desired reformation thus far, the commons proceeded in their researches into other abuses of a more delicate and important nature. The seals were at that time in the hands of the celebrated Bacon, created lord Verulam and viscount St. Albans, a man equally distinguished for his genius and affability. His want of œconomy, and his indulgence to servants, had involved him in debt, so that in order to supply his necessities, he had been tempted to take bribes, and that in a very open manner, from suitors in chancery. Some writers have endeavoured to palliate the conduct of chancellor Bacon in this respect, and have affirmed that his equity in giving decrees in the court wherein he presided, was so extraordinary, that they were never reversed. But how far consistent such an asseveration can be, provided the former charge could have been substantiated must be evident to every reader, who is capable of judging from plain facts. Nay, as a confirmation of the validity of the charge, it appears, that he was not only committed to the Tower, but that, conscious of his guilt, he implored the mercy of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general confession, to avoid the disgrace of a stricter examination. But the lords were inexorable, and insisted upon a full confession of his misdemeanours, which having made, he was sentenced to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned in the Tower, during the king's pleasure, and to be rendered for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment. This rigid sentence he survived, and being in a little time restored to liberty, notwithstanding his sentence precluded him from acting in a public capacity, he gave such glaring proofs of genius, as have immortalized his name, as the glory and ornament of his age and nation.

Parties had long before subsisted, but were only distinguished by the titles of papist and protestant. Another division now took place under the denomination of Whigs and Tories. All those who favoured the hierarchy of the church, and the prerogative of the crown, were denominated Tories; those who maintained toleration, and the liberty of the subject, were called Whigs. As the court, in order to discourage all parliamentary opposition, affixed the name of Puritans to its antagonists, those rigid assertors of the protestant cause, in opposition to popish doctrines, as well as popish ceremonies, not only admitted, but gloried in the distinguished appellation.

James had lately, to answer particular purposes, affected some popular and patriotic measures; but from the prevalence of opposite principles, soon degenerated into proceedings that sullied the renown he had acquired. He imprisoned Sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Selden, without any known cause; persons highly respected by their representatives for their integrity, hospitality, and patriotism.

To add to the jealousy and suspicions of the people, the protestant interest evidently declined in Germany: the parliament, therefore, was no sooner re-assembled, than the commons took into consideration



ration those very affairs, and drew up a remonstrance, which they proposed to present to his majesty. They there represented, that the growing power of the house of Austria threatened the general liberties of Europe; that the progress of popery in England begat the most alarming apprehensions, lest it should once more gain the ascendant in the kingdom; that the king's lenity towards the professors of the Catholic religion had rendered them arrogant and presumptuous; that the uncontroled conquests made by the Austrian family greatly raised the expectation of the English papists, and that the prospect of the Spanish match in particular, excited the most sanguine hopes, if not of the final re-establishment, at least the entire toleration of their religion.

To obviate the evils which must necessarily flow from the circumstances thus particularly stated, they dutifully petitioned his majesty, that he would immediately undertake the defence of the palatine, and support him by force of arms; that he would declare war against Spain, whose arms and riches were the chief bulwark of the Catholic interest in Europe; that he would engage in no negotiation for the marriage of his son, but with a Protestant princess; that the children of popish recusants should be taken from their parents and committed to the care of protestant teachers and schoolmasters; and that the fines and confiscations to which the Catholics were by law subjected, should be exacted with the utmost rigour.

A petition comprizing grants so opposite to the principles, and subversive of the real designs of the king, met with such a reception as might reasonably have been expected. It was sent to him from London to Newmarket, where having perused the contents, he dispatched a letter to the speaker, in which he severely reprimanded the house, for interfering with matters above their reach and capacity, and enjoined them, in a particular manner, not to concern themselves with his son's marriage, nor to asperse the character of the Spanish monarch, nor any of his friends and confederates. To enforce this reprimand, he mentioned the imprisonment of Sir Edwin Sandys, and further declared, that he was resolutely determined for the future to take cognizance of any hint thrown out in word or action, that might seem to infringe on the royal prerogative. But the commons were by no means intimidated by this menacing mode of enforcing prerogative in opposition to privilege; and instead of retracting what they had done, entered with greater freedom on the national grievances, asserted their right to interpose in all affairs of state, insisted that it was their ancient and undoubted right to use freedom of speech in all their debates, and that if any member abused that liberty, the house alone, who were witnesses of his offence, were entitled to inflict a punishment upon him.

This peremptory and unequivocal declaration of the representatives of the people in favour of the rights of their constituents, put the principles of their king to the test, and extorted from him a reply more explicit than most of the former. He told them, that their remonstrance carried in it the air of a declaration of war, rather than an address from dutiful subjects; that their pretensions to intermeddle in all state affairs without exception, was such an extent of power, as had never been arrogated by any of their ancestors, even under the weakest princes; but assured them at the same time, that as long as they continued within the limits of

their duty, he would be as careful to maintain their lawful liberties and privileges, though he was determined in all his transactions never to encroach on his own royal prerogative.

Thus assured of his inflexible attachment to despotic and arbitrary government, the commons nobly asserted their claim as fully vested in them by the several clauses of the ever memorable Magna Charta, and accordingly drew up a protestation, insisting on all their former claims and privileges, as the undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England.

On the reception of the paper containing the resolutions of the house officially transmitted to him in the country, the king hastened to town, and sending for the journal of the house of commons, tore out with his own hand, in the presence of the council, this spirited protestation, declaring it null and void as an infringement on the royal prerogative. The commons, however, still persevered in their claim, and the king had recourse to his usual mode of dissolution, and then discovering his resentment to those who had signaled themselves in the espousal of the laws and liberties of their country.

A. D. 1622. To preserve the parade and pageantry of government, and an affectation of attachment to the protestant cause in Germany, James dispatched lord Digby on an embassy to the emperor, desiring a cessation of hostilities, and that minister being referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Austrian forces, was informed by him "that there needed no treaty for that purpose, as hostilities were already ceased by his having got firm possession of the Palatinate, which he intended to maintain till a final accommodation should be effected between the contending parties." But the timid and pusillanimous king of England, instead of resenting such an indignity offered to him as sovereign of a mighty people, concurred with Ferdinand in the pursuit of measures destructive of the interests he protested to maintain. The palatine, in the meantime, exerted his utmost endeavours, in order to recover his dominions; but without any prospect of success, as the Austrians were superior in number, and being duly paid observed a much stricter discipline than his troops, which were greatly fatigued as well as discouraged by maintaining so unequal and fruitless a contest.

The king of England, therefore, suspecting that his espousal of the cause of the Palatine would involve him in a dispute with the Austrians, and bring on an expensive war, which, at that juncture, it was his particular interest to avoid, advised Frederick to withdraw his forces under pretence of dutiful submission to the emperor, and this counsel was immediately followed.

As a proof of the versatility of human nature, and the influence of the passions even over exalted minds, lord Digby, who had lately been created earl of Bristol, now went over to Spain in quality of king James's ambassador to Philip, to negotiate that very match between Charles prince of Wales and the Infanta, which he had reprobated upon so many former occasions. To gloss over the inconsistency of his conduct, he endeavoured to prevail on the English council, by insinuating, that a daughter of Spain, extremely amiable, would be conducted into England, with an immense fortune of two millions of pieces of eight (amounting to six hundred thousand pounds,) a sum four times greater than Spain had ever given with



with any other princess. Nothing now seemed wanting to the conclusion of the marriage, but a dispensation from the pope, who would not grant it without stipulating terms greatly conducive to the interest of the Catholic religion, which met with no opposition from the king of England, who, provided he could bring about the favorite match, and thereby procure an immediate supply for the gratification of his folly and extravagance, was disposed most obsequiously to accede to any terms the court of Spain, or his holiness, might propose, however disgraceful to himself, or injurious to his people.

A. D. 1623. The minion Buckingham had the address to insinuate himself as much into the graces of prince Charles, as of the king, inasmuch that both father and son implicitly followed his counsels, and adopted his maxims. He had long swelled with envy at the earl of Bristol's having the sole management of the Spanish match, and was therefore determined to exert all his influence to procure a share in the honour of the negotiation. To gratify this ambitious desire, he prevailed with the prince, to apply to his royal father for permission to pay a visit to the court of Madrid, representing to him, in a most alluring point of view, both the interest and advantages with which it must be attended, in conciliating at once the affection of the Infanta, and the regard and esteem of the Spanish nation in general. The king, through motives of affection for his son, and regard for the minion Buckingham, gave his assent to the proposal, but upon reflection on the consequences that might probably attend it, he determined to prevent it, and accordingly, when the prince and Buckingham returned for their dispatches, he acquainted them with the reason which induced him to alter his mind, and desired they would drop all thoughts of so ridiculous an adventure.

But the favorite, through an infatuated prevalence over the mind of the king, obtained that which his son had importuned, without real effect. Preparations were accordingly made for the expedition, and Sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, being appointed to attend them, the prince and Buckingham passed disguised and undiscovered through France, and even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles had an opportunity of seeing the princess Henrietta whom he afterwards espoused. In eleven days from the time of their leaving London, they arrived at Madrid, and were received with every token of honour and respect, as the Spanish monarch employed every expedient to show the esteem which he had for his royal guest.

As good is frequently produced by causes apparently evil, trivial, or absurd, this chimerical project eventually subserved the Protestant interest; for when, on a peremptory demand whether they intended to give the infanta to the prince, and upon what terms, Olivarez, a leading personage in the court, informed him, that it was expected the prince should change his religion, and that it was generally supposed he had come to Spain on that account, Buckingham spiritedly disclaimed even an insinuation of that kind, and demanded a categorical reply, equally regardless of the pretences of the holy see, as of the court of Madrid. To retard the negotiation and final adjustment of the affair, his holiness added some new clauses, and containing articles wholly exceptionable upon Protestant principles, as they had reference to the issue of

the marriage, imbibing popish tenets from their earliest years, and consequently abetting the same in more advanced life.

But the weak and pliant James, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the archbishop of Canterbury, not only signed these articles, but several private ones, in which he promised to suspend the execution of the penal laws against the Catholics, and tolerate the popish religion in private houses. By these means, king James highly contributed to the gratification of his holiness, as well as the Spanish monarch, and affairs respecting the match wore a pleasing aspect, till on the demise of Gregory XV, the nuncio refused to deliver the dispensation, until confirmed by his successor Urban VIII.

This manœuvre produced the effect so much desired by Buckingham; the royal guest took his leave, and was honoured at his departure with every circumstance of respect; even a pillar was erected on the spot where they parted, as a monument of their friendship. The prince and Buckingham then embarked, and after a tempestuous passage arrived at Portsmouth, from whence they posted immediately to James, who received them with infinite joy and satisfaction.

The minion Buckingham having rendered himself as obnoxious to the court of Madrid by his supercilious behaviour, as the prince had endeared himself by his affability and modesty, dreading the resentment of the Spaniards, should the match take place, from the alliance which must naturally ensue, exerted his utmost influence to prevent the same, and maintaining still an absolute ascendancy over the mind of Charles, he wrought on him to recede from the articles, and disclose to the king the grounds of his objections to the marriage with the infanta, in consequence of which orders were dispatched to the earl of Bristol to return from his embassy, and put a stop to all future proceedings.

The Spanish monarch, naturally piqued at this unexpected behaviour of the king of England, not only laid aside all thoughts of the match, which was now so apparently approaching, but made vigorous preparations throughout his dominions for re-commencing hostilities.

However odious Buckingham might have rendered himself in other respects to the English nation, in this particular instance of breaking off the match with the house of Spain, he was much applauded: nay, so general was the joy upon this occasion, that throughout the kingdom they celebrated the rupture with bonfires and every token of mirth and festivity.

A. D. 1624. James having thus fell out with Spain, laid before both houses his causes of complaint, and condescended to ask the parliament advice, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the management of so important an affair as the marriage of his son. The duke of Buckingham presented to a committee of both houses a long narrative, which he affirmed to be full and complete of every step taken in the treaty with the Spanish monarch; and though it was loaded with palpable falsities and misrepresentations, it was vouched for truth by the prince of Wales, and even the king seemed tacitly to approve of it. Though this narrative, vamped for a temporary purpose, evidently bore the semblance of fiction, the parliament admitted the contents as valid, and, in consideration of the urgent demands of the state, voted a considerable supply. This measure on the part of the parliament was productive of very salutary effects; for as it conciliated the mind of the king,



king, it was embraced as a happy opportunity for passing a bill against monopolies, which had miscarried through the long breach that had subsisted between them. The bill was expressed in such terms, that all monopolies, without exception, were condemned as inconsistent with law and the known liberties of the people. The house of commons likewise confirmed, by a new precedent, the important power of impeachment, which had been exerted some time before in the case of chancellor Bacon, and which before had lain dormant for more than a century past, excepting when it was employed on the part of the crown alone, thereby excluding the privilege of the subject.

While the attention of the English parliament was engrossed by the Spanish match, and concerns relative to the commercial interests of the kingdom, fresh commotions were excited in Germany. The electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, jealous of the growing power of the house of Bavaria, and the untractable insolence of the emperor, had signified their disgust, and James, after renewing his round of negotiation, brought matters to such a crisis, that he wrote a letter to the king of Bohemia, wherein he advised him to lay down his arms, and submit to an arbitration between him and the emperor; but Frederic would not hearken to such advice, and James seemed inclinable to have him assisted powerfully, could he have secured the concurrence of the Dutch or the French. But this pacific negotiation on the part of the king of England was frustrated by an event that happened at Amboyna in the East Indies, in the beginning of the preceding year. It had been agreed, four years before, in a treaty between England and the United States, that the Dutch, as a compensation for the immense expence they had been at in obtaining the trade to the Molucca islands, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portuguese, should enjoy two thirds of that trade, and the English one third. Pursuant to this treaty, the English factories were founded at the respective settlements; but the Dutch, desirous of monopolizing the spice trade in particular, feigned a pretence that a plan had been concerted between the English and the natives to seize the fort of Amboyna, in order to exclude them from one part of that trade. To vindicate their right thus pretendedly infringed by this attempt, the English were tortured in the most cruel manner, ten of whom, together with nine Japanese and one Portuguese, were ignominiously executed, though they protested their innocence to the very last.

The artful and fallacious manœuvres of the minister Buckingham to frustrate the intended marriage between the prince of Wales and the Infanta, at length became apparent to the king, and though he stifled his resentment for certain reasons, he conceived an aversion to him which he was determined openly to avow, on the arrival of the earl of Bristol.

Notwithstanding such were the disgust and resolution of the king, Buckingham, who wished to put off the day of retribution for his fallacious conduct towards his blind infatuated sovereign, wrought on his mind so powerfully, that he procured an order for committing the earl to the Tower, immediately upon his landing in England, and though he was soon after released, orders were sent him by the king, to retire to his country seat and not approach the court. The earl obeyed the mandate of his sovereign, but asserted his right of appeal to him for the rectitude of his conduct, as

well as alledging circumstances to criminate the favourite, who, alarmed at the resolution of Bristol, declared, in concurrence with the prince of Wales, that they were willing to be reconciled to him if he would confess his errors; but he disdained to purchase favour at so dear a rate, and the favourite thereupon determined to prosecute his intention of completing his ruin.

To further the designs and vindicate the cause of the injured earl, the Spanish ambassador, (having previously cautioned him to read it apart,) put a paper into the hands of the king, in which he assured him, that the prince and Buckingham had formed a conspiracy against him, and had the whole court at their devotion; that cabals were raising among the popular leaders in parliament, extremely prejudicial to his person and government, and therefore, that it behoved him, by one vigorous effort, to assert his independency, and to chastise those who had so grossly infringed on his royal prerogative. But such was the infatuation of this weak prince, that this representation produced no real effect; indeed, he gave some oblique hints of jealousy of the favourite, which, however, soon vanished.

A design was conceived in the summer, of making some military preparations to oppose the Spanish monarch, and to assist the elector palatine. An army of six thousand men was, therefore, raised and transported into Holland, under the command of four young noblemen, who were ambitious of signalizing their valour on this occasion.

While this matter was in agitation, the king received intelligence from his ambassador at the court of France, that Lewis XIII. was disposed to attend to an overture of marriage between the prince of Wales and his sister the princess Henrietta Maria, in consequence of which the earl of Carlisle was appointed to negotiate the affair, in conjunction with the earl of Holland.

James affected, at the commencement of this affair, a concern for the security of the protestant cause and interest, but at length being apprehensive lest his son should be disappointed of a bride, the Christian king no sooner interposed his mediation in behalf of the Catholics, than orders were given for the release of those of that faith who had been imprisoned since the petition of parliament. So strong was the desire of the English monarch to terminate this affair, that in a few months the articles were signed at Paris, being in substance much the same as those concluded with Spain; for as prince Charles, while in Spain, had given a verbal promise to leave to the infanta the education of her children till they attained to the age of thirteen years, this article was also inserted in the treaty; and this very circumstance seems to have given rise to the subsequent and just expulsion of the race of Stuarts from the throne of the realms.

To facilitate the proposed match, the court of France, with their usual perfidy, had made pompous promises, though in general terms, not only of affording a free passage to the English troops, but also of sending them powerful succours in their march towards the Palatinate, and the English council were so imprudent as to consider these professions as sincere. The troops were embarked, indeed, at Dover, but on their arrival before Calais, found that no orders were come for their admission. In consequence of this, embassies were continually dispatched between the English and French courts, till the French equivocally urged the expediency of deliberation, previous to the fulfilment.



filment of their engagements. The English forces directed their course towards Zealand, where, before any measures could be taken for their landing, great numbers were carried off by a pestilential disease, and those that remained, weakened by sickness and discouraged by misfortunes, were deemed incapable of the intended expedition.

This negotiation between the powers of England and France, evinces the greatest duplicity and perfidy on the one part, and the utmost credulity and pusillanimity on the other; indeed, it appears, from a review of that part of the history, which relates to the different transactions that have passed between these nations, that the English ministry have in general been duped by French policy, if not bribed by French gold.

Commotions still continued in various parts of Ireland at the instigation of the Spanish monarch and the Roman pontiff. But their malicious efforts were greatly frustrated by the powerful influence, both as an orator and a writer, of Dr. Usher, archbishop of Armagh, who stood forth an able and zealous champion of the protestant cause.

A. D. 1625. This was the last memorable transaction in the reign of James I. who soon after departed this transitory life at Theobalds, in Hertfordshire, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned in England twenty-two years, and over Scotland almost from his infancy.

The character of this monarch, like that of most others, has been misrepresented through the influence of party prejudice, and religious bigotry, which have induced writers to applaud or condemn as actuated by their own particular prejudices, or prepossessions. On an impartial survey, however, of his life and conduct, whether we consider him as a man, or a king, we cannot hold him up as an example to posterity. That he possessed some talents is indisputable, but that in

general he perverted them, must also be granted. Though he appears to have had some skill in logic, his actions seem rarely to have been guided by the dictates of reason and common sense; indeed, he was a slave to the meaner passions, and therefore prostituted favours on the most unworthy and despicable objects. As a king, he was ambitious, despotic, and tyrannical; characteristics, which have branded his name with the most indelible odium.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of James I.

A. D.

- 1603 Master of the ceremonies first appointed at the English court  
Cauliflowers first planted in England.
- 1604 This year the plague raged with great violence, and in London only carried off upwards of 30,000 of the inhabitants.
- 1605 Drunkenness punished in England by a fine of 5s. for each offence, or the offender placed in the stocks.  
The title of king of Great Britain first used by the English sovereigns.
- 1605 Hugh Calverly, of Calverly in Yorkshire, Esq. having murdered two of his children, and stabbed his wife in a fit of jealousy, being arraigned for his crime at York assizes, stood mute, and was thereupon pressed to death in the castle.
- 1608 Allum first manufactured in England.  
Asparagus first planted in England.
- 1609 Mulberry trees first planted in England.
- 1610 Artillery company of London instituted.
- 1614 This year the first ship was sent from England to Greenland to catch whales.  
The New River brought from Amwell, in Hertfordshire to London, by Sir Hugh Middleton.  
Powdering the hair first introduced.
- 1615 Bands for lawyers first used.  
Smithfield first paved.
- 1617 Whalebone first brought to England.
- 1620 Tapestry first manufactured in England at Mortlake.  
Coining with a die first used in England.
- 1621 Licences for public-houses first granted.
- 1624 The Thames made navigable to Oxford.
- 1625 Hackney coaches first used in London, when they were limited to no more than 20 in number.

## C H A P. II.

### C H A R L E S I.

*Succeeds his father on the throne. Marries the princess Henrietta Maria of France. Prosecutes the Spanish war. Evinces an arbitrary disposition. Constitutional rights asserted by parliament. Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton. The nation aggrieved by enormous taxes. The Protestants oppressed and persecuted. Commotions in Scotland from the king's attempt to introduce church conformity. Memorable transactions of the house of commons, in the maintenance of the religious as well as civil rights of the people. Trial and execution of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Stafford. The king visits his Scottish dominions. Insurrections in Ireland, attended with horrid massacres. Charles returns from Scotland. Parliamentary transactions. Various events of the war between the royal and parliamentary armies. Trial and execution of archbishop Laud. Abolition of the liturgy of the church of England. Success of the parliamentary army against the royalists. Dissentions between the Presbyterian and Independent parties. Power civil and religious engrossed by the army. The king seized, and committed to close confinement. His trial. Affecting scene at taking leave of his children. His death and character.*

ACCORDING to the usual form and ceremony upon such occasions, prince Charles, on the demise of his father, was proclaimed king in all the public places of the metropolis, and from the general good opinion the people entertained of him, ascended the throne with the eclat of universal approbation. The principal object of his regard upon his accession, was the consummation of the marriage with the princess Henrietta Maria of France, of which notice being sent to the French court, that princess set out with her retinue, and arriving at Dover on the twelfth of July, the nup-

tials were solemnized the following day with great pomp and magnificence.

The marriage being thus consummated, the young king immediately directed his attention to the great concerns of the nation; and on the meeting of the parliament, he represented, in a short speech, to both houses, the situation of public affairs, the war in which he was engaged with the king of Spain, together with the difficulty of restoring the palatine to his dominions; and thence inferred the necessity of a proportionate supply. The commons deliberated on the particulars re-



*Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.*



*Born at Dunfermling* } *Crowned at Westminster* } *Beheaded at Whitehall*  
*in Scotland Nov. 19. 1600.* } *February. 2. 1626.* } *Jan. 30. 1648. 9.*



counted in his speech; but, after all, could not be induced to grant his majesty more than a supply of two subsidies, amounting only to about an hundred and twenty thousand pounds. Charles very prudently seemed satisfied with the grant, deeming it an earnest of the good affections of his people, and not doubting but he should obtain farther supplies before the close of the session.

The influence of the minion Buckingham now began to decline. It is natural to suppose, from the honours he engrossed, and the wealth he had accumulated, that he was as obnoxious to the people in general as to the courtiers in particular. Indeed, on the accession of Charles, the nation laboured under many grievances, which loudly called for redress.

The house of commons was at this time filled with men of distinguished abilities, who, inspired with the ardent love of liberty, saw with regret an unlimited power usurped by the crown, and were determined to seize the opportunity which the king's necessities afforded, of circumscribing the prerogative within more reasonable bounds. They therefore came to an unanimous resolution not to grant any supplies till the king had given up some points that respected the liberty of the subject. But, just as this determination might appear in itself, Charles could not entertain the same sentiments; and was, therefore, not a little surprised, that the parliament should refuse to support the expences of a war that had been undertaken at their own request. It is evident, that the king inherited the arbitrary principles of his father, and that they invariably actuated his whole conduct, from his accession to the throne, till they unhappily terminated in his death. While he meant to request, he seemed to threaten; and by declaring, that respectful treatment would endear him to the use of parliaments, he might naturally be supposed to insinuate, that harsh treatment would prejudice him against those popular assemblies, and perhaps induce him to discontinue them entirely; a power which, however desirous he might be to usurp, the commons were by no means whatever willing to allow.

Notwithstanding the disagreement between the king and his parliament, Charles was determined to prosecute the Spanish war with vigour, and accordingly sent the duke of Buckingham, and the earl of Holland, ambassadors to the United Provinces, where, at the Hague, they met the ambassadors of France and Denmark, and concluded a league with them and the States, for restoring the liberties of Germany.

To carry on this intention, as he was denied the parliamentary aid he required, Charles issued privy seals for borrowing money from his subjects, by means of which he was at length enabled to fit out a fleet. It consisted of eighty vessels; and had on board ten regiments of infantry. Sir Edward Cecil, lately promoted to the title of viscount Wimbleton, was appointed commander, and had under him the earl of Essex as vice-admiral. They bent their course for Cadiz, where the enemy was fully prepared to meet them, and the attack of Port Puntal was, with twenty English and five Dutch ships, committed to Essex, who was so intent upon storming the port, that he was charged by the commander in chief of the land forces, with suffering the shipping, which formed the line, to give him battle to escape. But this charge seems rather invidious: however, on the result of the whole, the Spaniards retired to Port Real, and the earl of Essex, after many vigorous efforts,

found it impracticable to take the Puntal on that side. Upon this, Sir John Burroughs, an old English officer, landed with his regiment, and driving some companies of Spaniards, who had opposed his landing, back to the fort, the governor surrendered. But this conquest was of no importance, for the raw English troops, tempted by the deliciousness of the Spanish wines, indulged themselves in such excesses as produced universal confusion. At length, dissention increasing among the officers, and diseases among the private men, they abandoned the enterprize and returned to England, without having performed any one action of consequence.

A. D. 1626. Notwithstanding the failure of this expedition, and the very little probability of deriving any important advantage from the Spanish war, the king, on the opening of the session of parliament this year, made that, together with the demands of his household, a pretence for requiring their aid; and they accordingly voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths, to which they afterwards added one subsidy more.

It has been already observed, that the influence of Buckingham was visibly on the decline; but now, in consequence of the house of commons being, in general, as severe in their invectives against the minion, as they had before been lavish of their encomiums in his favour, informations from all quarters were brought against him, and the commons proceeded, with great acrimony, in their enquiries concerning them. They accused him of having engrossed many offices in his own person; of neglecting to guard the seas in quality of high-admiral; of furnishing the French with ships in order to serve against the Hugonots; of procuring extensive grants from the crown; and of giving medicines to the late king without the knowledge of his physicians. These charges being never substantiated, have been deemed the fictions of his most inveterate foes to effect his ruin. However, the king, notwithstanding the resolution and rigour which the commons evinced in their proceedings against Buckingham, continued to discover his contempt and disregard of them; for when they exclaimed against the favourite's being appointed to succeed the earl of Suffolk in the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge, the king was so imprudent as to write with his own hand a letter to the university, thanking them for their choice. Nay, he was so imprudent as to threaten the commons, in one of his messages, that if they did not furnish him with supplies, he must be obliged to try new councils.

The parliament being convinced by this, as well as former instances, of the king's proceedings, of an arbitrary disposition, which evidently shewed his desire of obtaining a despotic sway, determined to pursue such cautious measures as might obstruct his ambitious and unconstitutional designs. Accordingly, two members of the house, who had managed the impeachment against Buckingham, having been committed to prison, the commons declared, they would desist from all farther business, until satisfaction should be given them for this violation of their privileges.

The king alledged in excuse, that those members, in their impeachment, had used some seditious expressions; but as, upon examination, the pretence appeared to be groundless, the members were dismissed, and Charles, upon the whole of this affair, not only shewed his arbitrary principles, but exposed himself, in a particular manner, to the resentment of the parliament. The



The house of lords, who had been, some time, inactive spectators of the measures of the commons, now determined to assert their privileges, and insisted upon the release of the earl of Arundel, who had been some time committed to the Tower; and the king, with much apparent reluctance, complied with their request.

It appears, from the sequel, that Charles, in the assurance he gave the commons of a general redress of religious grievances, had been actuated by a view of engaging them to compliance with his exorbitant demands by way of supply; for the house, finding him rather disposed to defer the fulfillment of his promise, actually claimed the execution of the penal laws enacted against the catholics, presenting him, at the same time, with a list of persons invested with offices under the government, who were either convicted or suspected of popery. By this method of proceeding they intended to include Buckingham, as his mother, who had great influence over him, was a catholic, and the indulgence given them, of consequence, thought to be wholly owing to his credit and authority.

After a minute and critical investigation of the general conduct of Buckingham, they could not find sufficient ground for impeachment: however, considering him as a very incapable minister, as well as dangerous minion, they came to a resolution to present a petition for removing him from his majesty's councils and person for ever. The king, incensed at this measure, resolved on the dissolution of the parliament, and carried his determination into execution notwithstanding the interposition of the peers, who entreated him to permit them to sit a little longer. But as the commons had the utmost reason to expect this measure, they hastily finished and industriously dispersed their remonstrance, which they presumed would amply vindicate their proceedings to the public.

A paper war ensued upon these proceedings between the king and parliament, which, of course, excited violent animosities amongst the partisans on both sides. Application being made to the council, they granted a commission for compounding with the catholics, and agreeing for a dispensation with the penal laws, which had been passed against them. This was a circumstance highly pleasing to the king, as it produced the supply refused by parliament, and disappointed the hopes of the puritanical sect, who were the objects of his aversion.

To raise the supplies for fitting out a powerful fleet, an order of council was issued for all the sea-ports to equip a certain number of vessels, and the city of London was rated at twenty ships. This taxation, which had been imposed by queen Elizabeth, and afterwards aggravated by Charles, produced great discontent among the people. Such methods of supply, though exceeding unconstitutional, were pursued, till intelligence arrived that the king of Denmark was defeated by the imperial general, in a great and decisive engagement.

A supply being now absolutely requisite for the defence of the kingdom, the council, after some deliberation, passed an act, importing, that as the then exigency of the state would not admit of the least delay, the most speedy and convenient method would be, a general loan from the public, to be levied according to every person's respective assessment.

But the form and mode they pursued in effecting this necessary purpose were exceeding unpopular,

as well as dangerous in their consequences; as appears from the following injunction laid on the commissioners appointed to gather the money: "If any shall refuse to lend, and shall make delays and excuses, and persist in his obstinacy, you shall examine him upon oath whether he has been dealt with, to deny or refuse to lend, or make an excuse for not lending; who has dealt with him, and what speeches and persuasions were used to that purpose. And you shall also charge every such person, in his majesty's name, upon his allegiance, not to reveal to any one what was his answer."

But this assumption of inquisitorial right excited the ridicule rather than dread of the public, who seemed determined to concur in the assertion of their legal privileges; while the council, to enforce their arbitrary measures, tampered with some creatures among the clergy, who preached and published sermons, not only recommending the loan, but inculcating the odious doctrine of passive obedience in its full extent; insisting that the authority of the state was vested in the king alone, and condemning all restrictions of laws as seditious and impious.

To add a sanction to the efforts of these infamous hirelings, the king interposed his ecclesiastical authority, in the suspension and confinement of archbishop Abbot, merely because that venerable prelate had refused to license one of those sermons as subversive of the civil and religious liberties of England. These united means, however, had no influence over the people in general, who discovered a zeal for the assertion of a just cause, insomuch that numbers absolutely declined all concern in the loan.

The council now arrogated to themselves a lawless power in imprisoning many who refused to comply with their peremptory mandates; but the persons so confined were generally dismissed after presenting petitions to the king. Five knights of considerable property defended their liberties at their own hazard and expence, demanding enlargement, not as a favour from the court, but as their right by the laws of their country. No reason was given for their confinement, but the warrant from the king and council; so that it was affirmed by law, that this plea was not a sufficient cause for denying the prisoners bail or enlargement.

A. D. 1627. Through the interference of several zealous and powerful adherents to the cause of the people, the legality of these warrants issued from the king and council, independent of parliament, was litigated in the court of King's Bench. On summing up the matter, after a formal discussion, and due attention to the several debates, it appeared, that the parliaments of England had ever most cautiously guarded against the encroachments of despotism, and for that purpose had enacted six severe statutes, and among the rest a special article of Magna Charta, the most sacred foundation of the laws and constitution of the realm. It likewise appeared that, upon extraordinary occasions, such as foreign invasions, or domestic insurrections, these articles had been dispensed with; but as no such urgency could be pleaded in the present case, it was thought impossible that the judges could decide in favour of their arbitrary proceedings, so opposite to the express letter of the law, and repugnant to the very genius of the English constitution: all, therefore, they thought proper to do in so critical a case was, to refuse the bail that was offered.

But



But the nation at this time was not only distracted by internal feuds and lawless oppressions, but also harrassed by soldiers being quartered all over the kingdom; as if impositions were to be laid on the people by force of arms. Many persons likewise of inferior rank in life, who joined in the opposition to unconstitutional measures, were impressed, and obliged to serve in the fleet or army; and this is the first reign stigmatized with a practice so incongruous with the character of a free state.

Notwithstanding the odium Charles had incurred from his despotic measures, the ill success of his arms in Germany, and the exhausted state of his finances at home, he was so infatuated as to meditate and embark in a war with France as well as Spain, though those two powers united were a match for all Europe. The king is said, by the generality of those who had seconded this absurd transaction, to have been instigated to it by the persuasion of the minister Buckingham, who was prompted to this advice by disappointed ambition and implacable resentment.

The duke had been sent to assist at the royal nuptials celebrated by proxy in France, where his exalted character, together with the splendor of his equipage, and the gracefulness of his person, contributed to procure him universal respect and veneration. Intoxicated with the honours that were heaped upon him by the court, he ambitiously aspired to the favour of the queen-mother herself, and is said to have made an impression upon the heart of that princess. This opinion was founded on more than surmise, for it is very certain, that after his departure from Paris on the business for which he was sent thither, he privately returned, paid her a visit, and was dismissed with a reproof, that betokened more kindness than disapprobation.

But cardinal Richlieu, as consummate a courtier as statesman, fired at the aspiring ambition of the English favourite, descended from an obscure origin, determined to level his towering project, and accordingly prevailed on the French king, when the duke was preparing for a new embassy to Paris, to inform him by message, "that he must lay aside all thoughts of such a journey;" but the haughty Buckingham exclaimed in a rage, that he "would see the queen in spite of the whole power of France;" and from that very moment resolved to embroil the two nations.

To foment the dissensions he had already excited, Buckingham persuaded the king to dismiss all the queen's French attendants; though the marriage articles positively stipulated their continuance in their respective posts and employments. He likewise not only permitted but encouraged English ships of war to make captures of French merchantmen, and condemned them as lawful prizes. But perceiving that even these injuries could not effect an open rupture, as they were only followed by remonstrances, or at most by reprisals on the part of France, he determined to support the interest of the duke of Soubise, and engage at once in a military expedition against that nation.

Soubise, who was a most sanguine advocate for the Protestant cause, being then in London, was persuaded by Buckingham to solicit Charles to vindicate the wrongs which the Hugonots suffered in France. Though the king was particularly averse to these Hugonots, from their familiarity in principles to the puritans of his kingdom, he was so wrought on through the representations of Sou-

bise, urged and enforced by the pressing instances of his minister, that, with the utmost expedition, he made the most formidable preparations for an invasion of France, and committed so important and hazardous an undertaking to Buckingham, though literally unskilled both in naval and military manœuvres; so that on the arrival of the fleet before Rochelle the inhabitants shut the gates in defiance, refusing them admittance, till made acquainted with the purport of their visit.

Buckingham, foiled in all his attempts both naval and military as commander in chief, instead of invading Oleron, a fertile and defenceless island, directed his course to the isle of Rhé, a place strongly garrisoned and well fortified both by art and nature. Having landed his men with considerable loss, he relaxed in his operations; and allowed the French governor five days respite, during which the fort of St. Martin was furnished with great store of provision, and put into a posture of defence. Besides, he was so careless in guarding the sea, that the garrison received continual reinforcements, so that despairing of being able to reduce it by famine, he assaulted it without having made any breach, and rashly, as well as cruelly, sacrificed the lives of his soldiers. Understanding, at length, that a body of French troops had stolen over in small parties, and landed at Priè, he began to think of a retreat, but made it with so little judgment, that it was equal to a total defeat. He was the last of the whole army that embarked: he returned to England, after an expedition carried on with as much weakness and more expence, as it had been suggested by folly and presumption. The lives of the greatest part of his men were sacrificed to the temerity of a commander, of whom nothing can be said in commendation, but a signal display of personal courage and resolution.

A. D. 1628. These important losses evidently resulting from the king's obstinate attachment to a favourite, added to the former disgust of the people: they saw their liberties encroached on; illegal taxes imposed; their commerce ruined; their military glory stained by two unsuccessful enterprises; they apprehended greater calamities from persisting in a war with two powerful monarchs, and all these distressful circumstances were but too justly attributed to the obstinacy of their sovereign, in adhering to the councils of Buckingham, who had given so many proofs of incapacity for the due discharge of the important trust vested in him by an infatuated king.

The state of public affairs was involved in such perplexity through the mal-administration of Charles, his minister, and partizans, that they were reduced to the disagreeable expedient of calling a parliament. To introduce this design on the tapis, Sir Robert Cotton, one of Buckingham's dependants, proposed that the duke himself should be the first person who should mention in council, the assembling a new parliament; by which means it was imagined, all his former faults would be excused, and that instead of a tyrannical oppressor, he would be considered as the first patriot in the kingdom. But this plan, like most of those projected by an infamous junto, fell to the ground, being too palpable to escape the detection of the discerning part of both houses. But this scheme had no effect, as the view of the leading men in both houses were more rational and profound.

At the opening of the session, notwithstanding the late flagrant violations of the privileges of



the subjects in general, and of parliament in particular, in the imprisonment of several of the members, they proceeded with great order and decorum, in the grand business of the nation.

Charles had given repeated proofs of aversion to parliamentary restraint in the prosecution of arbitrary measures, and now openly and explicitly avowed his principles in the following part of his speech; "that if they should not do their duties in contributing to the exigencies of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those means which Providence had put into his hand, in order to secure that prerogative which was endangered by the follies of some particular persons." This intimation was enforced by the lord-keeper, who, pursuant to his majesty's command, subjoined, "that his majesty had chosen the way of parliamentary supplies as the fittest method; not that he was destitute of others, but because it was most agreeable to his own gracious disposition; and that if such means were deferred, necessity and the sword of the enemy might make way to the others." He concluded with these remarkable words, "Remember his majesty's admonition; I say, remember it."

These speeches, however, though conceived in haughty language, and uttered with an air of confident importance, did not deter the commons from entering on the means of redressing public grievances; restraining the exercise of lawless power; fixing the limits of the royal prerogative, and securing the rights and privileges of the people. Having dispatched these grand and important duties to themselves in particular, and the body of the people in general, as their legal representatives, they proceeded to the business of the supply, and in order to convince his majesty, that they were readily disposed to relieve his necessities, provided he would comply with their just demands, they voted him five entire subsidies; a sum with which Charles declared his entire satisfaction, and promised to comply with all their reasonable requests.

But they wisely deferred passing the supply into an act, having experienced, in many former instances, that the most liberal grants were not only prostituted to unworthy purposes, but insufficient to secure their privileges against future invasions. With this proviso they nominated a committee to draw up the form of so important a law; they aspired not, as they declared, to any new or unusual privileges, but only aimed at securing those which had been transmitted to them from their ancestors; this law they determined to call "a petition of right," thereby intimating, that it contained only an explanation of their ancient privileges, not any infringement of royal prerogative or acquisition of new liberties.

The upper house, generally disposed from their elevated rank in life to support the prerogative in its utmost extent, proposed a more moderate law, and recommended the same to the consideration of the commons, who resolutely persisting in defence of "the petition of right," it passed the house, and only waited the royal assent to carry it into execution.

When the king came to the house of peers to settle this important point, he sent for the commons, and being seated in his chair of state, the petition was read before him; after which he thus addressed the house: "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of

the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong of oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative." But the commons, deeming this speech equivocal and by no means agreeable to their desire, returned to the house, and proceeded to take under consideration the case of the duke of Buckingham, whom they justly deemed the author of many grievances, under which the nation then laboured.

To protect his favourite from public resentment, the king anticipated the designs of the commons, by granting them the full import of the petition according to its most extensive reference, and for that purpose he came to the house and stamped it with the royal assent. As a gratification for this compliance, they immediately granted a very large subsidy, and having thus balanced accounts with his majesty, continued to carry their researches into every abuse of government.

The minister Buckingham seemed to be the determined victim of their wrongs and injuries; for they unanimously resolved to present a remonstrance to his majesty, recapitulating the national grievances and calamities, to which his arrogance and ambition were supposed to have given rise. But Charles, to prevent so disagreeable an address from being presented, prorogued the parliament. Being now freed for some time from the restraints of parliament, Charles turned his attention towards foreign wars, in which his efforts were as unsuccessful, as in domestic government.

The reign of the favourite now approached its period, and he fell a sacrifice to that very passion of revenge he so often gratified in his behaviour and conduct towards others. His brother-in-law lord Denbigh, having incurred the imputation of cowardice, in declining to engage the enemy's fleet off Rochelle, which he had been sent to relieve, to wipe off this stain, Buckingham repaired to Portsmouth, where he had equipped a considerable armament, but before he could set out on his expedition, he met with death from the hands of a desperate assassin, which, had he survived much longer, he would probably have suffered from the laws of his country.

It seems the duke had been applied to by one Felton, a lieutenant in the navy, for a company vacated by his captain's having been killed in a late expedition, but being denied, he had resigned his commission and retired in disgust. Watching an opportunity for wreaking his vengeance on the duke, he followed him to Portsmouth, where having heard that he had an appointment with some gentlemen at a certain house, he waited for him near the entrance, and as he turned about in the passage to speak to a colonel in the army, stabbed him to the heart with a knife. The duke exclaiming, "the villain has killed me," drew out the knife, and instantly expired. No one had perceived the blow, nor observed the person that gave it; near the door, however, was found a hat, in the inside of which was sewed a paper, inscribed with a few lines of that remonstrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom, and containing some private reasons of the assassin for the commission of the fact. From this circumstance it was naturally concluded that the hat belonged to Felton, and in the mean time, a person without a hat being observed to walk very composedly





*George Villiers* DUKE of BUCKINGHAM, the great Favourite of Charles I.  
STABBED at PORTSMOUTH by FELTON the Assassin.



composedly before the door, there was a general cry, "here is the villain who killed the duke." The man replied, with great intrepidity, "True, I am he;" and resolutely exposed his naked breast to the swords of the assailants, being desirous to save himself by instant death from the disgrace of a public execution. Felton boldly avowed the fact; and being asked at whose instigation he had committed that atrocious crime, replied; that they need not concern themselves about that matter; that the resolution was entirely owing to the suggestions of his own conscience; that his motives would appear if his hat was found; for that apprehending he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them. Charles was so affected at the untimely fate of his favourite, that he commanded the assassin to be put to the torture, to extort from him a discovery of his accomplices; but he at length desisted from enforcing his mandate, on the judges giving their opinion against such a proceeding. Thus fell the minister Buckingham, by the poniard of resentment. We will not attempt to justify the act, but would only hold it up as a memento to succeeding favourites, in order that they may shun his example, lest they share his fate.

A. D. 1629. The conquest of Rochelle by the French, after a fruitless attempt of the earl of Lindsay to relieve it, with other unfortunate incidents, could not fail to weaken the king's authority with the commons. They accordingly availed themselves of the same, by rectifying many abuses ecclesiastical and political, but their sudden prorogation, however, hindered them from bringing the matter to a final conclusion.

Notwithstanding the late spirited behaviour of the commons, Sir John Elliot, Valentine, and Hollis, were summoned to answer in the king's bench for the pointed remonstrances they had made in the house, which the ministers were pleased to term disloyal; but refusing to account in an inferior court for their conduct, as members of a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to pay a fine, and to give security for their good behaviour.

A. D. 1630. Charles having, on every occasion that presented itself, evinced a disposition arbitrary in the highest degree, repugnant to the very genius of English liberty, and thereby rendered himself so obnoxious to his subjects and parliament, as to frustrate every attempt to raise subsidies adequate to the prosecution of a war with two of the most powerful potentates in Europe, was reduced to the necessity of concluding a peace on terms that reflected no more honour on his arms, than they had acquired by his military exploits.

The negotiation which followed was as frivolous as fruitless. Charles had entered into a private agreement with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, by which he engaged to support him in his intended invasion of Germany; but that he might save appearances with the house of Austria, he employed the marquis of Hamilton to levy the troops destined for that purpose. The Swede, however, did not perform his part of the agreement, and Charles withdrew his forces, after having incurred much expence without gaining either profit or honour.

The person who principally engrossed the royal favour on the decease of the late minister, was Laud, bishop of London, afterwards promoted to the see of Canterbury, a prelate of some parts and

learning, but strongly suspected of an attachment to popery. The doctrine of the puritans had now made great advances in England; and the king, by the advice of bishop Laud, sent instructions to all the prelates in the kingdom, enjoining them, amongst other things, to take the greatest care that no puritan minister should be admitted into the church; and to discover all such teachers as should neglect the rites prescribed by the canons. It is therefore no wonder that the puritans conceived the most implacable hatred against Laud, who, in the end, severely felt the effects of their resentment. The archbishop now made great and even apparent strides in favour of the Romish religion; for at his instance, when a certain sum was imposed on each county for the maintenance of a regular militia, compositions were openly made with Catholics, and their religion became a regular part of the revenue.

A. D. 1631. Recourse was now had to methods of raising money equally oppressive to the subject, injurious to trade and commerce, and destructive of industry. The last parliament of this king's predecessor, which abolished monopolies, had made an exception in favour of new inventions; and, on pretence of these, and of establishing new companies and corporations, this grievance was now renewed.

The aversion of Charles to any parliamentary restraint has been strongly marked in many preceding parts of his reign, but in none so pointedly as in the following instances: besides some innovations introduced by the late king, with the council of York erected by patent from Henry VIII. without consent or authority of parliament Charles had ventured to enlarge its powers, and to invest it with a kind of civil jurisdiction, which, in some respects, was even discretionary. In consequence of this illegal measure, all the northern counties were deprived of the protection of the common law, and subjected to an authority which was wholly arbitrary. The court of Star-chamber was a grievance no less intolerable; it infringed upon the privileges of the other courts, imposed the heaviest fines, and inflicted the severest punishments beyond the usual courts of justice.

A. D. 1632-3. He also revived an act of Edward II. compelling persons possessing twenty pounds per annum, of landed property, to appear and receive the honour of knighthood. Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth, who had employed this expedient for raising money, had summoned only those possessed of forty pounds a year and upwards, to receive the honour of knighthood, or compound for their neglect; and Charles, without considering the great alteration in the value of money since this law was enacted, followed the example of those monarchs. He appointed commissioners for establishing the rates of composition, and enjoined them not to accept of a less sum than the person would have paid upon a tax of three subsidies and a half. These arbitrary measures met with little opposition; Sir David Foulis, indeed, was fined five thousand pounds, chiefly because he had persuaded a friend to refuse compounding with the commissioners.

Taxes were now levied on various articles of trade, manufactures, and domestic conveniences. Commissioners were appointed for collecting, and officers for receiving the same; as if the king was as desirous of stripping his subjects of their property, as he had been of depriving them of their liberty.



liberty. In short, he evinced throughout the whole tenor of his conduct, principles diametrically repugnant to the true interest, welfare, and happiness of his subjects, and his prevailing foible was an implicit deference to the queen, who, being a bigot to popery, instigated him to measures subversive of the Protestant cause.

To further his designs in Scotland, the king visited those parts of his dominions in the spring, accompanied by his court, in order to hold a parliament there, to pass through the ceremony of his coronation, and to establish, if possible, the English liturgy in that country. The act for regulating the habits of clergymen was easily passed; but the attempt to introduce the liturgy was attended with the most fatal consequences.

Charles, immediately on his return to England, preferred his favourite Laud, bishop of London, to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, vacant on the demise of Abbot the late diocesan. The newly erected primate procured the see of London for his friend Juxon, but though he was possessed of many virtues and endowed with a good understanding, his promotion was exceeding disagreeable to the nation.

A. D. 1634. As Laud determined to maintain ecclesiastical dignity with great rigour, prosecutions were commenced, and the severest punishments inflicted on the smallest pretences. As an instance one Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn, but a bigotted and even fanatical puritan, having composed a volume, entitled *Historio Maltix*, intended to explode musical and theatrical diversions, in which were some oblique hints on the king and queen's encouraging the same, he was prosecuted in the Star-chamber, condemned to be expelled from the bar, to stand on the pillory in two places, to lose both his ears, to pay a fine of a thousand pounds to the king, and to be imprisoned during life.

Nor was this administration less attentive to pecuniary concerns, for the tax of ship money was imposed during the course of this year; the first writs of that kind had been only directed to seaport towns, but ship money was now levied throughout the kingdom, and each county was assessed in a particular sum, which was afterwards exacted from individuals.

There were many taxes levied at this time both reasonable and necessary, and the candid and discerning part of the public did not object to these taxes considered in themselves, but the mode in which they were both first passed as such, and afterwards levied. For these being entirely arbitrary, by the same rule any other tax might be imposed, and most persons considered a powerful fleet, though very necessary, a poor compensation for their liberties, which were thus sacrificed in order to obtain it.

The higher class of people, and particularly the courtiers, now imperiously lorded it over the rest of their fellow creatures and fellow subjects, as is always the case where despotism prevails; and whenever the latter failed in what was supposed to be their duty, they were sure to be punished with the utmost severity. One Granville, a private gentleman, having received an injury from the earl of Suffolk, had engaged in a law suit with him, and in the course of the trial, happened to say of that nobleman; that he was a base lord: the evidence against him was exceedingly weak; yet for this slight offence, insufficiently proved, he was condemned by the Star-chamber to pay a fine of eight thou-

sand pounds; one half to the earl, and the other to the king.

A person of the name of Allison was also exposed to the sentence of this oppressive and arbitrary tribunal. He had intimated that the archbishop of York instigated the king to many measures in favour of the Catholics, which by the Star-chamber being pronounced defamation, the culprit was fined ten thousand pounds, obliged to find security for his good behaviour during life, and to stand on the pillory at Westminster, and in three different towns of England. These instances are adduced to demonstrate the baneful influence of power perverted, through the prevalence of ambitious and arbitrary principles, when vested in the hands of weak or wicked men. Nothing can be more injurious to society, or destructive of the good order of government, as appears from the fatal consequences which terminated this reign.

A. D. 1635. Amidst these despotic measures, the king found leisure to attend to the naval state of the kingdom, and sent a fleet under the command of the earl of Northumberland to seize the Dutch fishing vessels which annoyed the British coast. Through this measure the Hollanders were obliged to purchase a licence for this season, by paying the sum of thirty thousand pounds.

A. D. 1636. This squadron was sent the following year to clear the channel and coasts of a swarm of piratical adventurers, which had long infested the same to the interruption of commerce and diminution of the revenue. The Star-chamber penalties were also again enforced against several individuals, who dared to oppose the arbitrary measures of a despotic government.

A. D. 1637. Religious persecution began to break out with such violence, that numbers of Protestants, and particularly those of the sect of Puritans emigrated to America, and there laid the foundation of a government, which enjoyed the most perfect liberty civil and ecclesiastical. To enforce the ship-money tax, whenever he was disposed to gratify his own caprice, Charles obtained from a corrupt bench of judges, a declaration, that in case of necessity, the king might, by his own authority, levy that tax; and that he was the sole judge of that necessity.

This proceeding in a great measure obviated the difficulty of levying the tax, as it enforced submission; one man, however, was found amidst a torrent of oppression and corruption, who nobly dared to oppose the arbitrary measures of the court, and to stand up in defence of the laws and liberties of his country.

John Hampden, immortalized in the page of history, having been rated at twenty shillings for an estate he possessed, determined, rather than comply with so illegal an imposition, to try the event of a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the resentment and indignation of the court. The case was argued during twelve days in the exchequer chamber before all the judges of England, and the people beheld with the utmost anxiety every step of a trial, which though it seemed to relate merely to a private person, was for ever to decide the fate of national liberty.

After many and long debates, the prejudiced or prostituted judges, notwithstanding the crown lawyers had nothing in the end to oppose to the pleadings of Hampden's council, gave sentence against him by a considerable majority; however, this distinguished patriot, though he failed in carrying a particular point, laid the foundation of that neces-



fary spirit of opposition, which at length stemmed the rapid progress of tyranny, that was ready to overwhelm the civil and religious rights and liberties of Britain.

It is but justice to record, that Scotland nobly withstood the despotic measures of Charles and his tyrannical court. The present king was desirous of completing the work that his father had begun, which was to reduce the Scottish church to perfect conformity with the English, and to effect that design, he proposed to encrease both the numbers and authority of episcopal dignitaries. With this view the liturgy was literally copied from that of England, and transmitted to the clergy at Edinburgh, with orders to begin the use of it with all convenient speed.

In consequence of the royal mandate, on Easter-day, the time appointed by proclamation, the dean of Edinburgh, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, began the service, the bishop himself and the members of the privy council being present; but he was soon interrupted by the populace, who exclaimed "a pope! a pope! an antichrist! stone him." As this tumult prevented the continuation of the service, the bishop mounted the pulpit in order to appease the multitude, who were so incensed that they threw stools at him, insulted the council, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the magistrates were able to expel them, and to shut the church doors against them.

Notwithstanding this tumult, and the representation of the primate of Scotland, a man eminent for his learning and candour, who, together with the lord treasurer, repaired to London to dissuade the king from the pursuit of so unpopular a measure, he obstinately persisted in his resolution of introducing his liturgy into Scotland, and issued a proclamation, in which he pardoned all past offences, and exhorted all people to be more submissive for the future, and to receive peaceably that form of worship which he was pleased to prescribe.

According to the intimation Charles received from the primate and lord treasurer, this proclamation was instantly opposed by a public protestation, presented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindsay; and this was the first time that persons of quality appeared to countenance the proceedings of the people. The spirit of discontent, which had been gradually spreading among all ranks of men, now blazed out at once. Four tables, as they were called, were established in Edinburgh; one was composed of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burghesses; and among the first of their acts was the production of the covenant.

The tenour of this memorable covenant was a solemn abjuration of the supremacy, doctrines, ceremonies and tenets of the church of Rome, and a general agreement confirmed by oath of the parties, to assist each other, and concur in the defence of their religion, against all innovations, or opposition, whatsoever.

A. D. 1638. Charles, alarmed at these strenuous efforts, sent the marquis of Hamilton as his commissioner into Scotland, and impowered him to treat with the covenanters. He insisted that the covenant should be renounced and abolished, and offered to suspend the canons and the liturgy, until they could be introduced in a fair and legal manner. In answer to this proposal, they plainly told the marquis, that, as they had engaged in a general combination to defend their civil and religi-

ous liberties, they were fully determined to hazard their lives and fortunes in support of so good a cause. Hamilton, finding all his attempts ineffectual, returned to London, and was immediately sent back with more satisfactory offers. The king therefore from compulsion agreed to dispense with divers ceremonies and forms, which he found to be highly obnoxious to the kingdom, and as a proof of his conciliatory disposition, empowered his commissioner to convoke first an assembly, and then a parliament, when every public grievance might be redressed.

These concessions, however, on the part of the king, were very far from being satisfactory to the covenanters, who had entered into an agreement to convoke a general assembly even without the king's permission. By an order of the tables, whose authority was supreme, an elder from every parish was empowered to attend the presbytery, and to vote in the choice both of the commissioners and ministers, who should be sent to the assembly; and to every commissioner four lay-assessors were assigned, who, though they could have no vote, might interpose with their council and authority in the assembly.

To frustrate every effort that had been used to introduce the hierarchy, and confirm their religious rights and privileges, acts were passed by the assembly convened at Glasgow, not only condemning the liturgy, canons, high commission, excommunicating fourteen bishops, and abjuring episcopal government, but even annulling the subscription of such as had signed the confession of faith according to the king's order, and to defend and support these resolutions by force of arms, if it should be found necessary; military bodies were raised amongst the vassals and dependants of several noblemen, who had embarked in the design.

A. D. 1639. The king incensed at these bold attempts of the Scottish malecontents, determined at once to reduce them to obedience and conformity; and with that view fitted out a fleet, consisting of sixteen sail of large ships, and conferred the command on the marquis of Hamilton, with orders to sail to the frith of Forth, and make a diversion among the forces of the enemy. The army amounted to twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, and was conducted by the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but distinguished neither for his military or political talents. The Scottish army in point of infantry was equal to that of the king's, but inferior in cavalry; the officers had more experience, and the soldiers were fired with the prospect of throwing off the yoke the king was desirous of imposing upon them.

Previously, however, to the actual commencement of hostilities, some of the more moderate and prudent of the leaders suggested the propriety of a dutiful address to the king, praying for admittance to a treaty. Charles, influenced by some unsuccessful attempts lately made by one of his generals, assented, so that a pacification was concluded, in which it was agreed, that within eight and forty hours, the Scots should disband their forces; that the king's forts should be restored to him; his authority acknowledged, and a general assembly and parliament be forthwith summoned, in order to compromise all differences.

But the result of this temporary pacification by no means answered the expectations of the king; for a general assembly having been convened at Edinburgh, they then declared episcopacy to be



unlawful in the church of Scotland; represented the liturgy and canons as popish institutions; and affirmed the high commission to be a stretch of tyranny. The parliament which met after the assembly, laid claim to several pretensions, which tended still farther to abridge the power of the crown; and on account of these claims, hostilities were re-commenced, with great advantages on the side of the covenanters, and infinite disadvantages on that of the king.

Charles, on the settling of the late treaty, had, from the reduced state of the public finances, been under an indispensable necessity of disbanding his forces; while the covenanters, sensible that their pretensions would soon occasion a fresh rupture, took care, in dismissing their troops, to preserve nothing but the appearance of peace. The officers were ordered to be ready on the first warning; the soldiers had the same charge; and the religious zeal which possessed all ranks of men made them flock to their standards as soon as the signal was given.

Such was the alarming situation of affairs in Scotland, that Charles was again compelled, though with the utmost difficulty, to make military preparations, in order to oppose the malecontents. But being conscious of the exhausted state of his exchequer, and consequently of his inability to support the expences of the same, recourse was had to the only expedient, of summoning a parliament to raise the necessary supplies.

A. D. 1640. Charles having received private intelligence, that the malecontents had solicited the assistance of the French king, and partly repenting of the concessions he had made to the Scots, as well as offended at their late pretensions, embraced this opportunity of breaking with them. He had committed to the Tower the lord Loudon, commissioner from the covenanters, one of the persons who had subscribed a treasonable letter; and he now laid the matter before parliament, whom he hoped to inflame by the indignity, and alarm by the danger of this application to a foreign power. But all that he could urge had no effect on the commons, so that the king went to the house of peers, and entreated their good offices in his behalf with the other house. The peers complied with his request, but the commons, still persisting in their resolution of humbling an haughty sovereign, voted the interposition of the lords to be a breach of privilege; so that Charles, provoked at their past proceedings, and dreading the consequences of their future, dissolved the parliament. Various causes concurred at this time to inflame the minds of the people, and excite commotions in the southern as well as northern parts of the king's dominions. The introduction of the pope's agent in a public capacity, at the instance of the queen, an avowed abettor of the Catholic religion, gave singular offence, and irritated the malecontents to a more vigorous exertion than ever, insomuch that the king, after divers measures had been pursued, and many difficulties encountered, assembled an army, amounting to nine thousand foot and two thousand horse. The earl of Northumberland was appointed commander in chief, the earl of Stafford acted as lieutenant general, and lord Conway was general of the horse. The Scots, whose army was always held in readiness, had already advanced to the borders of England, and were encamped at Newburn, about four miles from Newcastle. The lord Conway with a body of four thousand men had intrenched

on the other side, in order to defend the ford, but the Scots determined to force a passage. This, after some opposition, they effected, and took possession of Newcastle, Conway having retired with precipitation to Durham.

With the advice of some prudent leaders; the Scots dispatched messengers to the king, who was arrived at York, humbly to entreat admission into his presence, in order to lay their complaints before his majesty. Charles, seeing no other method of stopping their progress, than by complying with their proposals, agreed to a treaty, and appointed sixteen English noblemen to confer with eleven Scottish commissioners at Rippon. But all that was done upon this occasion, was the signing preliminary articles, providing for the maintenance of the Scottish army, and reviving the commerce which used to subsist between the two nations.

In order to expedite the design of this conference, or rather negotiation, it was transferred to London, and ordered to be laid before parliament. The commons attended most cordially to all public grievances, but the principal objects of their resentment were archbishop Laud, and the earl of Stafford, whom they impeached of high treason, and committed to the custody of the usher of the black rod; and in a few days the latter was sent to the Tower. The Scottish commissioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, impeached Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, taxing him with being the cause of all the troubles in England and Scotland, and exciting a war between his majesty and his subjects, for which the commons committed him to the Tower.

The lord keeper Finch, who from his abetting arbitrary measures had rendered himself extremely unpopular and was in danger of impeachment, secretly withdrew, and took refuge in Holland. These strenuous exertions of the representatives of the people, in defence of their rights against the invasion of despotism, produced a visible declension in the interest of the king's party, which, added to the popular clamour, disposed him to wish for an accommodation. The committee for examining the rights of the subject was ordered to draw up impeachments against lord keeper Finch, and the rest of the judges, concerning the jurisdictions of ecclesiastical courts, and the court of admiralty, as well as their own illegal proceedings.

In the course of a parliamentary investigation into the public grievances, as well as infringements on religious liberty, so many enormous instances of the arbitrary proceedings of the courts of high commission in the provinces of Canterbury and York appeared, that the commons appointed commissioners to examine into the same.

A. D. 1641. Alarmed at these measures, the king went to the house of peers, where in a speech he recommended dispatch, in providing for the maintenance of the fleet and army, and observed the distinction between reforming and altering the government. The upper house would by no means accede to the expulsion of the prelates from their seats in the grand assembly; so that it was opposed by a great majority. The commons, however, to shew how little they were discouraged by this repulse, presented to the peers nine reasons for excluding the bishops from parliament, and in a few days afterwards, the peers voted that the prelates should be maintained in their right to sit in parliament. Upon this the commons passed a vote importing, that all deans, chapters,



chapters, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and their officers, should be totally suppressed, and their revenues employed in the encouragement of science, and other laudable uses.

Encouraged by the success of their attempts, in vindication of the religious rights of their constituents, the commons turned their attention to the civil interests of the nation. As the levying the duties of tonnage and poundage, without consent of parliament, and even encreasing them at pleasure, was repugnant to the very genius of a free government, where the people, by their constitutional privileges, cannot be taxed but by their own consent; such encroachments, therefore, could no longer be endured by the then vigilant guardians of liberty. In the preamble, therefore, to the bill, by which these duties were granted to the king, the commons asserted, in the most clear and express terms, their own right to bestow this gift, and to deprive the crown of all independent title of assuming it: and in order to put the matter beyond all controversy, they voted these duties only for two months, and reserved to themselves the power of renewing the grant, as they from time to time should deem expedient.

Such was the urgent situation of affairs, that the king was under a necessity of passing even this bill, which deprived him of such a large and considerable branch of his revenue. The next measure pursued by this very spirited house of commons, was to draw up a bill for triennial parliaments; to which his majesty also subjoined his signature, from the same motives as had influenced him to such compliant behaviour in divers late instances. However, he obtained the hearty thanks of both houses, and the whole nation resounded with shouts of joy and exultation. As a change of ministers as well as measures was now deemed necessary, the king admitted into his council the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Essex, Bristol, and Warwick; the lords Say, Kimbolton, and Saville. Juxon, bishop of London, and friend of Laud, resigned the post of treasurer; and Oliver St. John was appointed solicitor-general.

In the mean time, the lower house proceeded with great rigour against the earl of Stafford. A committee was chosen to prepare the charges against him; authorized to examine witnesses, and papers touching any part of the earl's conduct. They also took an oath of secrecy, that the earl might be perplexed in solving their enquiries, and in preparing for his defence.

To deprive him of the assistance of a powerful advocate, Sir George Ratcliff, the earl's intimate friend, was accused of high-treason, brought over from Ireland, and thrown into prison. The Irish house of commons sent over a committee to assist in the prosecution of Stafford, against whom they were highly incensed; and indeed, the whole nation was bent on his destruction. Eight and twenty articles of impeachment were preferred against him; charging him with having been the cause of the war in Scotland; levying an army of Irish papists to enslave the kingdom, and advising the king to establish an absolute government on the ruins of the constitution. The earl behaved with courage and composure; his defence was noble and spirited. He acquitted himself of every imputation, except a few instances of indiscretion, to which every man is liable.

Such was the prejudice which prevailed in general, with the members of the house of commons, against this unfortunate nobleman, that

though they could not find just cause for prosecution, they were resolutely bent on his destruction. With this view, young Vane pretended he had found some papers by accident in his father's closet, and as they were thought to bear testimony against the earl, his accusers next day read them openly at his trial: they were intitled, No danger of war with Scotland if offensive, not defensive. The earl in his defence observed, that it was hard to be prosecuted for giving his opinion. After he had answered the different articles of impeachment, which were enforced with all the virulence of malice, and energy of elocution, he directed his discourse to his children; and then to the lords present, with such grace and elegance, that the audience (except a few hardened wretches) were deeply affected with his hapless fate.

To mitigate the rigour of such proceedings against the earl, the king in his speech to the parliament, after having assured them that Stafford should never more be admitted into his councils, or any public post of government, requested that they would treat him with justice and lenity. The earl and his council produced such weighty arguments in his defence, that the commons saw no prospect of his destruction but by a bill of attainder, which passed the house after a long debate, and was immediately sent to the house of lords.

To compleat their design against Stafford, a bill was brought in for the purpose of continuing the session of this parliament, which should not be prorogued or dissolved without the consent of both houses, until the grievances should be redressed. A majority of the peers voted the earl of Stafford guilty of high treason. This circumstance affected the king in the most sensible manner; his counsellors advised him to give up the earl, in order to appease the enraged people. Stafford himself, in a letter, gallantly exhorted his majesty to sacrifice him to a reconciliation with his subjects. The queen, who was no friend to the earl, used all her influence with the king to make him comply with incessant importunities, so that at length he consented to their request. Stafford, when he found that his sovereign had consented to his death, exclaimed with a start of surprize and astonishment, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation." The king, filled with compunction for his late conduct towards the unfortunate earl, addressed the peers in the strongest terms, to recommend to the house of commons a mitigation of his sentence; but the representation of his majesty was without effect, the commons obstinately persisting in their resolution.

The day of execution being fixed for the twelfth of May, on Tower-Hill, the earl appeared on the scaffold with that serenity, which is the attendant on true courage and conscious innocence; observing, that a reformation begun with the shedding of innocent blood could not have a happy issue. Having bid a final adieu to his brother and friends, who attended him, and sent a blessing to his near relations, who were absent; "And now, said he, I have nigh done; one stroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless, deprive my poor servants of an indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother and all my friends." In preparing himself for the block; "I thank God (added he) that I am no way afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but can resign a weary life with the utmost composure."



So finished this precarious state of existence the illustrious Thomas Wentworth, earl of Stafford, a nobleman possessed of many amiable and recommendatory qualifications, but unhappily attached to such principles as incurred the resentment of the nation, and thereby brought him to a premature death. The king apprehended the most alarming consequences from the fate of Stafford, inferring, that those very men who had been necessary to the same, would persist in their violent measures. This produced in him an immediate attention to every proposal the parliament then thought proper to make; nor did they fail to avail themselves of so favourable an opportunity, for by one stroke they suppressed all the taxes the king had heretofore imposed; carried up an accusation to the lords against thirteen bishops, who had assisted the king in levying money contrary to law; and abolished the high commission. Lord Digby, son to the earl of Bristol, who had signalized himself in vindication of Stafford against his most powerful opponents, was not only called up to the house of peers, but honoured with particular tokens of royal favour and approbation.

Though the king was so circumstanced as to comply with almost every requisition of parliament, he peremptorily refused to disband the Irish army; alledging, that he had engaged to send a body of four thousand men into the Spanish service, and could not violate his honour. But no masters of vessels would venture on the transporting troops into foreign parts; the commons having published a declaration that any person concerned in such transportation, should be deemed an enemy to the state; and thus his majesty's intentions were frustrated.

In consequence of the disputes which had long subsisted between his majesty and his Scottish subjects being settled through the conclusion of a treaty, their parliament resumed business, and the king signified his pleasure of assisting at it in person. But the commons of England interposed their authority, and appointed a committee to attend him to Scotland, on pretence of conferring with the Scottish parliament, but in reality to inspect the king's conduct. They then adjourned from the ninth of September, till the twentieth of October.

Pursuant to this resolution, the king attended by the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and the lord Willoughby, arrived at Edinburgh, where he found it convenient to acquiesce in every thing that the Scottish parliament proposed. In order to acquire popularity in that nation, he promoted the earl of Argyle to the dignity of a marquis, Loudon to an earldom, and general Lesley was created earl of Leven. A law was enacted to prevent foreigners from being created peers of Scotland, unless they possessed estates in that kingdom. Argyle and Hamilton, having conceived a suspicion that the earl of Crawford, and others, intended to murder them, left the parliament abruptly, and withdrew into the country.

The parliament of England, who had so strenuously exerted themselves in the cause of religious liberty, suspecting from some late intelligence, that the Catholics of Scotland had formed a conspiracy against them, to protect their persons from such attempts, obtained a guard by order of the earl of Essex, whom the king had appointed generalissimo, to attend the avenues of both houses, during the time of their coming and going from thence.

While his majesty was employed in settling affairs in Scotland, information was received of a dangerous insurrection in Ireland, attended with dreadful scenes of rapine and slaughter. The old adherents to the Romish religion, since the advancement of the Protestant cause, had, it seems, been treated with some degree of rigour, respecting the forms and ceremonies of their worship. Animated by their priests, they resolved to rise throughout all the provinces in one day, and attack the English settlements, and it was agreed, that the castle of Dublin should be surprized by lord Maguire and Sir Roger More, two of the leaders of the faction.

Matters having been duly concerted, Maguire and More repaired to Dublin, with a large body of their confederates, intending to attack the castle in the morning. But O'Connolly, a Protestant, revealing the secret, the justices and council took shelter in the city, and reinforced the guards. Maguire was taken, but More escaped.

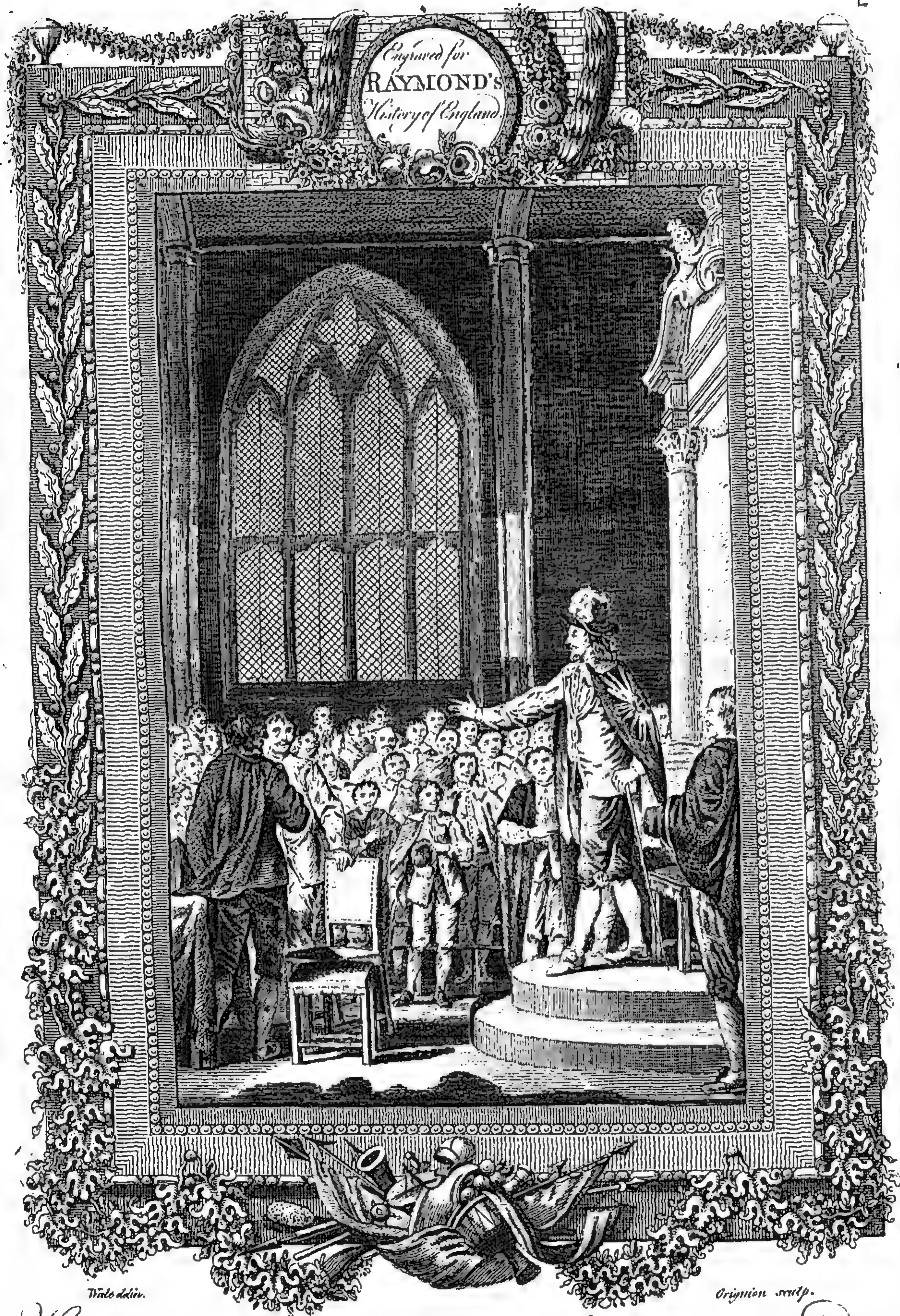
The fate of the insurgents in Dublin did not intimidate the inhabitants of other parts from prosecuting their design; for a rebellion broke out immediately after in Ulster, where the horrid massacre that followed surpasses conception, and cannot be described without thrilling the human breast. During the space of three months only, no less than forty thousand fell victims to superstition and bigotry. The roads were crowded with spectacles of horror; men, women, and children, were driven naked into the fields, to perish with cold and hunger; and more than savage barbarity exasperated beyond all feeling, by religious phrenzy, left its dreadful tracks throughout the greater part of the nation. The justices assembled all the troops that were not already surrounded by the rebels, and those, together with such as enlisted in the service, amounted to six thousand, but six hundred were routed and put to the sword, in their attempt to relieve the tower of Tredagh, which was besieged by the natives.

An army of twenty thousand rebels, under the command of lord Gosmanstone, threatened to invest the city of Dublin; and in order to encourage the people to repair to their standard, assumed to themselves the title of the queen's army; nay, to cover the pretence with the semblance of authority, they affixed the seal torn from the royal patent of a general officer they had murdered, to a commission, and presented the same as duly signed and stamped.

His majesty having applied by message to the English parliament for a grant, to enable him to suppress this dangerous rebellion, the commons, with the consent of the upper house, borrowed fifty thousand pounds of the city of London, for the relief of Ireland. They also voted that two hundred thousand pounds should be raised and transported into that country, that a magazine of arms and ammunition should be established at Chester for the use of Dublin, and the ammunition at Carlisle be sent to Carrickfergus.

But in all these measures the commons had particular regard to the preservation of their own superior importance, and the security of their property and rights, in case of commotions they apprehended in England, in consequence of the rebellion of Ireland. By engrossing the management of the war, they acquired an ascendant in the army; they levied money under pretence of the Irish expedition, but received it for purposes in which they were more deeply interested; they took





Wilde delin.

Grignon sculp.

*King CHARLES the FIRST, in the HOUSE of COMMONS, demanding  
the FIVE impeached MEMBERS to be delivered up to his AUTHORITY.*



arms from the king's magazines; but preserved them with a secret intention of employing them against their sovereign, and voted and passed every law they deemed necessary for the promotion of their schemes and designs.

Resolved to curtail prerogative as much as possible, the commons drew up a remonstrance replete with the utmost virulent malignity against the king's administration, since the commencement of his reign, and even from every accident that proceeded from the uncertain chance of war. Charles, however, met with a most favourable reception from the public on his return from Scotland, and entered London amidst the universal plaudits of the people. Sir Richard Gournay, lord-mayor of London, a man of merit and influence, had promoted these favourable dispositions, and prevailed on the populace to give the king these tokens of their duty and allegiance.

But the complacency arising from these tokens of public esteem was but of short duration, for his mind was ruffled and embarrassed by a remonstrance and petition presented from the commons relative to the insurrection in Ireland. To preserve moderation in their measures, he answered the one in general but respectable terms, and published a declaration as to the other; but neither produced any favourable effect. He also recommended dispatch in the relief of Ireland, and desired they would appoint commissioners to treat with the two Scottish noblemen, deputed by the parliament of that kingdom to receive their proposals, touching the succours to be sent from thence to Ireland. A committee was immediately appointed for that purpose.

The insurgents of Ireland having, in a memorial presented to the justices, demanded liberty of conscience, and a toleration of the Romish religion in that kingdom, it was determined, by a majority of both houses, to put an absolute negative upon such demand, as incompatible with the general interest of his majesty's subjects. At this time multitudes of people crowded towards Westminster, and abused the prelates and such lords as adhered to the court. The peers drew up a declaration against these tumults, and sent it to the other house, but they paid no regard to it.

During the tumults and riots which prevailed at this time in London, many apprentices being apprehended and committed to prison, were immediately restored to their freedom, by an order of the commons. Hence arose the appellation of Round Heads, on account of the cropt hair worn by the apprentices, who, in return, gave their antagonists the name of Cavaliers.

Anarchy and confusion now universally prevailing, it is not to be wondered that a licentious and dissolute mob availed themselves of the same, to make wanton depredations in defiance of law, justice, and every tie civil and sacred. No steps being taken to reduce the people to order, and Mr. Pym being requested to use his influence for that purpose, he replied, "God forbid that people should be hindered from obtaining their just desires."

A protest having been presented to the king by twelve prelates assembled at the palace of the archbishop of York, setting forth the insults and injuries offered them in their attendance on their duty in parliament, and declaring against all transactions which might pass there during their absence, it was, by the upper house, laid before the commons, who immediately preferred an impeach-

ment of high treason against the bishops, as endeavouring to destroy the fundamental laws; and to invalidate the authority of the legislature. The prelates were therefore not only prohibited from attending parliament, but were also taken into custody.

A. D. 1642. At the instance of lord Digby, a nobleman of considerable talents, but of a violent, impetuous temper, the king was unfortunately at this juncture prevailed upon to impeach lord Kimbolton, and five of the most popular commons; of high treason. This proceeding being pronounced by the house (from which, it seems, there was no appeal) a breach of privilege, they entered into a resolution of defending the liberty of the members thus encroached on. The king, incensed at this opposition, went next day to the house in person, attended by his ordinary retinue, consisting of about two hundred persons armed as usual. The five members immediately withdrew, and they had scarce quitted the house, when the king entering, walked up to the speaker's chair, saying, "By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I must make use of your chair a little." Having seated himself, he looked around, and told them, he was sorry that their refusing to deliver the persons he had impeached to his Serjeant at Arms, had obliged him to come to seize them in person; and then addressing himself to the speaker, he asked whether any of them was in the house. The speaker, falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in that place; but as directed by the house, whose servant he was, and begged his majesty's pardon, that he could give no other answer. The commons were in the utmost confusion, and when the king was leaving the house, some members cried aloud, "privilege, privilege;" after which they adjourned from the fifth to the eleventh of January.

Charles, whose temper was composed of a mixture of obstinacy and pusillanimity, seems to have repented of the resolute measures he had lately pursued; for when the commons met, pursuant to adjournment, he sent them a message, offering to pardon the accused members, to assent to any law that should acquit or secure them, and to make any reparation to the house for the breach of privilege, of which he owned they had reason to complain. But these concessions produced no effect in his favour; the commons being determined that his majesty should deliver up to justice the advisers of his late illegal proceeding, as the only satisfaction he could make for their injured honour.

The breach between the king and parliament visibly widening every day, and producing effects of an alarming nature, the queen made preparations for withdrawing to Holland; and to obviate immediate danger, she persuaded the king to comply with the demand of the commons, in hopes of suspending the fury of the people, till she should effect her escape.

The commons, assured of the necessity of asserting their rights and privileges by force of arms, determined on the pursuit of those means. According, a large magazine of arms being lodged in the town of Hull, they bestowed the government of that place upon Sir John Hotham, forbidding him to deliver it up to any person whatever, except such as should be commissioned by the king, and both houses of parliament.

Injunctions to the same effect were laid on Goring, governor of Portsmouth, and several others; and the commons possessed themselves of extensive power by giving the command of castles and forti-



fied places in general, to officers of their own appointment, and firmly attached to the common interests of the people.

An enthusiastic zeal for liberty, which had manifested itself in so many instances, having deprived the officers, both civil and military, of that power which is necessary to enforce the execution of the laws, and preserve the order of government, it was now deemed expedient to remedy this inconvenience. Accordingly, an ordinance was framed, and passed the two houses, which re-instated lieutenants and deputies in the possession of their former powers; but at the same time, the names of all the lieutenants were mentioned in the ordinance, and these consisted entirely of persons devoted to the service of the parliament.

As the ordinance was presented to the king, on his journey to Dover with the queen and princess, he returned for answer, that the particulars contained in it required some deliberation. The parliament pronounced this answer unsatisfactory, and declared, that in case he should persist in his refusal, they were determined to regulate the militia by the authority of both houses. They entreated he would reside in some place near London, and begged leave to inform him, that the power of regulating the militia could not be granted to any community or corporation, without the authority of the parliament. With respect to the militia, he told them their request was agreeable to justice and reason; but insinuated some doubts respecting his own personal safety, arising from their request of his residing in the vicinity of London; declaring, that as all his views centered in the interest and happiness of his people, he relied on the guardianship of an all-disposing Providence.

These compliant measures induced the commons to revoke their resolution respecting the militia; and on the ninth of March, the king being at Newmarket, they presented him with a declaration, explaining the cause of their pretended fears and suspicions, which they ascribed to a fictitious plot against the religion and peace of the kingdom, formed by evil counsellors, by whom his majesty had been misled.

The apprehensions of the king being greatly increased by the contents of this declaration, he determined to reside in a situation more remote from London; and accordingly, taking with him the prince of Wales and the duke of York, he repaired to York, where, from the attachment that still prevailed towards the hierarchy, he was received by the people with open arms.

Such was the popularity of Charles in the northern parts of the kingdom, that the principal inhabitants repaired to York, in order to pay their respects to their sovereign, and to promise him their aid and assistance in his then necessities. Encouraged by this appearance in his favour, Charles began to retort the accusation of the commons, with a spirit which he had never before discovered, and, unmoved by all their entreaties and menaces, persisted in his resolution of refusing the militia ordinance. But the commons, with their usual resolution, proceeded to establish a new ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two houses, the command of all the military force, and of all the garrisons and forts in the kingdom, was given to the lieutenants of the counties whom they had appointed.

Charles published a proclamation against this invasion of his prerogative; and as he was firmly

resolved, he said, to obey the laws himself, so was he determined to compel every other person to yield them a like obedience. As these measures, both on the part of the king and the parliament, could not fail of producing such an avowed opposition as must terminate in open hostilities, the aim of both, at so critical a juncture, was to acquire popularity, as the most effectual means of furthering their respective designs.

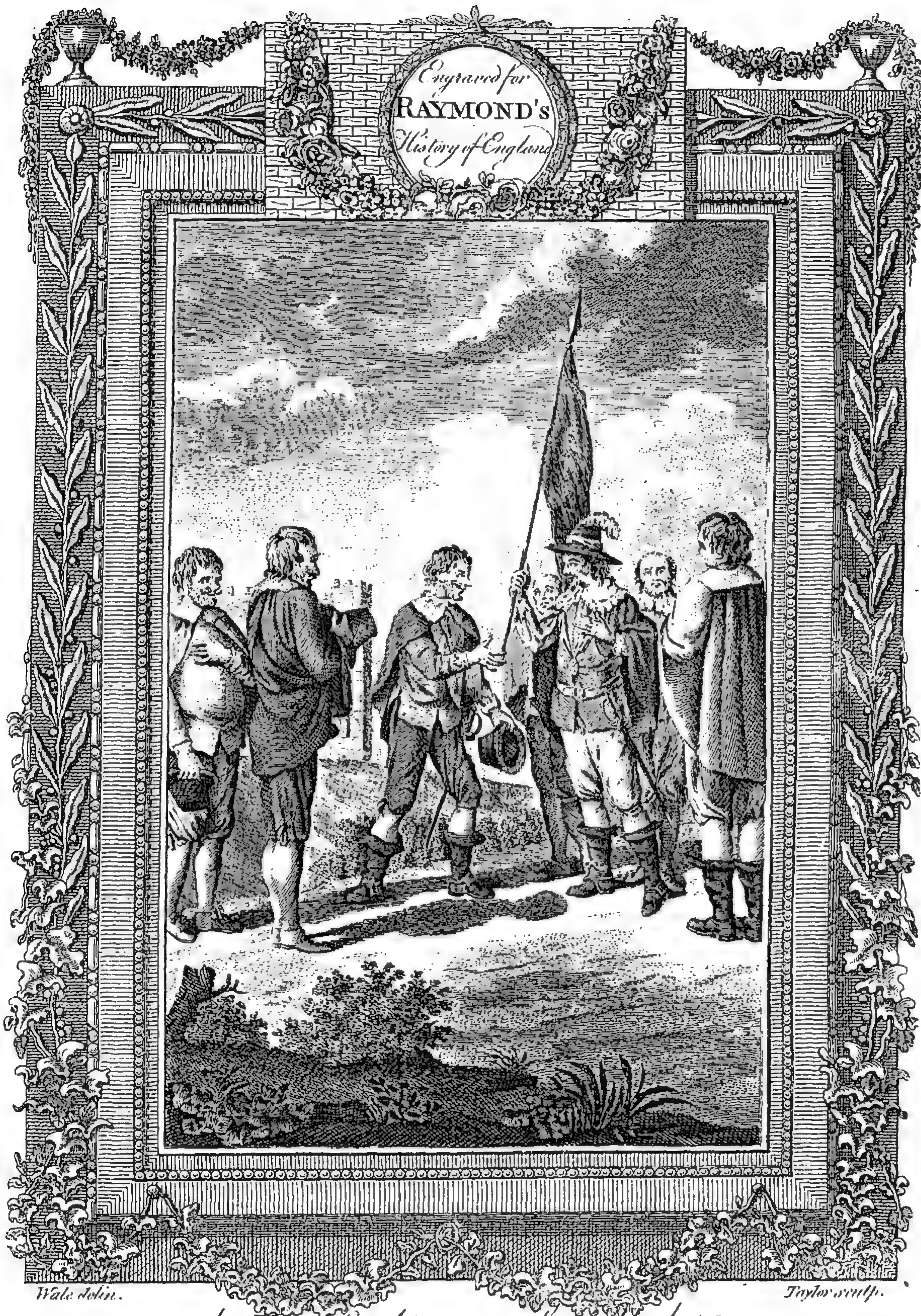
A determined opposition now took place, and seemed, for some time, to be carried on with the utmost resolution on both sides. The king, escorted by a retinue of only three hundred horse, on the 23d of April, demanded entrance into the town of Hull, which Sir John Hotham, the governor, refusing, was proclaimed a traitor; but the parliament approved and justified his conduct. The forces which had been every where raised, on pretence of the service of Ireland, were henceforth more openly insisted by the parliament for their own purposes, and the command of them bestowed on the earl of Essex. They issued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate for the maintenance of the army; and the people contributed with such amazing alacrity, that in ten days no less than eleven millions are said to have been collected; circumstances which evidently proved a spirit of liberty actuated the people in general, whose efforts in opposition to despotism and hierarchy, prevailed against the united interests of the principal nobility in the kingdom.

The royal proclamation having been issued for transferring the counts of justice to York, the parliament prevented its execution; and, in order to bring the matter to a final issue, sent the king certain conditions, on which they were willing to compromise the difference. The particulars of these conditions were, that no man should continue in council, who was not agreeable to parliament; that no act of the king's should be deemed valid unless it passed the council, and was attested under their hands; that all officers of state should be chosen with consent of parliament; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of parliament or council; that the laws against catholics should be strictly executed; that popish lords should be deprived of their votes; that the liturgy and church government should be reformed according to advice of parliament; that the ordinance with regard to the militia should be ratified; and that no peers be created but with consent of parliament.

As these conditions were absolutely levelled at the very extinction of the royal prerogative, which the king determined, at all events to maintain, he raised some forces, marched to the southward, and at Nottingham erected his standard, the open signal of civil war throughout the nation. Every advantageous circumstance seemed to favour the parliament. London, and all the sea-ports, except Newcastle, being in their hands, the customs afforded a constant fund of money, and all contributions, loans, and impositions, were more easily levied in the cities, which possessed ready money, than they could be raised by the king in those open countries. The parliament intercepted the greatest part of the ammunition and arms which the queen sent from Holland; and the magazines were in their own hands.

The royal party was so inconsiderable in point of numbers, and so ill provided with arms and ammunition, that it was generally apprehended the king could never be induced to contend with





Wale. delin.

Taylor. sculp.

KING CHARLES the first after his retreat from York to NOTTINGHAM,  
ordering the ROYAL STANDARD to be erected on the CASTLE. —



foes so evidently superior in force, as well as determined in their resolution. The wretched condition in which he appeared at Nottingham strengthened these conjectures. He had been forced to leave his artillery behind him for want of horses to bring it up. His cavalry were only about eight hundred, and those ill accoutred, and (except the militia of the country, which had been raised by Digby the sheriff) he had only about three hundred infantry; while Essex, the general of the parliament, assembled an army of sixteen thousand men at Northampton, well armed, with an excellent train of artillery. Notwithstanding the reinforcements obtained from his partisans throughout all quarters of the kingdom, the king's army was in every respect so inadequate to that of his opponents, that he deemed it expedient, by slow marches, to withdraw to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, that the levies which his friends were making in those parts might be increased by his presence.

To conciliate as much as possible that popularity which he foresaw must eventually decide the contention between prerogative and privilege, the king, on a general review of his forces at Wellington, solemnly protested, before the whole army and surrounding multitude, that he would maintain the true protestant religion, defend the rights and privileges of his subjects, and particularly observe those laws to which he had given his assent in the present parliament.

While the king's army lay encamped at Shrewsbury, himself was engaged in collecting money, which he received from the neighbouring gentry by voluntary contributions; and with the plate of the universities which was presented him, he received the news of an action, in which victory determined in favour of the royal party.

This victory was attended with success in another part; for the princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate palatine, having offered their services to the king, the former was appointed to the command of a party of horse, which had been ordered to Worcester, to watch the motions of Essex, who was advancing to that city. The prince had no sooner reached the place, than he perceived some of the enemy's cavalry advancing to the gates. Without delay he gallantly attacked them as they came out of a lane, and totally routed them, after killing their commander, and about thirty men on the spot, as well as taking several officers prisoners. This action, though in itself of little consequence, raised the reputation of prince Rupert, and flattered the royalists with hopes of success.

Fortune now seemed to favour the royal cause: the king had considerably augmented his army, and disposed of the command in the following manner: Lord Lindsay, who had been trained to military discipline in the Low Countries, was general; prince Rupert commanded the horse; Sir John Astley the foot; Sir Arthur Ashton the dragoons, and Sir John Heydon the artillery.

The royal and parliamentary armies had casually approached without the knowledge of either of the generals. The day was considerably advanced before prince Rupert gained intelligence of the situation of the enemy, of which the king was no sooner apprised, than he determined on an immediate engagement; and accordingly drew up his army on Edge-Hill, about two miles from the parliamentary forces.

The defection of Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had engaged in the cause of the people, and had been stationed on the left wing, but afterwards wheeled off and joined the royalists under the command of Prince Rupert, contributed not a little to the success of the day; insomuch that the adverse party was nearly routed, till Sir William Balfour, advancing with his reserve, fell upon the flank of the royalists, and did great execution. Lindsay, the general, was taken prisoner, after having been mortally wounded. His son, in attempting to rescue him was likewise made captive; Sir Edmund Verney, who bore the king's standard, was slain, and the standard seized, but it was afterwards recovered. It appears, from the immediate result, that the loss sustained by each party was nearly equal, and the prospect of victory equally doubtful, as, having rested all night on their arms, they took different routs the ensuing morning, indisposed to re-commence an attack.

The king with his party proceeded towards London, hoping to obtain a reinforcement from that quarter; of which the parliament receiving intelligence, they voted an address for a treaty, by way of gaining time, as their own army lay at a considerable distance, and the royal army was so near the capital.

The earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, presented the address of both houses, in which they entreated his majesty to chuse some convenient place where he might reside, till committees could attend him with proposals for an accommodation. Charles named Windsor, and demanded that his troops might be received into the castle instead of the garrison, which he desired might be withdrawn.

During the delay occasioned by the address, and the interval of time between the presentation and the answer, the parliamentary army, under the command of their general the earl of Essex, had reached London. But the king, far from being intimidated at their approach, attacked two of their regiments which were quartered at Brentford, drove them thence, and made about five hundred prisoners. But this being considered as a violation of treaty, the city of London sent the trainbands to reinforce Essex, whose army, already much larger than that of the king's, now amounted to about twenty-four thousand men. In consequence of this the king retired to Reading, and from thence marched back to Oxford, where he spent the winter season in making military preparations on the one hand, and projecting schemes of accommodation on the other; while the parliament was employed much in the same manner.

Though the king, during this inactive season, with the greatest difficulty raised means for the subsistence of his army, there were many other demands which he could not possibly supply; while the parliament had better and more certain methods of raising money; and consequently their military preparations were in much greater order and readiness. Besides a tax levied in London, amounting to the twenty-fifth part of every one's substance, they imposed on that city a weekly assessment of ten thousand pounds, and another of twenty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen on the rest of the kingdom, and as their authority was very great in most counties, they found no great difficulty in levying these taxes.

A. D. 1643. The fate of this struggle between the king and parliament still remaining doubtful, and



and the result being equally important to each party, a treaty was renewed the beginning of this year, but without any suspension of arms, as was at first proposed. In this treaty, the king demanded the re-establishment of the crown, in its legal powers, and the restoration of himself to his constitutional prerogatives; the parliament still insisted on new concessions, and farther limitations of regal authority, as a more effectual security against future oppressions. The parliament recalled their commissioners, on finding that their differences were too great to promise any chance of an accommodation.

Hostilities were now carried on with the utmost vigour. Essex invested the town of Reading on the fifteenth of April, when Sir Arthur Ashton, the governor, being dangerously wounded, colonel Fielding assumed the command. In a little time, the town was found to be no longer tenable, and though the king advanced with a design of compelling Essex to abandon the siege, the parliamentary army was so well disposed, as rendered that scheme wholly impracticable. The town was, therefore, given up by Fielding, and on condition of his delivering up the deserters, he was permitted to march out with the honours of war.

The conduct of the governor in surrendering the deserters was deemed so pusillanimous as well as disloyal, that he was tried by a court-martial and condemned to death, but pardoned, in consideration of former services, and lived to signalize his courage and fidelity on many different occasions.

Essex being reinforced by a party under the command of Sir William Waller, having made an unsuccessful attempt upon Worcester, received orders from the two houses to march towards Oxford, where the king was supposed to be in great distress for want of ammunition, and accordingly advanced to Thame, within a few miles of that city. During his stay in this place, colonel Urrey, a Scottish officer took this opportunity of deserting to the king, and persuaded prince Rupert to beat up the enemy's quarters, proposing to go himself as a volunteer, with a detachment, which he conducted to part of these quarters, defeated some regiments, and brought a great number of prisoners to Oxford with a strong body of horse, and arriving by break of day at Wickham, routed two regiments of the enemy and cut them to pieces.

During this successful attempt of the king's party, the commander of the parliamentary army detached some of his cavalry to cause a diversion, till he could bring up his infantry. But this detachment was charged with such fury by the royalists, that they fled, after having sustained the loss of some of their bravest officers, and amongst the rest, the renowned John Hampden, who had the satisfaction of dying in opinion as he lived, in the service of his country, and vindication of its dearest rights and privileges. Lord Essex's forces, dispirited by these disasters, being sick and in great want of provisions, were obliged to march to Uxbridge and St. Alban's to seek refreshment.

When the royal army reached Oxford, colonel Urrey was recommended by the commander in chief to the king; who, as a reward for his bravery, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and promoted him to the rank of general. The earl of Stamford about the middle of May marched into Cornwall, at the head of seven thousand horse and foot with a train of artillery, encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, and detached Sir

George Chudleigh with twelve hundred cavalry, to surprize the high sheriff of Bodmin. The Cornish royalists under lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, seizing this opportunity of attacking their infantry, in the absence of the horse, formed their little body into four divisions, and attacked the hill in so many different places. After a warm contest, they met upon the summit, disarmed major Chudleigh, routed the parliamentary army, and took possession of the camp and artillery; while the earl of Stamford fled to Exeter, and Chudleigh to Bodmin. The royalists then marched into Somersetshire, where they were joined by prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford.

Bridgewater and Dunbar castle were now reduced by these united forces, which composed an army of seventeen thousand men, with a good train of artillery.

The fortune of war having favoured the royal army with these important successes, which of course were attended with considerable loss on the part of their opponents, it was deemed expedient to send Sir William Waller into Somersetshire to recruit. On this expedition he acted with such caution, that a detachment of his army surprized that of the earl of Somerton; but were repulsed by the earl of Caernarvon, who pursued them so far, that he fell into a kind of ambuscade, formed by a strong party of Waller's dragoons; before which he was obliged to fly in his turn, till he was joined by prince Maurice, who here distinguished himself in a signal victory over the enemy.

Sir William Waller having received intelligence that a part of the royal army was on the march to Mansfield in their way to Oxford, in order to intercept them, took possession of Landsdown-hill, which he fortified with cannon and breast-works; then he detached a body of horse towards Mansfield; from whence they were repulsed by the royalists, who marshalled their army on the plain; but observing the advantageous situation of the enemy, retreated to their old quarters. But they were attacked on their retreat with such spirit and resolution by Waller's horse, that their cavalry were dispersed; however, they returned to the onset with vigour, and put the parliamentary army to flight. The royalists then attacked the hill with intrepidity, and after an obstinate engagement, gained the summit; the enemy concealing themselves behind a stone wall, retired afterwards to Bath through favour of the night. Victory was at length obtained by the royalists, but with considerable loss; many gallant, veteran officers fell in the attack. The day following the engagement, Sir Ralph Hopton, and major Sheldon were blown up by an explosion of gunpowder, as they were surveying the field of battle on horseback. The former's life was with difficulty preserved, but the latter expired two days after the accident to the general regret of his fellow soldiers.

Lord Hertford intending to join the royal army, began his march for Oxford, but Waller attended to his motions with such vigilance, that finding it impossible to reach that city with his whole army, it was resolved, that he and prince Maurice should fight their way through the enemy; and that the infantry should remain at the Devizes. Waller then besieged that place, and the earl of Crawford marching to its relief, was intercepted by a strong body of the enemy's cavalry, so that having lost his whole convoy and ammunition, he preserved his life with great difficulty.

The attack on the Devizes was carried on with such



such vigour, that the town was on the point of surrender, till relieved by a detachment of horse with two pieces of cannon, under command of lord Wilmot. Waller then drew up his forces to Roundway-down, in order to prevent that general from joining the king's troops; and Wilmot, hoping the infantry from the Devizes would join him during the action, resolved to give the enemy battle; when Waller, charging the royalists with his whole cavalry, met with such obstinate resistance, that his forces were routed with great slaughter. Wilmot, at this juncture, being joined by the Cornish infantry from the Devizes, attacked the enemy's foot with such impetuosity, that the greatest part of them were killed or taken prisoners; and the city of Bristol being in possession of the parliament, Waller and his few followers hastened thither, as their only asylum.

During these various events which attended the conflicts between the two armies, his majesty met the queen on the field of Keinton, who had brought with her for his service about two thousand infantry, and one thousand horse, well accoutred, together with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and one hundred waggons of ammunition, which were safely conveyed to Oxford.

It having been determined in a council of the royalists to invest the city of Bristol, where the scattered remnants of the enemy's infantry had retired, the king undertook the siege, and proceeded by assault. But as the place was strongly fortified, and well supplied with military stores and provisions of every kind, the assailants were, at the onset, repulsed with considerable loss. At length colonel Washington breaking in upon the line, and opening a passage for the horse, the enemy quitted their posts, and retired within the town, when the governor marched out with his arms and baggage, surrendering the city, though the opponents had with great loss and difficulty only obtained possession of the suburbs.

The capture of Bristol was attended with the loss of many of the king's gallant officers, who bravely fell in carrying on the attack. Fiennes, the governor, was sentenced to death by the parliament, for having surrendered the city; but at the intercession of the earl of Essex, the sentence was remitted. The success of the parliamentary army was much obstructed by a disunion which prevailed between the commander in chief, and Sir William Waller, who upbraided each other with remissness in duty, and this circumstance, added to the late defeat, induced the parliament to apply to their friends in Scotland for assistance.

The king having received from the commander of the garrison of Gloucester, an assurance that he would surrender on a summons from his majesty in person, repaired thither, attended by the marquis of Hertford, and forthwith sent a trumpet to sound a summons, but received for answer, that the citizens would always keep their proper district, according to the commands of his majesty signified by both houses of parliament, so that the investiture of the place as a retaliation for the indignity offered to his majesty became inevitable.

The parliament who had long acted with vigour and unanimity, were now divided in their councils through the prevalence of faction and personal disgust. Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet of those days, opposed their measures with great force of argument, and formed an association of respectable persons, who refused the payment of taxes imposed without the royal assent.

The councils of this association were over-heard, and communicated to several of the leaders of the opposite party; in consequence of which the abettors were apprehended and sentenced to death. Waller escaped with life, though principal in the scheme, through the base practices of information, dissimulation, and bribery.

In this critical situation of affairs, a covenant was framed and subscribed by lords, commons, and leaders of the parliamentary army, solemnly declaring that they would never lay down their arms, as long as the papists, who were in open war against them, should be screened from justice. To such a pitch did this faction rise, that they presented the house of lords with an impeachment, in which they accused the queen of high treason. The king, exasperated at this insult, issued a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to obey the orders of the two houses, whom he no longer looked on as a parliament. Many members withdrew themselves from the house, where they could not sit in safety. A great number of citizens went with a petition to parliament for peace, but they were attacked by one Hervey with a troop of horse under his command, and many of them put to death.

To protect the associated counties, and prosecute the opposition to the royalists with vigour, the parliament raised a fresh army, and bestowed the command on the earl of Manchester. They sent a committee to tamper with Essex, who had been greatly offended, and received Waller after the remission of his sentence, with tokens of general esteem. The king's army had been successful in the west of England, and carried on the siege of Gloucester with vigour, till Essex having obtained a reinforcement fortunately arrived when the garrison was on the point of surrender, and compelled the assailants to raise the siege. Having reinforced the garrison, and added the necessary supplies, he hastened to Cirencester, where he surprized two regiments of the royalists, and seized a great quantity of provision designed for their army; from thence he proceeded to Wiltshire, having marched twenty miles before the king heard that he was in motion.

Divers skirmishes ensued between parties of the troops of Essex, and a detachment of the royalists under the command of prince Rupert, who charged the former with such vigour as to put their rear into confusion, so that next day the king took possession of Newbury with his foot, and Essex was obliged to lay in the field all night without tents or covering. He, however, disposed his army in excellent order, on Bishill, within a mile of the town.

At length a general engagement took place, and was sustained with equal bravery by both armies, which disdained to yield till night closed the doubtful battle. In the morning, however, neither party seemed disposed to renew the combat, for the king recalled his troops from the field; and Essex pursued his march towards Reading, which he reached with his cannon and baggage, after his rear had sustained considerable loss from prince Rupert, who charged it when in disorder, at the head of his horse, and one thousand musqueteers.

The earl of Sunderland and lord Falkland, men of virtue, courage and learning, fell in this action. The latter might be deemed a subject truly constitutional, for as he even opposed prerogative when exerted in violation of the rights of the people, so he likewise maintained prerogative against the



attempts of that republican spirit, which would sap the foundation of a government.

Faction, and consequently disunion, now prevailed in the royal councils; the king's party, though small, was divided through a jealousy between those noblemen that had signalized themselves in the protection of their sovereign, and the favourites of the queen, who were incessantly contending for posts of honour and profit.

The parliament succeeded in their negotiation, through a committee detached by them into Scotland, to treat with the general assembly, with whom they entered into amicable terms, and signed a covenant for the extinction of episcopacy, and a more intimate connection between the parliaments of the respective nations. In consequence of this treaty the Scots levied an army of twenty thousand men for the service of the parliament, and bestowed the command of it upon their old general, the earl of Leven; who, without hesitation, accepted the offer, though he had solemnly sworn never to bear arms against his majesty. In the treaty between the two nations, it was stipulated, that the committee of the Scots should always sit with the close committee at Westminster, and that the consent of both nations should be obtained, before any treaty of peace should be set on foot.

From the power now assumed, or rather usurped, by the commons of England, that of royal prerogative seems to have been totally abolished. They had prepared a new great seal, resembling that which the lord-keeper Lyttleton had given to the king, and six commissioners being sworn keepers of the great seal, the parliament published an ordinance, declaring void and invalid all grants and letters patent which had passed since the keeper left the house.

They also took upon them to try two of the king's messengers, who were sent with writs to the judges at Westminster, for adjourning the term to Oxford, one of whom was sentenced to death, and the other to imprisonment for a term by them appointed. The king, to invalidate the claim which the remnant of Westminster laid to the appellation of the parliament, issued a proclamation, summoning the members of both houses to assemble at Oxford, on a certain day fixed for that purpose. He determined also to use part of the troops, that served in Ireland for his defence, and the rebels of that kingdom had sent repeated petitions to the king, beseeching him to appoint commissioners to hear what he could say in his own vindication.

In consequence of this address, the earl of Ormond and several of the heads of the law were deputed to conclude with a committee appointed with the malecontents, a treaty for the cessation of hostilities for one year.

It was unanimously resolved by both houses assembled at Oxford, to send, with the concurrence of his majesty, a message to the earl of Essex, expressing their earnest desire, that persons might be appointed on both sides to treat for an accommodation. Essex sent back the messenger, with a short billet to the king's general, the earl of Brentford, signifying, that as the letter was not directed to the two houses, he could not communicate its contents to the parliament.

The Scottish army, having penetrated into England, the marquis of Newcastle marched from York northwards, in order to oppose them; but colonel Bellasis being defeated at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the marquis was obliged to return and secure York, while Fairfax took his route

towards Cheshire. The marquis of Ormond sent a body of foot from Ireland to Chester, where, joining the lord Byron, they reduced several places, and routed a party of parliamentarians at Middlewich. The fugitives retired to Nantwich, and the victors undertook the siege of that place; but Fairfax, in conjunction with Sir William Brereton, marching to the relief of the besieged, charged them suddenly, and the garrison making a sally at the same time, the besiegers were totally routed; lord Byron escaped with the cavalry to Chester; the famous colonel Monk (who afterwards engaged in the service of the parliament) was taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower.

The parliament this year sustained a very important loss in the death of the famous John Pym, a zealous republican, whose counsel, example and influence had long been exerted with unremitting assiduity in vindication of the rights of the people, though perhaps he sometimes swerved from that duty and allegiance, which, as a subject, he owed to his lawful sovereign.

A. D. 1644. The rigour of the season did not appear to relax the military preparations of either of the two contending parties. As the marquis of Newcastle retired, the Scots advanced farther into the kingdom. The town of Newark in Nottinghamshire, garrisoned by the king's troops, being besieged by lord Willoughby, and Sir John Meldrum, at the head of five thousand men, the king detached prince Rupert with a body of forces to succour the place. On his approach, Meldrum, who commanded in the absence of lord Willoughby, marshalled his army, and an action ensued, in which both fought gallantly till night, when Meldrum attempted to retire by a bridge, where he had posted a strong guard to secure his retreat; but being surrounded was obliged to capitulate on condition that he should give up his arms, ammunition, and other effects, only that the troops should retire with their horses, and the infantry with their swords.

A party of the parliamentary army had besieged the house of the countess of Derby at Latham, in Lancashire, in which she had gallantly defended herself, till prince Rupert marched to her relief, when the assailants abandoned their enterprize; part of them reinforced the garrison of Bolton, which the prince afterwards took by assault. The city of York having been invested by the parliamentary forces under the command of the earls of Manchester, Leven, and general Fairfax, prince Rupert was ordered by the king to its relief, on whose approach the enemy abandoned the siege, so that the prince entered the place in triumph. Elated with the success of this enterprize, the prince, in a conference with the marquis of Newcastle, proposed a general and decisive engagement with the parliamentary army, and though that experienced commander strongly objected to the measure, as highly inexpedient at that juncture, the prince ordered his troops to be in readiness to engage next day. The marquis, who seemed to foresee the consequence of a battle, told him he would act as a volunteer only, but in that capacity was ready to obey the orders of the king's nephew.

The commander of the royalists persevering in his resolution, and the enemy being equally disposed to hazard the fate of a general action, both armies were drawn up in order of battle on the third day of July. The prince commanded the left wing, consisting of five thousand horse, the right



right wing was commanded by Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Urrey, and the main body by general Goring. The right wing of the enemy, consisting of all their cavalry, joined by three regiments of Scottish horse, was commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the left by the earl of Manchester and lieutenant general Cromwell; lord Fairfax took post with a body of reserve, and the main body was commanded by the earl of Leven. Prince Rupert charged the right wing of the enemy, with such resolution, that they were totally routed, and the parliament's three generals quitting the field, fled towards Cawood castle.

Upon this occasion Oliver Cromwell, afterwards renowned in history, for exploits as singular as were ever achieved by man, signalized himself for the first time, in an attack of the right wing of the royalists; in which Newcastle acted as a volunteer. His valour and military skill changed the face of the battle, which however was maintained some time with great impetuosity, but at length the royalists were entirely defeated, and when their left wing, which had been victorious, returned from the pursuit of the enemy's cavalry, it was charged by Cromwell with such fury, before it could be reduced to order, that it was entirely broken and dispersed, the parliamentarians obtaining a complete victory. Mortified by this disappointment, the prince, having sustained the loss of six thousand men, together with his whole artillery, ammunition and baggage, retired with the poor remains of his troops into Shropshire. The marquis disgusted at the obstinacy of the prince in pursuing a measure so contrary to his advice and opinion, declined his command, and retreated to the continent, where he lived in private till the restoration of Charles II.

This important victory on Marston-moor was followed by a series of success in that quarter, particularly the surrender of the garrison of York to the parliamentary army, and the storming the town of Newcastle, by a reinforcement under the command of a Scottish general.

The parliament receiving intelligence of the success of prince Maurice in the west of England, found it necessary to raise a considerable army to oppose him. The king, however, apprized of their design, detached lord Hopton against them, and at Farnham he was opposed by Waller, who, after some few skirmishes, drew his men into the town, and repaired to London, that he might solicit of both houses the necessary supplies. Accordingly, a thousand horse from Essex, commanded by Sir William Balfour, and a body of the city militia were ordered to reinforce him; with which assistance he retook the castle of Arundel, that Hopton had reduced in his absence, who having received a supply of men from his majesty, resolved to give him battle immediately. On the twenty-ninth day of March, the two armies met near Abresford. The king's horse were routed by Balfour, and the infantry put into great confusion; however, the battle was maintained till night, when lord Hopton retired with his artillery and ammunition towards Reading, and left Waller in possession of the field; who immediately repairing to Winchester, attempted to reduce the castle, but not succeeding therein, he plundered the city.

From the successes which had lately crowned their arms, the parliament resolved by one grand manœuvre to obtain the summit of their desires. This was the reduction of Oxford, where the king

resided; and for this service the armies of Essex and Waller began their march; Essex at the head of three thousand cavalry, and twelve thousand foot, and Waller with fifteen hundred dragoons and seven thousand infantry. On the enemy's approach, the king's officers abandoned Abington; where he had assembled an army of twelve thousand men to stop their progress.

Having passed the rivers Isis and Cherwell, they attempted to seize the king's person, but he escaped through favour of the night with a small body of horse, at the head of which he and the prince of Wales arrived safe at Worcester. The queen had retired some time before this to Exeter, where she was delivered of a princess called Henrietta. The king, after his arrival at Worcester, in order to elude the vigilance of Waller, who had followed him with vast expedition, made a feigned march towards Shrewsbury, as if he intended to join prince Rupert. Waller, imagining that it had been his real design, planted himself between the king and Shrewsbury; then the king suddenly wheeled; and took the rout to Oxford, where he was joined by the rest of his army. He then proceeded to Buckinghamshire, in order to give the enemy battle; Waller advanced with the same intention, so that in a very short space of time, the two armies appeared on the opposite banks of the river Cherwell. The king, therefore, leaving a strong guard at Croperdy-bridge, to dispute Waller's passage, in order to draw him from his advantageous situation, made a feint of beginning his march towards Northamptonshire; and hearing that a large body of the enemy was within a mile of his van, ordered his troops to double their pace, in hopes of intercepting the whole body. Waller, perceiving the distance between his van and rear, ordered a large detachment to ford the river, while himself with fifteen hundred horse, a thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, attacked and made himself master of the bridge, then passing with his whole army, attacked the king's rear, but was repulsed by the gallantry of the earl of Cleveland, who routed his horse took part of his artillery, and forced the enemy to repass the river with precipitation.

The king endeavoured to gain possession of the bridge, but failed in the attempt; however, having obtained a considerable reinforcement, and understanding that the earl of Essex was in the utmost distress for want of provisions, he determined, if possible, to reduce him, without hazarding a battle; and accordingly raised a fort on the bank of the river, by which the army of Essex had been supplied, and by that means intercepted all his convoys. In this emergency, the earl ordered Balfour to force his passage through the king's quarters, at the head of his cavalry, which was accomplished through favour of the night, and leaving the infantry under the command of general Skippon, he embarked with other officers in a vessel at Foy. A council composed of officers belonging to both parties being held upon the occasion, it was agreed that Skippon should deliver up all his artillery, arms, and ammunition, and be conducted to Southampton. The earl of Essex, on his return to London, was treated by both houses with tokens of respect, his soldiers received new accoutrements, and his forces were recruited.

Animated by these tokens of honour, Essex marched to join Waller and the earl of Manchester at Andover. Their junction was effected at Reading on the twenty-first of October, notwithstanding his majesty's endeavours to prevent it. He then



then detached the earl of Northampton with three regiments of horse to relieve Banbury-castle, while himself marched to Donnington-castle, in the neighbourhood of Newbury, which was besieged by the enemy's forces. Having thrown succours into the place, and conferred the honour of knighthood on the governor, for his gallant defence, he entered Newbury, where he entrenched himself, while the enemy from Reading, with superior numbers, continued to advance against him.

A very obstinate engagement ensued on the twenty-seventh of October, which was sustained with the greatest intrepidity on both sides a considerable time, to their mutual loss; till at length the king retired in the night to Wallingford, leaving his artillery and baggage in the castle of Donnington, which was next day summoned to surrender by the earl of Manchester. Though the governor refused to capitulate, they made no effort towards the reduction of the place, but remained inactive at Newbury, when the king pursued his rout to Oxford, where he was joined by prince Rupert, with the northern forces, and lord Northampton, who had drafted men from different garrisons; so that he found himself at the head of eleven thousand men, with whom he returned to Donnington, and drew up his army in order of battle, between the castle and town of Newbury. To defray the expences attending this unnatural and destructive war, the parliament levied a tax this year, by issuing an order, that each family throughout the kingdom should abridge themselves of one meal every week, and that the respective rates of the same should be funded for public service. A tax as extraordinary in its nature, as it must have been difficult in collecting.

Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, after a tedious imprisonment was at length brought to trial, and made so vigorous a defence, that the commons, foreseeing he could not be convicted by common evidences, declared him guilty by an act of attainder, which, notwithstanding many debates, at length passed the house of lords. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been sent him from Oxford, but it was declared null and void by both houses. Being sentenced to death as a common felon, he entreated that some deference might be paid to his sacred function and elevated character; to which, with much reluctance, the commons acceded. On the tenth of January, this aged prelate was brought to the scaffold, where he addressed the spectators with great fortitude; he declared he had never been averse to the institution of parliaments, though he could not approve all their transactions; he protested his innocence of any design tending to subvert the laws of the realm, or to introduce the Roman catholic religion; he forgave all his enemies, and submitted his neck to the executioner, who, with one stroke, severed his head from his body. This prelate, who possessed great learning and abilities, fell a sacrifice to the very principles of ambition and despotism, which influenced him, as well as his royal master, to such measures as were obnoxious to a free people, and terminated in their destruction. At the same time, the two Hothams were convicted by a court martial, for having connived at the escape of lord Digby, and corresponded with the marquis of Newcastle. To effect an innovation in church as well as state, the parliament this year passed an ordinance for abolishing the book of

common prayer, and liturgy, and for establishing the directory which had been composed by the ecclesiastical assembly.

Commissioners were now appointed on the part of the king and parliament, to meet at Uxbridge, to settle a treaty of peace. The king's commissioners were the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Kingston, and Chichester, and eleven commoners, among whom was Sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards earl of Clarendon. The parliament appointed twelve deputies, at the head of whom were the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Denbeigh; lord Loudon, the marquis of Argyle, and others, being commissioned on the part of the Scots.

The demands of the two houses were so exorbitant, degrading, and derogatory to the royal dignity, as to preclude all probability of a reconciliation; but the king's commissioners, in the course of the conference, agreed, that every person should enjoy liberty of conscience; that no bishop should exercise any kind of jurisdiction; that the management of the militia should be vested in the hands of twenty commissioners, half to be appointed by the king, and half by the parliament; but these concessions, however humiliating they may appear, produced no good effect, and the commissioners departed without coming to any treaty of accommodation.

By this time Oliver Cromwell had acquired great popularity and consequently great influence, and became the leader of a party, distinguished by the appellation of independents, whose aim was to abolish hierarchy, and introduce democracy, while the presbyterians fought only to restrain their prerogative. They indeed rejected the hierarchy, but the independents renounced all form of church government, condemning the episcopal ordination of ministers, and allowing all persons without exception, to teach, preach, and expound the scriptures. To the independents of this period we owe, in a great measure, the numerous sects which have since arisen in this country.

These sectaries employed emissaries to inflame the minds of the people, by insinuating the king's misconduct both in civil and military affairs. Cromwell had accused the earl of Manchester of mismanagement at the last battle of Newbury. The earl retorted upon Cromwell, by declaring, that in a conference with him, he hinted, that if Manchester would adhere to honest men, he would soon find himself at the head of an army, that would give law to both king and parliament.

Alarmed at this aspiring idea suggested by Cromwell to the earl, the parliament took into consideration the expediency of putting him under arrest, but the point was deferred to another opportunity. In the mean time Oliver and his confederates expedited the plan they had projected for new modelling the army. They proposed that the troops should be formed into new regiments, and that no offices civil or military should be held by members of parliament.

To carry this proposal into speedy execution, the commons, having entered into a resolution of inspecting the general state of the nation, Cromwell rose and pointed out the expediency of prosecuting the war with vigour, concluding, with giving it as his opinion, that every member should resign the post he enjoyed, as an evidence of his patriotism, and disinterested principles. Some of his



his associates seconded the motion, and at length Tate and Vane proposed an ordinance for excluding members from all offices whatsoever. A day of solemn fast was also appointed, to implore the blessing of heaven on their designs.

From the plan now adopted by the commons, Cromwell's ordinance passed them without a negative, but met with some opposition from the upper house; till the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, having resigned their places, and the popular torrent running hard in favour of the self-denying ordinance, it passed the next day.

A. D. 1645. The presbyterians, who possessed moderation, and disapproved of the violent religious zeal that seemed to actuate Cromwell, and this independent party, intended to nominate Fairfax as their general; but that officer dissembled his sentiments, and was in reality attached to the interest of Cromwell, so that the parliament's army was new modelled by his plan, and all members of parliament being excluded, and their adherents resigning their commissions, the vacant places were filled up with independents, who acted as chaplains as well as officers.

At the head of this considerable army, Cromwell marched from Windsor, on the twenty-fourth day of April, and in the neighbourhood of Islip cut in pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry. Buckingham was surrendered up to him at the first summons by colonel Windebank, who was condemned by a court martial, and shot for cowardice. The king took the town of Leicester by assault, and continued his march towards Wales, where he expected to be joined by Goring with three thousand cavalry, and by colonel Gerard with two thousand recruits which he had raised in Wales.

Fairfax, having intercepted a letter addressed to the king by general Goring, and pointing out the ease with which the town of Taunton might be put in possession of the royalists, determined to prevent the execution of that design. With this view he followed the royalists, and the king finding he could not reach Leicester without exposing his rear to certain destruction, determined to meet him half way, and marching back, came in sight of the enemy on the fourteenth day of June, who were drawn up in order of battle on a rising ground, near a small village called Naseby. Lord Astley commanded the main body of the royal army, prince Rupert the right wing, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and his majesty headed a body of reserve. The main body of the opposite army was commanded by Skippon and Fairfax, the right wing by Cromwell, and the left by Ireton.

The prince attacked the left wing of the parliamentary army with great success, so that they were dispersed and pursued as far as the village; but in his return, he misemployed his time in a fruitless attempt to seize the enemy's artillery. Cromwell was in the mean time engaged with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whose cavalry was broken after a very obstinate dispute. The infantry maintained the battle on both sides for some time with equal fury; but at length the battalions of Fairfax and Skippon giving way, Cromwell returned and charged the king's infantry in flank with such vigour as they could not resist, so that they were immediately routed.

Though victory had declared in favour of prince Rupert at the first onset, his troops, intimidated at the order preserved by the enemy's forces, could not be rallied to make a second attack. The

king would have charged them at the head of his reserve, had he not been prevented by the earl of Carnwarth, who riding by his majesty's side, seized the bridle of his horse, and turned him round, saying with a loud oath; "will you rush on certain death?" Many circumstances concurring to deter the royalists, they precipitately left the field to the enemy, who took in pursuit above five thousand prisoners, and the whole of the king's ammunition and baggage.

His majesty and prince Rupert proceeded after this defeat to Hereford, where it was agreed, that the latter should repair to Bristol, while the former continued his rout towards Wales, in hopes of assembling an army in that country. Fairfax advanced to Leicester, which, surrendered on capitulation. He then marched to the west-ward and reduced Bridgewater, Sherborn, and Bath, and having defeated lord Goring at Lamport, undertook the siege of Bristol, which was well supplied and fortified. It was universally believed by friends and foes, that the garrison under the command of the gallant prince Rupert, would sustain a long and obstinate attack; but to the astonishment of the world, terms of capitulation were proposed, and a surrender made before the place was invested in due form; so that the king disgusted at such humiliating behaviour, cancelled Rupert's commission, and commanded him as soon as possible, to quit the kingdom.

Fairfax having reinforced the garrison of Bristol, marched into the western counties, bearing all before him. Cromwell now reduced the Devizes and several other places. Fairfax likewise made himself master of Tiverton, and blocked up the city of Exeter. Hearing that the prince of Wales had an army in Cornwall, and was on his march to give battle, he advanced to meet him with the greatest expedition, and falling on a part of his cavalry by surprise, obliged his royal highness to retire into Cornwall.

Lord Hopton, who was appointed by the prince of Wales to succeed lord Goring, who had fled into France, was routed by the enemy in his march to relieve Exeter; and the prince perceiving his danger of falling into the hands of Fairfax, retreated to the isle of Scilly. Hopton being surrounded, capitulated on condition that his troops should be dismissed, and allowed either to cross the sea, or return to their own habitations. Their arms and horses were delivered to Fairfax, who granted pass-ports to all those who desired to quit the kingdom, having previously sworn never more to serve against the parliament. This treaty being executed, the lords Hopton and Colepepper retired to the prince of Wales in Scilly. By the month of April, the king's troops in the west were entirely routed, the city of Exeter having submitted to Fairfax.

Notwithstanding the misfortunes and disappointments with which the efforts of the king and his friends had been attended, his majesty still maintained an extraordinary degree of fortitude. He was now indeed reduced to such a dilemma, that he saw no other prospect of retrieving his affairs than that of joining Montrose in Scotland, and this expedient he intended to embrace. Receiving intelligence that a considerable detachment of the enemy's cavalry was posted under the command of Poyntz, between Hereford and Worcester, he determined to pass through Cheshire, Lancashire, and by that means got with safety into Scotland.



The king, on his approach to Chester, finding the enemy in possession of the outworks and suburbs, detached Sir Marmaduke Langdale over Holt-bridge, in order to fall on the back of the besiegers, while he entered the city. Poyntz, who had followed the king with expedition, appeared next day, and was charged by Sir Marmaduke, who compelled him to retire to a greater distance. The assailants no sooner perceived him, than they began to abandon the suburbs, in order to join his troops, and thus re-inforced, he attacked and drove the royalists to the very gates of the city.

A party of the royalists under command of the earl of Litchfield and lord Gerard, behaved so gallantly as to force the enemy to a retreat, but their musqueteers being drawn up among the narrow lanes and hedges, discharged such a volley on the king's new raised forces, that they were broken, routed, and dispersed, after many gallant officers had been slain in the action. The king retreated with five hundred horse to Denbigh castle, where being joined by prince Maurice, with eight hundred more, and some other small re-inforcements, he crossed the river Dee, gained a march upon the enemy, and arrived at Bridgenorth, where he was informed that the parliament's forces had made themselves masters of Berkley-castle and the Devizes.

Lord Digby having been raised to the chief command, of all his Majesty's northern troops, was ordered, together with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, to proceed with fifteen hundred horse to Scotland, to join Montrose, who had lately been defeated by Lesley. Digby began his expedition without delay, and placed a thousand foot raised for the service of the parliament, in the neighbourhood of Doncaster; and at Sherborn attacked a body of horse commanded by colonel Copley; but was routed, and fled to Skippon, and his baggage falling into the hands of the enemy, the parliament published a copy of some papers which they found among his effects. Digby at length having been unable to procure any intelligence of the situation of Montrose, embarked with some other Scottish lords for Ireland. When his majesty returned to Newark, prince Rupert addressed him, desiring he might have an opportunity to justify his conduct. The king granted his request, admitted of his apology, and publicly declared himself satisfied with his conduct and loyalty.

The fate of this unfortunate monarch now seemed to draw near to a crisis. Deserted by his consort, his eldest son, and the far greater part of his friends; apprehensive for the safety of the rest of his offspring; in imminent danger of falling into the hands of implacable enemies, and finding himself so entangled in a labyrinth of wiles that his escape appeared impracticable, it required no small share of resolution to support such complicated distress. However, having with great presence of mind sent orders to the governor of Oxford, to station, at a fixed time, the horse of the garrison between Banbury and Daventry, he left Newark at night, attended by five hundred horse, and arrived at three in the morning at Belvoir castle, where he found Sir Gervas Lucas, the governor, ready with guards, to attend him farther on his way. He was so fatigued towards evening, that he found it necessary to take some repose in a village near Northampton. Early next morning he continued his march, and reached Banbury about noon, where he found the horse, by whom he was safely conducted to Oxford, after having, with the utmost fortitude, gone

through the most amazing scenes of danger and fatigue.

Having reached his general asylum in times of danger, he once more had recourse to conciliatory measures. He demanded of parliament a safe conduct for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, and some others, whom he designed to send with proposals for an accommodation. He offered liberty of conscience to non conformists; he proposed, upon the dismission of the armies, to join the two houses; to take measures for settling the public debts, and regulating the affairs of the militia to their satisfaction.

The treaty he desired might particularly refer to himself, as he wished to vindicate his character from the aspersions of his enemies, and to discover his ardent desire to put a stop to the effusion of Christian blood. But these concessions produced no other effect, than to heighten the claims of parliament, and establish that democracy to which they arrogantly aspired.

While Charles was involved in this maze of perplexity, the court of France sent over Montreuil, on pretence of making a peace between the king and parliament, but in reality to effect a secret accommodation between his majesty and the Scottish army. The ambassador found the Scottish commissioners at London, inclined to treat with his majesty; but they insisted on the abolition of the episcopacy, as an indispensable condition, with which Charles obstinately refused to comply. While the French minister made a journey to the Scottish army, in hopes of allaying their intemperate zeal, Fairfax advanced to Oxford with his army; so that the king was in great danger of being surrounded. Lord Ashley, with about a thousand men under his command, advanced towards Oxford, in order to join his majesty; but Fairfax, apprized of his design, fell on his troops, greatly fatigued, routed them, and took him prisoner, together with Sir Charles Lucas, and many officers of distinction.

Thus deprived of all succour from that quarter, this unfortunate monarch, as his last resource, determined to put himself wholly under the protection of his Scottish subjects, conceiving that their attachment to their own peculiar mode of church government would excite their aversion to the innovations of Cromwell and his independent clan, and dispose them to assert the royal cause.

A. D. 1646. Accordingly Sir John Ashburnham and doctor Hudson, having undertaken to conduct him through bye-ways, he left Oxford on the twenty-seventh of April, and as soon as his escape was known, the parliament issued a proclamation, denouncing the penalty of high treason against those who should shelter or protect their sovereign. On his discovery of himself to the earl of Leven, the general was astonished at his presence, but received him with due respect and veneration.

On receiving information of the king's sudden arrival in Scotland, the parliament gave orders that Fairfax should abandon his enterprize against Oxford, and direct his course to Newark; but on the declaration of the Scottish commissioners, that the king's arrival was entirely unexpected by the general, who would punctually adhere to their orders, this resolution was deferred. The Scots, hearing that Fairfax was destined to the northward, retired with his majesty to Newcastle, where he was excluded from all communication with Montreuil; and Ashburnham, through fear of being apprehended



*Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.*



*Wale delin.*

*Grignon sculp.*

*Born 25 April 1599,  
at Huntingdon.*

*Declared Protector  
16 Decr 1653.*

*Died at Whitehall,  
3 Decr 1658.*



hended, fled the kingdom. The bigots amongst the preachers fulminated anathemas against him in their public harangues; and the officers treated him with coldness and reserve. To so abject a state was the quondam majesty of this unfortunate prince now reduced, that the parliament had only to impose commands for him to obey. All the garrisons were surrendered to parliament, who in fact governed by themselves and deputies, England, Scotland, and Ireland, having totally annulled his majesty's commissions throughout the respective kingdoms.

In this situation of affairs, a message was sent to the two houses, desiring they would decide the religious controversy by the arbitration of certain able divines; and the king signified, in letters to the city of London, his disposition to satisfy them in every particular they required.

The Scots professedly adhering to the covenant, at the general assembly of the kirk, wrote to the parliament of England, the city of London, and the ecclesiastical assembly, intreating them to forward the work of reformation according to the tenor of the covenant. The houses then sent proposals to the king, more unreasonable than those, upon which they had insisted at Uxbridge, arrogating to themselves the whole power of the administration. The king ingenuously replied, that though he could not divest himself of that which he inherited by birth and the laws of the realm, he would nevertheless, regardless of his own interest, accede to any measures tending to promote the public welfare.

The parliament, however, seemed to have tampered with the Scottish deputies so effectually, that on the payment of four hundred thousand pounds in lieu of their demands in general, they agreed to withdraw their army from England, so that their king may be said to have been sold to his enemies for that consideration.

The duke of Hamilton having been released by order of parliament, immediately repaired to his majesty at Newcastle, and intreated him to close with the two houses. The king, still desirous of putting a stop to the ravages of a civil war, proposed that the hierarchy should be confined to some particular dioceses, and that presbytery should be established in all other parts of the kingdom, justly concluding that such a concession would induce them to listen to terms of accommodation.

Considering Charles at this time as divested of all regal power and authority, the two houses appointed a committee about the middle of September, to confer with the Scottish commissioners, about disposing of his person. The Scots claimed an equal interest in his person with the English, but after many debates, the precedence was given to the English. Charles sent repeated messages to the parliament, desiring leave to treat with them in person, declaring his readiness to comply with whatever might tend to the interest of his subjects; he reminded them that it was their king who solicited for that, the denial of which, to the meanest of his subjects, would brand him with the name of tyrant to all posterity.

This submissive behaviour produced a vote, that his majesty should reside at Holmby in Northamptonshire, and be treated with due respect. Commissioners were then appointed to receive him from the hands of the Scots, who delivered him up on the thirteenth of January, and that very day their army began its march for Scotland. The king had

the mortification in his journey, to be the spectator of crowds of his former subjects, who lined the avenues through which he passed, lamenting his unhappy fate, and offering their prayers to heaven for his deliverance from the hands of his enemies:

A. D. 1647. Since the accession of Cromwell to such great power and influence, the animosity between the presbyterian and independent parties began to appear. He principally guided the operations of the independents; gained vast influence over general Fairfax; and filled the army with his creatures; such were Rainborough, Fleetwood, Lambert, and Harrison.

Cromwell now pretended to approve of the proceedings of the parliament, and declared an opinion in favour of the presbyterian form of church government, quoted scripture phrases, and persuaded Fairfax to believe that he was actuated solely by religious views and motives.

To further his designs also he employed his emissaries, to excite a spirit of mutiny among the troops. The inferior officers had been so long accustomed to a military life, that they were averse to the very thought of resuming their former occupations. The commons voted that the army should be disbanded, and the soldiers receive six weeks pay on their dismissal. But the soldiers having been long in the service, complained highly of the cruelty of those who proposed to disband them so suddenly.

The parliament deputed Cromwell, and several of his creatures and dependents to inform the army of the design to take their complaint into consideration. On this occasion the soldiers elected deputies to discuss their affairs, and communicate their resolutions to a council, composed of generals, field officers, and captains. These were chosen from the private soldiers, or lowest class of officers, for their reputed sanctity, and extraordinary gifts of preaching and prayer.

The parliament now began to deliberate on the means by which they should accomplish their design of disbanding all the troops, except those destined for Ireland. The soldiers, in a petition to the general, set forth the injustice of this design, and desired that the army might be assembled in one place, where they might consider of means to redress their grievances, intimating that unless their petition was attended to, they must have recourse to harsher and more desperate measures.

The necessity of pursuing a plan for appeasing the army, and preventing the dangerous effects of a delay, having been resolved on in a council of war, the parliament, intimidated by this intelligence, determined, if possible, to divide the forces. But no concession, could prevail; till the army by being vested with extraordinary privileges, became a kind of republic, in which the vote of the common soldier was as prevalent as that of the colonel; and every private man assumed a right of entering into, and executing projects of his own. A few regiments of horse determined to seize the person of the king. For the execution of this design they selected cornet Joyce, formerly a taylor. This officer, on the third day of June, arrived with a detachment of fifty horse at Holmby, about break of day, and going up stairs attended by three troopers, knocked at the door of the king's apartment; which being opened, Joyce and his attendants approaching him with their hats off and pistols in their hands, told him



he must go to the army. When the king asked by what authority he came on this expedition, the cornet answered, "By this," pointing to his pistol, and insisted on immediate compliance with his orders.

When the committee appointed by the two houses to take care of the king's person demanded of Joyce, if he acted by order of the parliament, he replied in the negative, and held up his pistol. They then told him they would write to the parliament to know their pleasure: he answered they might do so, but the king must go along with him immediately. The king, finding his guard averse to any resistance, resigned himself to the will of Joyce, to be disposed of in such manner as he should think proper.

He lodged at colonel Montague's near Cambridge the first night, and next day arrived at Newmarket, where he was treated with great respect by the officers of the army. The regiments being assembled at this place, presented a petition to the general, complaining of the parliament, and next subscribed a writing which they termed "The engagement," consenting to be disbanded, on condition of obtaining redress of their grievances, as adjudged by a council, consisting of the generals, two officers, and as many soldiers of every regiment; but declared they would consent to no other proposals. The army was now advanced to St. Alban's, when a message to the houses, requesting immediate recompence to the soldiers, was sent by the general.

These hypocritical demagogues had for some time carried every thing before them with impunity. They had levied by the most unprecedented exactions about thirty millions of money in five years; notwithstanding which the public was loaded with enormous debts and incumbrances. They laid taxes on the common necessities of life, sequestered one half of the lands belonging to the royalists, deprived of their livings, and reduced to beggary more than one half of the clergy, because they would not renounce their civil and religious principles.

To cover such illegal measures with the veil of sanctity, they affected a whining cant in their prayers, and impudently as well as impiously affirmed that they were the peculiar favourites of heaven.

Alarmed at this arrogant assumption of unprecedented authority, the two houses empowered the city of London to raise some cavalry, as if they intended to put themselves in a posture of defence. They likewise ordered ten thousand pounds to be paid to the soldiers, who should quit the army, and engage in the Irish expedition.

Determined to carry measures by dint of arms, the army at length presented a remonstrance to the two houses, demanding that the parliament should be purged of corrupted and unduly elected members; that the public accounts should be equitably settled; and that, after some acts of justice upon delinquents, an act of amnesty should be passed. They then impeached eleven members, who headed the Presbyterian party, and alledging that they had hindered the course of justice, desired they might be removed from the house.

From the event, it appears to have been the evident design of the army, abetted by Cromwell and his adherents, to take away the life of their sovereign, though his friends began to hope, that a rupture between the parliament and army would redound to his majesty's advantage.

The army at length appearing to be satisfied with some marks of submission from parliament, retired to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading. But they carried the king with them wherever they went. That prince was now in a much better situation than at Holmby, and had obtained some greater degree of liberty, as well as respect from both parties. All his friends were allowed to approach him; his correspondence with the queen was even permitted; his chaplains were restored, and he was indulged in the use of the liturgy; his children were suffered to visit him, and spent a few days at Caversham, where he then resided. Cromwell, Ireton, and others of the independent party amused him with vain hopes, till they had obtained a complete victory over the city and parliament. They then treated him with much arrogance, ordered him to be strictly guarded, would hardly allow any of his domestics to speak with him in private, and employed spies to watch over all his words and actions. Major Huntingdon, who had been trusted with private commissions from Oliver to the king, assured his majesty, that Cromwell if not speedily prevented, would effect his ruin. Charles became too late apprehensive for his personal safety. Resolving, however, to make his escape from Hampton Court, where he was now kept under a strong guard, he retired to his chamber early in the evening, on pretence of being indisposed; and in an hour after midnight went down the back stairs, attended by Ashburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of the bedchamber. Sir John Berkley waited for him at the garden gate with horses, which they instantly mounted, and directed their rout towards Hampshire. He travelled through the forest, and next day proceeded towards Titchfield, a seat of the earl of Southampton, possessed by the countess dowager, a woman of great honour on whose fidelity he could securely rely. But before he reached that place, he had made for the sea coast, and expressed much chagrin that a certain vessel had not arrived; from whence his attendants inferred his resolution of escaping to the continent.

They then advised him for the convenience of contiguity to seek refuge in the Isle of Wight, although Hammond, a creature of Cromwell's, was at that time governor. Hereupon, Ashburnham and Berkley were dispatched to the island, and enjoined to conceal from Hammond the place of the king's residence, till they could obtain a promise that he would not detain his majesty's person. Ashburnham rashly, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Titchfield; and the king was forced to put himself into his hands, and to accompany him to Carisbroke castle in the Isle of Wight, where he was treated at first with marks of duty and respect. Though Ashburnham's conduct on this occasion carries in it much suspicion of treachery, the king acquitted him of any treasonable intention; however, it certainly argues in it the height of rashness and folly.

Cromwell having now effectually carried his point in the subjection of parliament to his will and pleasure, and the security of the person of the king, privately assembled a council of some of the principal officers at Windsor, to consult about the settlement of the nation, and the future procedures towards his majesty; and there is shrewd cause to surmise that the death of the king was first meditated in this council.

Conscious that a private assassination would brand their



their names with an indelible stigma; they resolved on the expediency of an attempt which would carry the appearance of justice, and cover its barbarity by the boldness of the enterprize. To give sanction, therefore, to their proceedings against the king, and secure the friendship of the army, they proposed to adopt the favourite opinion of the equality of mankind, and thereby render him at once amenable to trial.

In order to gratify the republican principles of the people, which so generally prevailed, the king had promised, by a message sent from Carisbroke castle, to relinquish, during his own life, the power of the militia, and the appointment of all the officers of state, on condition, that after his death, these prerogatives should be restored to the crown. But the parliament, wholly influenced by the army and independent party, instead of agreeing to these terms, drew up four propositions, which they sent him as preliminaries, and to which they demanded his positive assent, before they would engage in any treaty. These preliminary articles were, for recalling all the declarations issued against the parliament and their adherents; establishing the militia; depriving peers created since the troubles, of their right to sit in parliament; and empowering the two houses to adjourn at their own pleasure.

A. D. 1648. The king, having revised these propositions, requested of the two houses, that terms on both sides might be adjusted, before any concessions on his part were specified. Cromwell, availing himself of this reply, inveighed with great acrimony against Charles, branded him with odious epithets, and advised the parliament to decline all messages in future, and regulate the affairs of the kingdom without his concurrence. The parliament were intimidated into compliance, though ninety-one members had spirit enough to dissent. It was, however, voted, that for the future, no addresses or messages should be sent to the king, which vote received the assent of the house of lords.

At this juncture there prevailed in Scotland three distinct parties; these were the royalists, who demanded the re-establishment of the king's authority, without any regard to religious sects, or opinions; and of these Montrose, though absent, was considered as the head. The rigid Presbyterians, who insisted on a perfect uniformity of worship, and were resolved to give no assistance to his majesty, unless he would sign the covenant: these were directed by Argyle. A third party under the two brothers Hamilton and Lanerie, were the moderate Presbyterians, who wisely endeavoured to reconcile the interests of religion with those of the crown; and hoped by the concurrence of the Presbyterian party in England, to subdue the independent army, and restore the parliament as well as the king, to their just freedom and authority.

Upon a review of the state of affairs both at home and in Scotland, it was deemed expedient to raise an army of forty thousand men for the defence of the nation. But the duke of Hamilton, who was declared general, was not able to raise fourteen thousand men, and those ill armed, and undisciplined, and therefore not in a condition to march for England, till the beginning of July.

During these transactions in Scotland, Langhorne, Poyer, and Powell, three officers who had served in the parliament's army, declared for the king, secured the castle of Pembroke, and influenced the greatest part of South Wales to espouse

the royal cause. Young Hales and the earl of Norwich excited commotions in Kent. Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, Sir Bernard Gascoigne, and colonel Farr, who last had been in the parliament's service, assembled a body of three thousand men, and took possession of Colchester, where they intended to remain, till they could join the Scottish army, which they heard were on the march. But Fairfax deprived the inhabitants of all relief, by investing and blocking up the town.

A fleet was fitted out by parliament, and the command given to the earl of Warwick with orders to oppose the seventeen ships which had revolted to the prince of Wales. While the forces were at a distance, the parliament recovered its former liberty, and began to act with its usual spirit and resolution. They sent commissioners to the Isle of Wight to treat with his majesty, who, on their arrival, were shocked at the manifest change that appeared in their unhappy sovereign. Being deprived of social converse, he had entirely neglected his person; his hair was now waxen grey, not only by the hand of time, but the iron rod of affliction; and both his dress and visage indicated adversity and decay.

His mental faculties, however, had not suffered the least impair. The earl of Salisbury, amazed at his nervous though cool reasoning, said to Sir Philip Warwick, "The king is extremely improved of late." "No," replied Sir Philip, "he was always so, but now you are at last convinced of it." Sir Henry Vane observed, that as his majesty's abilities appeared to be great, the stricter and more severe ought to be the terms of agreement.

The terms as proposed by parliament, and assented to by the king, were to the following effect: that his proclamations, &c. &c. against the parliament should be annulled; he gave up to the parliament the whole power of regulating the militia, during the term of twenty years, or for a longer time, if deemed conducive to the public good. With respect to religion, he observed, that his conscience would not permit him to consent to the abolition of episcopacy; and as to the sale of church lands, he deemed it not only sacrilegious, but expressly contrary to his coronation oath, whereby he was bound to maintain the rights of the clergy; yet, to evince his sincere desire of pacification, he consented to their reducing episcopacy to its primitive use; that archbishops, deans, and chapters should be abolished; that the presbyterian form of government should continue three years, during which, the king and parliament, with the advice of the ecclesiastical assembly, and other divines nominated by his majesty, should agree upon some suitable plan of church government. He indeed made such concessions in general, as not only degraded royalty, but would have been wholly inconsistent with and subversive of the order of government, had they produced a peace, and been brought into action. Notwithstanding these humiliating concessions, the two houses after deliberating on them, voted them insufficient and unsatisfactory on account of the articles of episcopacy and the sale of church lands.

Though the duke of Hamilton had brought with him into England a considerable body of forces, he was prevented from joining the troops under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, by the English loyalists declining to take the covenant, and the peremptory refusal of the Scottish presbyterians to act in concert with them upon any



other terms. The two armies were on the march at the same time, and in the whole might consist of twenty thousand men. Cromwell boldly encountered them, with a body not amounting to half that number. He surprized Langdale near Preston in Lancashire, and though the royalists behaved gallantly, yet not being properly supported by their confederates, they were routed with great slaughter. Hamilton was next attacked, his troops defeated, and chased to Utoxeter, where himself was taken prisoner. Cromwell having pursued his victory, proceeded to Scotland, where, being reinforced by Argyle, he subdued Lanerick and Monro, and returned triumphantly to England.

The garrison of Colchester, after a spirited and most resolute defence, through want of a reinforcement of men and supply of stores and provisions, was compelled to surrender at the pleasure of the victors; and Fairfax, prompted by the barbarous and blood-thirsty Ireton, seized Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, and determined to sacrifice them to the fury of the army.

This flagrant instance of cruelty met with general execration. Lord Capel, regardless of danger, upbraided Ireton with his savage barbarity, and challenged him, as they were all embarked in the same cause, to inflict the same punishment on them all without exception. Lucas, who was first shot, gave the word *fire*, with as much courage as if he had been at the head of his regiment. Lisle having embraced the breathless body of his friend, desired the executioners to come nearer. One of them said, "I'll warrant you Sir, we'll hit you": "he answered with a smile, "Friends, I have been nearer you, when you have missed me." So saying, he received their shot, and fell lamented by all good men.

This lawless and blood-thirsty clan having now removed all opposition, a remonstrance was framed by a general council of officers, and presented to the parliament. They there condemned the treaty with the king; insisted on his punishment for the bloodshed during the war; demanded the dissolution of the then parliament; and affirmed, that though servants, they had a right to represent these important points to their masters, who were themselves no more than the servants and ministers of the people. To compleat their design, they removed their army to Windsor, and ordered colonel Ewer to seize the king's person at Newport, and transport him to Hurst castle, where he was committed to close confinement.

Intelligence being received in London of the king's removal and commitment, the commons interposed their right, and resolved, that his majesty's concessions might serve as a foundation for peace. Next day, when the commons were to assemble, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had surrounded the house with two regiments, and, assisted by the lord Grey of Groby, arrested in the passage forty-one members, whom they confined in a neighbouring house. About an hundred and sixty members were excluded, and none were suffered to enter, but the most desperate of the independents, who hardly amounted to sixty in number. This flagrant violation of the liberties of parliament was commonly known by the name of Pride's Purge.

The Independent party through the exclusion of the presbyterians now composing the whole of the commons, thanks were voted to Cromwell their head and abettor for his great and important ser-

vices rendered to the true church as well as the state.

A special committee, selected from this remnant of the commons, was appointed to draw up a charge against their sovereign; colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and one of the most furious fanatics of the army, was ordered to conduct the king to London, under a strong guard. At Windsor, the duke of Hamilton, who was there imprisoned, was admitted into the king's presence, and falling on his knees, feelingly exclaimed, "My dear master!" The unhappy monarch raised him up, and embracing him, replied with tears; "I have indeed been a dear master to you." The king was instantly hurried away, and the duke, bathed in tears, foretold, that from that time he should see his king no more.

Though the king bore his own ills with unexampled fortitude, the misfortunes of his friends and adherents touched him in the tenderest part. When he arrived at the castle of Windsor, an order was issued from the council of war, to deprive him of all the ensigns of royalty, and treat him on the level of an ordinary person.

All necessary preparations were now made for the trial, and the high court of justice finally settled. It was composed of an hundred and thirty three persons as nominated by the commons, but so general was the aversion to these violent proceedings, that more than seventy never attended. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and all the chief officers of the army, with several citizens of London and members of the lower house, composed a part of this high court of justice.

The twelve judges behaved loyally and constitutionally upon the occasion, for having been enrolled in the number of this high court of justice, they caused their names to be expunged, declaring, that according to the laws of England, the king could not be tried for treason, as all impeachments for treason must be carried on by the royal authority. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke acted as solicitor-general; Dorislaus and Aske attended as assistants, and the court assembled in Westminster-hall.

When the crier of the court, amongst the names of others who were to compose the tribunal, came to call that of lord Fairfax, a female voice was heard from the gallery to exclaim, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read, "In the name of all the good people of England," "No (replied the same voice) not the twentieth part of them, Oliver Cromwell is a rogue, and a traitor." One of the officers ordered a file of musqueteers to fire at the place whence the voice came, but they soon perceived the person who spoke to be the lady Fairfax, whom with much difficulty they prevailed upon to depart.

The charge on this very solemn and awful occasion was opened, in the name of the commons of England, by the solicitor-general, who represented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entrusted with a limited power, from a wicked design to establish an arbitrary and tyrannical government, had traiterously and maliciously made war upon the present parliament, and the people, whom they represented; and was therefore accused as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the common-wealth. After the impeachment was finished, the president addressed



addressed himself to the king, and informed him, that the court expected his answer.

His majesty with becoming dignity, resolution, and composure, disclaimed the legality of this self-instituted court, and consequently pronounced their jurisdiction usurped and invalid. The president, in order to defend the majesty of the people, and assert the superiority of the court above the prisoner, still insisted, that he must not deny the authority of his judges, and that the present court owed its authority to that community of which kings themselves were but the servants.

The king having been thrice cited in form, and as often passed over the summons unnoticed, on the fourth time, after a peremptory denial of their authority, sentence was pronounced against him. He desired to be heard before the two houses in the painted chamber; but the court refused to grant him his request, which they considered merely as a delay of justice. In walking through the hall to the place of his confinement, the soldiers, prompted by their superiors, exclaimed, "Justice and execution." They loaded him with the most cruel and bitter reproaches; in a word, they treated him in the most undeserved, arrogant, and insolent manner, which he bore with astonishing composure, only observing to a friend who attended him, "that for a little money they would treat their commanders in the same manner." A soldier, moved by sympathy, implored for the blessing of heaven on oppressed majesty; an officer overhearing the petition, struck him to the ground in sight of the king, who said, "The punishment methinks exceeds the offence." On his return to Whitehall, he requested to be indulged with a visit from his children, and that Dr. Juxon, late Bishop of London, might have free access to his person, as superintendant of his preparatory devotional exercises. These petitions were accordingly granted.

The potentates of Europe in general could not suppress their amazement or resentment at so unprecedented an instance as that of a mighty monarch being arraigned in the most humiliating form; at a tribunal composed of his own subjects. The French and Dutch ministry preferred their manifestos against it, and the queen and prince addressed the parliament to interpose their constitutional authority, but all without effect, as no consideration could influence the fanatical demagogues to desist from their blood-thirsty designs. As a memento due to genuine loyalty, it is recorded, that four noblemen offered to lay down their lives for their sovereign. These were the duke of Richmond, and the earls of Hertford, Southampton, and Lindsay.

Pursuant to request, all his family that remained in England were permitted to attend him, during the interval of the three days between his sentence and execution; and the interview exhibited an affecting scene. He wept over his orphan children, and clasped them in his paternal embrace. He bestowed on his daughter the princess Elizabeth prudent advice and pious exhortations, charging her to tell the queen her mother, that during the whole course of his life he had never once, even in thought, swerved from his fidelity towards her, and that his conjugal affection could only end with his life. He implored heaven to shower down blessings on those forlorn babes, as well as the rest of his children; and resigned himself to his fate with the utmost composure. Doctor Juxon attended his majesty the night before his

execution, and after spending great part of it in devotion, he enjoyed four hours of sound rest; an incontestible proof that his mind could not have been much ruffled by the apprehensions of his approaching fate.

The ever memorable day appointed for the execution of his sentence, was the 30th of January, (1649) on which he was conducted, by virtue of a warrant from the high court of judicature, to Whitehall, accompanied by doctor Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot soldiers, commanded by colonel Tomlinson. When he came upon the scaffold, which was so crowded that he could not be heard, he directed his discourse to colonel Tomlinson, doctor Juxon, and some others about him, declaring himself innocent of having commenced the war against the parliament, but suggesting, at the same time, that heaven had retaliated on him his want of candor and charity, in consenting to the execution of the unfortunate earl of Stafford.

Though he professed to die in perfect love and forgiveness even towards the authors of his destruction, he conjured the whole nation to restore the constitution of the kingdom, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor. When he was preparing himself for the block, doctor Juxon told him, there was but one stage more, which was short though troublesome, and would convey him to the regions of ineffable joy; "I go," (replied the king) "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, of which I shall never be bereaved." Having uttered these last words, he submitted to his fate without an apparent token of reluctance, and at one stroke his head was severed from his body. A man in a mask, then held up the head streaming with blood, and exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor."

Mankind have ever been divided in their opinions concerning not only the public character, but the legality of those proceedings which deprived Charles I. king of England, both of his crown and life. It appears from a general view of the conduct of his father James I. as well as that of the subsequent race of the Stuart's family, that they had all imbibed principles of despotism, which added to the influence of popish superstition, to which they were most undoubtedly attached, actuated them to such arbitrary measures, respecting the state as well as the church, as were incompatible with the genuine spirit of the English constitution, and eventually brought on their expulsion from the English throne. By that party, still distinguished under the appellation of tories, the friends to the hierarchy and royal prerogative, he is deemed to have died a martyr to the cause they would wish to maintain. By the other party called whigs, the assertors of the rights of the people in opposition to the infringements of the crown, as well as universal toleration, he is censured as the most despotic of tyrants, and by some, pronounced highly deserving the fate he met. But men of moderation and candour, of whatever profession they may be, never carry points to the extreme.

That his opponents in their general measures exceeded the limits of the laws of the realm, as well as that reverential decorum due to a sovereign, all thinking, dispassionate persons must allow. And it may be inferred upon the whole, that they swerved as much from the constitution on the one hand as the king did on the other. We shall sum up his private character in the words of an honourable historian, leaving the reader to adopt or reject it



at pleasure: it is by that writer recorded, "that he was the worthiest gentleman, the best friend, the best master, the best father, the best husband, and the best christian of the age in which he lived." It is to be feared, from the sway his comfort bore over his reason in some instances, that he had, at times, been too much the husband and too little the king. He lost his life in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign, if it may be distinguished by that title.

He had issue by his queen, four sons and five daughters; viz. Charles James, who died in his infancy, Charles, prince of Wales, by whom he was succeeded; James duke of York, afterwards James the second, king of England; Henry, duke of Gloucester, who died after the restoration; Mary, who espoused the prince of Orange; Elizabeth, confined in Carisbroke-castle, where she died of

grief; Anna, and Catharine, who died in their infancy; and Henrietta Maria, married to Philip, duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. king of France.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Charles I:

A. D.

- 1626 The inhabitants of London and Westminster ordered to preserve their urine for one year, to make salt petre.
- 1633 Saw-mills first erected near London.
- 1634 Sedan-chairs first made in London.
- 1641 Crosses and idolatrous pictures removed from churches, and crosses in streets demolished by order of parliament.
- Court of Star-chamber abolished.
- 1643 Scarlet dye first used at Bow, near Stratford.
- Excise-office instituted.
- Excise on beer, ale, &c. first imposed by act of parliament.
- 1648 Wind guns invented.

### C H A P. III.

## THE COMMONWEALTH.

*The parliament disavow the claim of the Stuarts to the crown. Annul the peerage. A new great seal fabricated. Execution of the most zealous partizans of the late king. Forlorn condition of the heir-apparent. Commotions in Ireland and Scotland abetted by parties of the royalists. The earl of Ormond signalizes himself on the occasion. Cromwell appointed lord lieutenant, and sent to oppose the royalists in Ireland. Defeats Ormond. Marquis of Montrose sentenced to death at Edinburgh. Cromwell is recalled from Ireland and sent into Scotland. His various fortunes there. Obtains a decisive victory over the royalists. The king sojourns in the cottage of a peasant. Conceals himself in an oak-tree; afterwards denominated, the Royal-oak. Cromwell's great popularity and influence. Admiral Blake signalizes his valour against prince Rupert. Sir George Ayscough sent with a fleet to reduce the American colonies. The subjection of the parliament. Rupture with the States of Holland. Singular prowess displayed in divers actions by the admirals Blake and Van Trump. Cromwell expells the members and dissolves the parliament. The gallant Trump falls in the action with the English off the Texel. Cromwell is vested with the title of lord Protector of the Commonwealth. The royalists form a design of restoring the king to his crown and dignity. A conspiracy is framed against Cromwell. The Parliament tender him the crown, which he refuses. Death and character of Oliver Cromwell. Richard Cromwell succeeds his father in the protectorship, but soon resigns his authority. General Monk effects a coalition, between the army and the city of London. Charles II. proclaimed king of England. Makes his public entry into London, &c.*

A. D. **T**HE democratic party having now 1649. obviated the main obstructions to the prosecution of their designs, as an effectual barrier to the immediate accession of a king, issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons, on pain of high treason, to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales, as sovereign of England. They likewise voted, that they should make no more addresses to the house of lords, and that that house was therefore to be abolished; the peers, however, might be elected as members of the lower house. They afterwards passed an act, abolishing the king's power as useless, and decreed that the nation should be governed under the form of a republic, by the people's representatives, the house of commons.

To enforce this usurped authority, a new great seal was provided, containing the arms of England and Ireland, round which were these words, "The great seal of England." The other side represented the house of commons, surrounded with this inscription, "In the first year of Freedom by God's blessing restored, 1648." It was committed to the charge of a certain number of persons, intitled, the conservators of the liberties of England; and all public orders were expedited in their names, under cognizance of parliament.

The officers of government were chosen friends among such as had signalized themselves in the parliamentary interest, and their opponents, in ridicule, pointed at as objects of their resentment. Bradshaw was again chosen president of another high court of justice, for the trial of the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring, lately created earl of Norwich, lord Capel, and Sir John Owen; all of them accused of having carried arms against the parliament. After a short trial, they were all convicted and condemned to the block. The duke of Hamilton, on his trial, complained, that as he acted by authority of the parliament of his own country, he could not come under the cognizance of an English tribunal. The old earl of Holland made little or no defence; Sir John Owen seemed pleased with having been admitted to the honour of the axe, and his submissive resignation to his sentence probably saved his life. The other three were immediately executed; they died with becoming fortitude, professing allegiance to the son of the late unfortunate monarch.

The heir-apparent to the crown of England was not only deprived of the retinue due to his person and dignity, but had no fixed place of residence; wandering from place to place, deserted and forlorn,



lorn, having nothing to console him, but the hopes of a reversal of fortune.

To revenge the death of his late sovereign, the earl of Ormond went over to Ireland; and levied an army of sixteen thousand men, with which he retook from the parliament the town of Dundalk; Newry, Trim, and Drogheda; and was resolved to undertake the siege of Dublin. To this kingdom, Charles determined to repair; but his design was suspended, on hearing that the parliament of Scotland had issued a proclamation, acknowledging Charles II. as their lawful and hereditary sovereign on the following conditions; that he should give proper satisfaction to the kingdom touching the security of religion, the union between the two nations, and the peace of Scotland, according to the national and solemn league of the covenant. For this purpose, deputies were sent to the Hague, to signify their intentions to the young prince; and in a few days, the marquis of Montrose, and the earls of Lauderdale and Lanerk, paid him a visit. The former of these noblemen was engaged in the service of the emperor, but hearing of the tragical fate of the late king, he hastened to the Hague and received from Charles a renewal of his commission as captain-general of Scotland.

The seeming loyalty of the parliament of Scotland did not encourage the hopes of young Charles; on the contrary, the principles and measures espoused by the presbyterians, both with respect to church and state, under the reign of his father, induced him to doubt the sincerity of their professions; so that instead of subscribing to their conditions, he persisted in his resolution of visiting Ireland, at the same time, ordering Montrose to make a descent upon Scotland. The king's friends in that kingdom, understanding that he was averse to the conditions proposed by the parliament, determined to excite an insurrection, and if they succeeded, to receive him upon his own terms. About this time, Charles sent the lord Collington and chancellor Hyde, his plenipotentiaries to the court of Madrid, to solicit succours from the court of Spain.

If the young king had pursued his designs of visiting Ireland, it would have been attended with imminent danger of his life, as Cromwell had been sent thither as lord lieutenant, at the head of a formidable army raised by the vote of the English parliament, in order to quell any insurrection that might arise from the junction of the Catholics of that kingdom with the royalists. Such indeed was his success against Ormond, their commander in chief, that Charles, despairing of succour from that quarter, was under a necessity of listening to the Scottish treaty. Accordingly, the marquis of Argyle having influenced the parliament and general assembly of the kirk, propositions being prepared, and deputies appointed, Breda was fixed on as the place of conference.

A. D. 1650. When the young monarch and deputies met according to appointment, though he by no means secretly approved the four particular conditions specified in the articles, yet not being in a condition to shew his resentment, he carefully dissembled, offering to confirm the Presbyterian discipline in Scotland by act of parliament, but thought it unreasonable to expect that he would renounce the form of religion, in which he had been educated. He asked them if they had power to relax in any demand, or to treat about the assistance he might expect from the Scots, towards restoring him to the crown of England, but they

replied in the negative. As this was the most important point he could possibly propose to carry by a treaty with the Scots, the disappointment must have been attended with the greatest chagrin; however, it was deemed necessary to protract the negotiation, until he should receive some intelligence from Montrose, on whose success all his hopes were founded. That intrepid nobleman, having re-inforced his handful of men with a few recruits, which he had raised in the Orkneys, passed over to Caithness, hoping the general affection to the royal cause, and the fame of his former achievements, would allure the people to his standard. But the nation was now fatigued with continual wars, many of his former adherents had been apprehended and punished, and no hopes of success remained against so great a force as was now destined to oppose him, Lesley and Holborne being ordered to advance against him with an army of four thousand men. Strachan being sent forward with a body of cavalry to prevent his progress, attacked Montrose suddenly, and totally defeated his army, all of whom were either slain or taken prisoners; and Montrose himself being soon after seized was conducted to Edinburgh; where, notwithstanding the king's commission, he was condemned to death, and bore his sentence with that fortitude of mind, of which he had given such exemplary proofs during the whole course of his life.

Thus bereft of all military assistance, Charles was under the necessity of signing the terms, which the Scottish committee had presented to him. In consequence of this agreement, he immediately set sail for Scotland, and arrived in the frith of Cromarty. Before he was permitted to set foot on shore, he was required to sign the covenant; and with this demand he immediately complied. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and other noblemen attached to the royal cause, were immediately removed from his presence, and obliged to retire to their estates, where they lived without any trust or authority. The young king himself was merely so in name, being divested of prerogative, debarred of all kind of amusement, and though of a volatile disposition, compelled to conform to the gravity and precision of the Scottish manners in common life, as well as in matters of religion.

The reception which Charles met with from the Scots, however, alarmed the English parliament, inasmuch that they renewed their military operations, and recalled Cromwell from Ireland, which by this time was almost reduced. That general, having constituted Ireton, his son-in-law, deputy lieutenant, returned to England, according to the summons of the parliament; and was honoured, on taking his seat, with general thanks for the signal services he had rendered to the commonwealth. They then desired to know, whether Fairfax would undertake the command of the troops destined for Scotland; and on his refusal bestowed it on Cromwell, who, without delay put his troops in motion, and entered Scotland with an army of sixteen thousand men. The command of the Scottish army was conferred on Lesley, an able officer, who laid a very proper plan for defence; and removing whatever he thought might help to support the English army, fortified himself in a camp between Edinburgh and Leith.

The English general took every measure to bring the Scots to action, but Lesley, conscious of the superiority of the enemy in discipline and experience, though his army exceeded in numbers, wisely declined a decisive engagement, and kept

within



within his intrenchments. By skirmishes and petty encounters he endeavoured to animate his soldiers, and was generally successful in these enterprizes. His army became every day more numerous, more dexterous, and expert in their exercise. Cromwell made another motion, in hopes of drawing the Scottish general from his entrenchments, but all his efforts proved ineffectual; so that by this manœuvre of the Scottish commander, Cromwell, through want of provisions, was compelled to retire, after the two armies had remained several weeks in sight of each other. He therefore withdrew to Dunbar: Lesley followed him, and encamping on a hill opposite the town, assured himself of putting an end to the war, by the destruction of the whole English army. To such a dilemma was Cromwell reduced, that he had even once entertained the thoughts of embarking all his foot and artillery, and of forcing his way at the head of his cavalry.

But the fanatical zeal which then prevailed equally in Scotland as in England, defeated the military plan of Lesley, and proved eventually successful to Cromwell. At the instance of some Scottish ministers, of whom great numbers attended the camp, Lesley was prevailed upon, through an assurance of the peculiar interposition of heaven in their favour, contrary to all the rules of art, and every instance of former experience, to quit his advantageous post, and descend into the plain, in order to come to a general action with the enemy.

Oliver, as was his usual custom, prefaced the fight with a prayer, and further to animate his men, and inspire them with an enthusiastic ardour, solemnly assured them, (and with as much authority as the Scotch fanatics had arrogated in order to prevail with their general) that he had received a particular revelation from heaven that his enemies would be delivered into his hands. So indeed, however, it proved, for the Scots unaccustomed to, and undisciplined in war, were altogether unable to sustain the shock of such hardy and experienced veterans as the English. Though double in number to the enemy, they were instantly routed with great slaughter, and pursued to a considerable distance. Three thousand were slain on the spot, and about nine thousand taken prisoners. The English general then took possession of Leith and Edinburgh, but the castle did not surrender till the latter end of December.

This victory proved a favourable circumstance to Charles, as it induced the Scottish parliament to treat him with more than usual respect and indulgence; inasmuch that his friends were suffered to approach him, and his coronation was performed with great solemnity at Scone. His situation, however, though somewhat amended, was far from being easy or agreeable. Of a gay disposition, he could but ill digest the rigid austerities to which he was confined by the clergy, or the still more slavish submission in which he was held by Argyle and his party. Disgusted at these and many other circumstances, he determined to attempt the recovery of his liberty. General Middleton being proscribed by the covenant, had retired with a party of royalists to the Highlands, where he waited for Charles, who, escaping from Argyle, fled to join him with all possible expedition. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horse, was sent in pursuit of him. Though the defeat of his expectations in being compelled to return with that officer, might pique the pride of Charles, the con-

sequences favoured his designs; for the committee and Argyle being now alarmed with the apprehension that the severity with which they had treated him might force him to join the cavaliers, and so involve the nation in a civil war, he was therefore admitted to a little part in the administration, and, upon the whole, their rigour towards him considerably abated.

But the king, conscious of the importance and influence of Argyle in supporting his pretensions, treated that nobleman with uncommon affability and esteem, and even hinted a desire of espousing his daughter. Argyle, well acquainted with his majesty's principles, kept at a distance; but his son, the marquis of Lorn, attached himself to the king, and faithfully executed his private commissions. And such was his popularity, that in a short space of time, an army was raised to support his claim to the throne.

A. D. 1651. This formidable body of troops, under the command of the generals Hamilton and Lesley, encamped early in the spring at Torwood in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and being animated by the presence of the king, who had joined them, determined on the most vigorous exertions of military prowess, as they were fortified by the castle of Stirling, which lay at their back; supplied with provision by the northern countries, and their front was secured by strong intrenchments. Cromwell without effect had recourse to divers stratagems to bring them to action, so that at length, wearied with waiting their motions, he sent Lambert over the Frith into Fife, in order to intercept the provisions of the army. He was opposed by Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots; but these were defeated with great slaughter.

At length the English general passed over the river with his whole army, and drawing them up in the rear of the king, compelled him to abandon his station. As his last and only resource, Charles determined to march for England, not only as there was no obstruction to impede his progress, but as he hoped that all his friends, and all those who were dissatisfied with the present form of administration, would flock to his standard. He prevailed on the generals to agree to his proposals, and with one consent the army, to the number of fourteen thousand men, quitted their camp, and proceeded by long marches, towards England.

Alarmed at this spirited measure of the young king, and fearful of his success in England, where his presence, from the general hatred which prevailed against the parliament, was capable of producing some great revolution, Cromwell sent a body of cavalry under the command of Lambert to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and having left Monk with seven thousand men to finish the reduction of Scotland, pursued the king with the utmost expedition.

To further the efforts of the royalists, a considerable body of forces were raised in Cheshire and Derbyshire, by the earl of Derby, but they were soon defeated by the parliamentary army, and the king's army being greatly diminished by desertion and disease, his majesty laid aside his design of marching to London, and directed his rout to Worcester, where he met with a kind reception from the magistrates, and next day was solemnly proclaimed.

The active and intrepid Cromwell pursued him thither, at the head of a formidable army, and attacking



tacking the city with his usual vigour, surprized and threw the royalists into the utmost confusion. A terrible carnage ensued, the streets were covered with the carcases of the slain; Hamilton, a worthy nobleman, was mortally wounded, and the king compelled to fly. By the earl of Derby's advice, he repaired to Boscobel, a lonesome mansion on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Pendarell, a farmer.

The loyal peasant here hospitably entertained his deserted and bewildered sovereign at the hazard of his life, as all persons were forbidden to harbour him on pain of death. At length the farmer having communicated the secret to his three brothers, they furnished the king with a peasant's habit, and led him into a neighbouring wood, put an axe into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting wood.

During his continuance in this abject state of retirement, he cheerfully partook of the homely, but best fare his host could furnish. One day, on the approach of a party of soldiers, he climbed up into an oak tree, where he sheltered himself for the space of twenty-four hours. This tree was afterwards called the Royal Oak, and for many years held by the royalists in great veneration. At length, however, after having been exposed to the most imminent danger, encountered many and great difficulties, and assumed a variety of external disguises by way of deception, he landed at Fescamp in Normandy, for which place he had embarked at Shoreham in Sussex.

Cromwell had now acquired such renown among the people, and influence with parliament through his victorious career, that he might be said to govern both the army and the state.

Elated by their late successes, the English parliament passed an act, abolishing the royalty of Scotland, empowering it, however, to send a certain number of representatives to the British senate. All causes in both kingdoms were now determined by a mixture of English and Scottish judges; justice was administered impartially, and peace and order were maintained by the prudent conduct of general Monk, who commanded the forces in Scotland. The people, being secured in their property, applied themselves to the manual arts, and enjoyed, during the inter-regnum, more of peace and plenty than their ancestors had experienced in any equal period of time.

Blake, who had heretofore acted only in a military capacity, now signalized himself as a naval commander, by achieving such feats in character of admiral of the parliamentary fleet, as raised him to the highest pinnacle of fame. Among other proceedings he had the bravery to pursue prince Rupert, in his flight from Kinsale to Portugal, and could hardly be prevented from attacking him even in sight of Lisbon. The prince, however, having escaped from the intrepid English admiral, through the interposition of his Portuguese majesty, directed his course to the West-Indies, where his brother prince Maurice was shipwrecked in a storm; so that after undergoing many hardships, and finding it impossible to do any effectual service to the royal cause, he returned to France, where he disposed of the few ships which remained, together with all his prizes.

As all the American colonies, New England excepted, professed regal allegiance, Sir George Ayscough was sent with a considerable squadron to exact their submission to the power of parliament. Bermudas, Antigua, and Virginia, made little re-

sistance; Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, held out for a considerable time, but was at length obliged to follow the example of the other plantations. Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were with equal ease brought under obedience. Nor were the arms of the republic less successful in Ireland and Scotland. Ireton, deputy lieutenant of the former kingdom, persevered with great industry in subduing the revolted Irish, and defeated them in many engagements, which, though in themselves of little importance, entirely ruined their declining cause. The horrid massacres which had been there committed were retaliated on the perpetrators, among whom was Sir Phelim O'Neal, who justly suffered on the gallows for the many barbarities he had committed. After the reduction of Limerick, Ireton, the deputy lieutenant, died in that city of the plague.

A. D. 1652. Having succeeded in their military and naval enterprizes, and obtained despotic power throughout the British dominions, the parliament of England determined to carry their arms to foreign countries. In order to restrict the commerce of the Dutch, they passed an act of navigation, prohibiting all nations to import any merchandize into England, but what was the produce of the country to which the ships belonged. The states general, alarmed at these measures, sent ambassadors to London, to solicit the repeal of the act of navigation; but the parliament, far from complying with their request, demanded satisfaction for the massacre at Amboyna, the murder of Dorislaus, the correspondence which, during the war, the Dutch ambassadors had maintained with the late king; claiming also two millions of money for the losses they had sustained by the Hollanders in the East Indies. The United States, apprehensive that these proceedings would terminate in an open rupture, equipped a powerful armament, but were so impolitic as to menace the court of London with its destination.

In order to secure the Dutch merchantmen from the depredations of the English corsairs, Tromp, a gallant veteran, was sent to cruise off the coast of Holland with a fleet of forty-five sail. When hailed by the English admiral, he omitted paying the usual compliment of striking, and Blake fired a blank shot to remind him of the honour due to the English flag. Tromp taking no notice of these warnings, Blake fired a ball, which was returned by a broadside from the Dutch admiral.

A general engagement ensued which lasted five hours, and was sustained with equal fury and resolution; but the event is partially described by the respective historians of each country. The populace of London were highly incensed, and would have assaulted the Dutch ambassadors, had they not been furnished with a guard for the safety of their persons.

The Dutch admiral then directed his course towards the Downs, in order to engage rear-admiral Ayscough, who lay at anchor with part of the English fleet; but on receiving intelligence of Blake's having sailed to the northward with forty ships, to destroy the herring busses on the coast of Shetland, he followed him with a very numerous armament. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Newcastle, but a violent storm arising just as they were ready to engage, scattered the Dutch fleet in such a manner, that not above thirty sail could then reach Holland, though the rest arrived in a few weeks after.



Sir George Ayscough was afterwards attacked by a Dutch fleet of thirty-four ships, under the command of admiral de Ruyter; when though much inferior in numbers, the English engaged them valiantly until night put an end to the action. A short time before this engagement, commodore Badily was defeated in the Mediterranean, by Van-Galen, who was slain in the action.

Soon after this indecisive engagement, Blake fell in with the grand fleet of the Dutch, under the command of the admirals Tromp and de Ruyter near the Goodwin sands. Blake determined to face the enemy, but being greatly inferior in numbers was worsted in the action, being wounded himself, and having two of his ships taken, two burned, and one sunk. Blake retired to the Downs, and Tromp, elated with his victory, hoisted a broom at his main top-mast head, as a signal that he would sweep the channel clear of the enemy.

A. D. 1653. To retaliate this loss, the parliament fitted out a fleet of fourscore sail, the command of which was given to Blake, assisted by Dean, together with Monk, who had been recalled from Scotland for that purpose. While they lay off Portland, they espied the Dutch fleet of seventy-six sail, having above three hundred merchant-men under their convoy, and bore down immediately to give them battle. The fight was continued three days with the most resolute obstinacy, and the commanders in chief equally signified their valour and their conduct. The Dutch admiral made an excellent retreat, and saved all the merchantmen except thirty. Eleven of his ships of war were taken or destroyed; two thousand men were slain, and about fifteen hundred made prisoners. The number of slain among the English were nearly equal to that of the enemy. They lost, however, but one ship, which was sunk, but they had many greatly damaged.

The states of Holland having suffered so much from the capture of their ships and the stagnation of their commerce, deputed an embassy to apply to the parliament for settling a treaty of peace; but this was interrupted by a strange event taking place in England.

Cromwell, who, as before observed, might be said to govern, in consequence of a consultation with some of the officers of the army on whose fidelity he could rely, had presented to the house a petition, or rather positive demand of the payment of arrears due to the army; and the parliament treating this behaviour with becoming resentment, Oliver availing himself of the opportunity, assembled a council of officers, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation; and while they were engaged in debates, colonel Ingoldsby entered, and informed him that the parliament had met, and were come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to supply the vacancies by new elections.

To effect his design of centering all power civil and military in himself, Cromwell hastened to the house with a body of three hundred soldiers, which he posted at the different avenues. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and hypocritically told him he was come to do that, which, to his great grief of soul, the Lord had imposed on him. After sitting some time to hear the debates, he suddenly rose up, and in the most opprobrious terms reviled them for their tyranny, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, he said, "Get you gone, give place to honest men, you

"are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament, the Lord has done with you, he hath chosen other instruments for perfecting his own work." Sir Harry Vane rising to remonstrate against this outrage, he exclaimed, "O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." Taking hold of Martin by the cloak; "Thou art a whore-master," said he. Another he called a drunkard; a third, an adulterer, and a fourth, an extortioner. "It is you," said he to the members, "that have driven me to this. I have prayed the Lord, night and day, that he would rather slay me, than put me on this work. He then gave orders to the soldiers to clear the premises, and having himself locked the door, and secured the key, coolly retired to his apartments at Whitehall. By one resolute effort, through the aid of that enthusiasm, which seems to have been the most effective principle of the times, did Oliver Cromwell annihilate the legislative power of three kingdoms, and arrive to a degree of eminence and dignity hardly to be paralleled in the annals of history.

This singular transaction produced addresses of congratulation and duty from the officers naval and military, and many religious sects and societies. Yet there was a formidable clan, whose opposition might greatly impede the progress of Cromwell's designs. These were such as were denominated in general republicans, but yet comprehended sects of very opposite tenets. The first were the Calvinists, called also fifth monarchy men, who affirmed that dominion being founded in grace, all distinction of magistracy ought to be abolished, except what arose from superior sanctity; and considering themselves as saints, thought they alone had a right to govern. The second were the Deists, who aspired to more liberty than they could expect under any monarch, and wished for unbounded freedom in religion and politics.

As a man of Cromwell's penetrating genius must have discerned that as enthusiasm is the child of folly, the former were the aptest to assist him in finishing his intended project; in consequence of which he firmly attached himself to the Calvinists. Though he had already assumed the supreme authority, he thought proper to amuse them with the appearance of a commonwealth. He first justified his conduct in dissolving the parliament, by a declaration subscribed by all the principal officers of the fleet and army; and then proposed the establishment of a parliament, consisting of one hundred and forty members, in whom the supreme power should center. Having carried this point, he took care to select men of obscure birth, and a fanatical enthusiastic turn of mind; assured that such would upon every occasion become his pliant tools. Accordingly this very choice and singular legislature began to exercise their authority, in abolishing the clerical function, the tythes, the universities, the court of chancery, and the common law, in the room of which they intended to substitute the Mosaic institution.

While these extraordinary measures were effecting by Cromwell, some of the provinces of the United States were preparing remonstrances to lay before the English parliament for their non-attention to the proposals they had made for a general pacification. Admiral Tromp, with a fleet of an hundred sail fell in with the English fleet commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawson. They engaged on the third of June, near the coast of Flanders, and fought with equal valour until night



*Engraved by*  
RAYMOND'S  
*History of England*



*Wale delin.*

*Grignon sculp.*

OLIVER CROMWELL (*attended by a Party of SOLDIERS*)  
DISSOLVING *the* LONG PARLIAMENT. Anno-1653.



night parted them. Admiral Dean was slain in the action, notwithstanding which, the English renewed the battle next day, and the Dutch were obliged to retire with great loss; for, towards the close of the battle, the English were reinforced by Blake, with eighteen sail of fresh ships, and the victors pursued the enemy to the coast of Holland.

The gallant Tromp having repaired this loss, soon after weighed anchor, hoisted sail, and bore down upon the enemy as they lay in the Texel, though he was greatly inferior in point of numbers. A fresh engagement ensued on the twenty-ninth of July, which, with no material advantage to either party, lasted from morning till night. The next day Tromp, being reinforced with twenty-seven ships, engaged them again, but was defeated by the English with some considerable loss. A few days after Tromp, sailed with a fixed resolution either to repair his late misfortunes or die in the attempt. He fell in with the English commanded by Monk, and the fight immediately began with the utmost fury. Tromp, bravely encouraging his men, was shot through the heart with a musquet ball, in consequence of which, the Dutch were so dispirited that they began to give way on all sides, and at length retired into their harbours with the loss of their best ships, which were either sunk or taken.

The United States having now sustained the heaviest losses both in their trade and navigation, very solicitously applied for a treaty of pacification, to which Cromwell acceded on the following terms. A defensive league was concluded between the two republics. They engaged each of them to banish the enemies of the other; those concerned in the massacre of Amboyna were to be severely punished; the honour of the flag was to be yielded to the English; eighty five thousand pounds were to be paid by the Dutch East-India company, as an indemnification for the losses which the English company had suffered; and the island of Polorone in the East-Indies was to be ceded to the latter.

Cromwell soon found the powerful effects of selecting the members which composed his parliament, as they unanimously agreed to resign their authority to those from whom it had been received, and accordingly repaired to Whitehall, and confessing themselves unequal to the task they had undertaken, delivered the instrument of government to him.

A. D. 1654. The late shadow of legislature having delegated their nominal authority to a council of officers, composed of the creatures of Cromwell, the power of government was declaratively vested in him with the title of lord Protector of the Common-wealth, to be occasionally assisted by a council composed of only twenty-one members. His first act of sovereignty was the execution of Mr. Vowel, and colonel Gerard, who were charged with having formed a conspiracy against his life; the former was hanged at Tyburn, and the latter beheaded on Tower-hill. The same scaffold served for the execution of don Pantaleon Sa, knight of Malta, and brother to the Portuguese ambassador. He had repaired with several others, to the New-exchange, and in a mistake killed a man, whom he took to be the before mentioned Gerard, by whom he had been affronted on the preceeding day. Cromwell being informed of this transaction ordered the knight to be apprehended; and though he had retired to his brother's house, he and his accomplices were delivered up: the latter were hang-

ed at Tyburn, and the knight was beheaded on Tower-hill.

But Cromwell, notwithstanding the arts he practised and the guises he assumed, to veil his ambitious designs, could not elude the discernment of the thinking part of mankind. Parliament no sooner met and chose Lenthall for their speaker, than they entered on a discussion of the pretended instruments of government, and of that authority, which, under the title of protector, he had usurped over the nation. Cromwell, incensed at their refractory disposition, summoned them to the Painted-chamber, where he harangued on the absurdity of arraigning his title, since the same instrument of government, which constituted them a parliament, had entrusted him with the protectorship. On their return to the house, they found a guard placed at the door, who would not suffer any member to enter; until he had signed the recognition, by which he engaged faithfully to adhere to the then government, as vested in a single person and a parliament.

These lawless and arrogant proceedings induced many of the members, possessed of power and influence in their respective places of residence in the country, warmly to engage in a conspiracy against the haughty protector, who, apprized of their design, dissolved the parliament eleven days before the expiration of the term fixed, telling them he knew there was a plot formed against the administration.

A. D. 1655. The royalists, availing themselves of the general murmur which prevailed against the measures of administration, formed a design for restoring the king to his crown and dignities, and the nation to its former mode of government under king, lords, and commons. But Cromwell obtaining immediate intelligence of the same, through the vigilance of his spies, several of them were imprisoned.

Though the resolute behaviour of the protector occasioned a general panic, Jones, Grove, and other gentlemen of the West, assembled about two hundred horse, with which they entered Salisbury at the time of the assize, took possession of the gates and market-place, and proclaimed young Charles king of England; but not being joined by any of their associates, they abandoned the town, and wandered about that country, till their numbers were greatly diminished, so that one troop of horse was at least able to suppress them. The leaders being taken, were condemned and executed, and the rest transported to the plantations.

The protector, now thinking his authority sufficiently established at home, directed his attention to foreign pursuits, to which he was not a little induced by the pusillanimous behaviour of Charles II. of France, who, notwithstanding an unjustifiable attack of his fleet in their way to the relief of Dunkirk, waved the insult and sent ambassadors to London to sue for the friendship and alliance of the protector.

During these transactions admiral Blake had been sent with a fleet to the Mediterranean, to chastise the Algerine corsairs, who had annoyed the English traders. Another fleet was sent to the West-Indies, under the command of admiral Penn, having on board five thousand soldiers under general Venables. Cromwell delivered to the admiral orders sealed up, the purport of which he was not to know, until he reached a certain latitude. By these he was ordered to make a descent upon



the island of Hispaniola, and attack St. Domingo the capital. On their approach, the Spaniards abandoned their houses, and fled into the woods; but when they saw Venables landing his soldiers at a considerable distance from the place, they recovered their spirits, returned to their habitations, and prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. But the fatigue arising from the very intemperate heat of the climate so affected the English, that being wholly debilitated, they were easily repulsed by the natives, and driven on board their ships with considerable loss. However, if they failed in that enterprize, they succeeded in their attack of Jamaica, which submitted to their arms without opposition.

Notwithstanding the capture of the important island of Jamaica, the protector ordered the naval and military commanders in chief into confinement immediately on their arrival in England. The king of Spain, incensed at these hostilities, issued orders for confiscating all the effects of the English in his dominions, and the Spanish trade was transferred to the Dutch, who soon indemnified themselves for the losses which they had suffered in the war with England.

A. D. 1656. Hostilities being thus openly commenced between the crown of Spain and the English government, the fleet of the latter under the command of admirals Blake and Montague cruized off Cadiz in order to intercept the West-India trade on their return; but being distressed for water, were forced to make for Portugal. Captain Stayner who was left on the station, with seven ships, soon descried the galleons, and immediately gave chase. The Spanish admiral and two of his captains ran their vessels a-shore, but the two ships richly laden fell into the hands of the English, and two were set on fire. The treasure was brought from Portsmouth in waggons, and carried in triumph through the city of London.

The next engagement with the Spaniards, though not so profitable, was more honourable to the English flag, and terminated the naval achievements of the brave admiral Blake, who on receiving intelligence that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships had taken shelter among the Canaries, sailed thither, and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, drawn up in line of battle. The bay was fortified by a castle, and seven forts united by a line of communication; and the Spanish admiral had moored his smaller vessels close in shore, and the larger galleons further out with their broadsides to the sea. Blake attacked them with such fury, that the enemy quitted their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure. The gallant admiral, after this signal victory, dying of a dropsy on his return to his native country, was interred with all the honours due to his station and character; his loss being sincerely regretted, not only by the protector, but the nation in general.

About this time an accident happened which greatly endangered the life of Oliver. Having been presented with six fine Friesland horses, he attempted, for his amusement, to drive his own equipage round Hyde Park, attended by Thurloe his secretary. The horses taking fright, ran with such violence, that he could neither manage the reins nor keep his seat; but being thrown on the pole, was dragged on the ground for some time, and a pistol which he had in his pocket went off during the time of his being in this dangerous situation; however, he happily received no injury either from the fall or explosion.

Cromwell exercised his exalted office without the least interruption or molestation; and on the meeting of parliament obtained the necessary supplies by an unanimous vote. An act was also passed for the renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart or any of his family to the English throne; and this was the first act of that nature which had the least appearance of a parliamentary sanction.

A. D. 1657—8. In the beginning of this year, a powerful conspiracy was formed against the life of the protector by one Syndercomb, formerly a trooper, who very narrowly missed his aim in attempting to shoot him. At his trial, he behaved with undaunted resolution, declaring that many other persons were engaged in the same design, and intimated that he had received undoubted assurances of being screened from justice. He was convicted of high treason, and condemned to death, but on the day appointed for his execution he was found dead in the prison.

This very obsequious parliament became daily more devoted to the will and pleasure of the lordly protector; and so far did they carry their complaisance, that on a motion made by colonel Jephson for tendering him the crown they mostly signified their approbation of the proposal; and, when the motion was seconded by an aldermen of London, it passed by a considerable majority.

On his being urged by a select committee to comply with the request of the parliament, he seems to have acted with the duplicity of the tyrant Richard, and to have used all his art and finesse, which plainly indicated that ambition prompted him to accept of the glittering gewgaw. But foreseeing that his compliance would draw on him the resentment of the army, and the contempt of the world, as he had ever been the avowed foe of kingly government, after desiring time to deliberate on the important matter, he gave an absolute denial, and the parliament, to reward his consummate modesty, confirmed his title of protector.

Cromwell now removed from their respective offices, commissions and appointments, all those persons of whose attachment to his interest he had the least ground to entertain suspicion. His eldest son Richard was introduced at court, as the protector's heir apparent. He is represented by historians as a youth of an amiable character, particularly adorned with the virtue of benevolence, and exempt from the ambition and bigotry of his father, as a proof of which is cited, his strenuous interposition in behalf of the unfortunate king Charles II.

Having two daughters yet unmarried, Cromwell bestowed one on the grandson and heir of the earl of Warwick; the other on lord viscount Falconbridge, of a very ancient family, formerly attached to the royal party.

A plan was now formed in favour of the king, by Mr. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough, Sir Henry Slingsby, a man of great property in Yorkshire, and doctor Hewet, a clergyman of the church of England.

Elated by this plausible effort in his favor, Charles made some preparations in the Low Countries for obtaining that crown of which he was deprived by the protector. Cromwell receiving intimation that one of the king's commissions was accepted by a gentleman of the name of Stapely, sent for him to court, and prevailed on him to discover all he knew of the conspiracy. He also inti-



intimated that the marquis of Ormond had lately resided in London three weeks. That nobleman came over to learn the particulars of the combination, and finding matters not yet ripe for action, returned to the continent without the knowledge of Cromwell. Mordaunt, Slingsby, and Hewet, with a great number of their confederates, were apprehended; and a court of justice was erected to try the conspirators. Slingsby and Hewet were condemned and executed, but Mordaunt escaped, his wife having bribed the evidence to absent themselves on the day of trial.

The last memorable transaction of a military nature during the protectorship of Oliver Cromwell, was the victory obtained by the combined forces of France and England over the Spanish army at the famous battle of Dunes, where the Spaniards were routed with the loss of twelve hundred slain, and about two thousand taken prisoners. Dunkirk had been previously invested, but being by this means deprived of all hopes of assistance, was obliged to surrender, and the government of it was given to Lockhart, a Scotchman, who had married Cromwell's niece, was his ambassador at the court of France, and deemed a profound politician.

But amidst all the power, honour, and renown, which Cromwell had acquired as protector of the realm, he was not exempt from anxiety and disquietude. The coolness of relations and friends on the one hand, and the plots and schemes of enemies on the other, greatly affected his repose. Fleetwood and others, concluding from the pomp and state he had now assumed, that his views had ever been directed by pride and ambition, instead of religion and the love of his country, began to form parties against him, but the event which touched him most nearly was the death of a favorite daughter, whose amiable disposition had procured her universal esteem.

In the month of August he was attacked with a fever, which encreasing with great violence, he began to apprehend it would terminate in his death. His physicians were sensible of his perilous situation, and began to drop some hints on the subject; but his chaplains, by their fanatical insinuations, persuaded him to believe himself out of all danger. But notwithstanding this delusive assurance, his symptoms became more violent, and the council desiring to know if his son Richard should succeed him, he answered in the affirmative, and then expired on the third of September, (1658) in the 59th year of his age.

Cromwell was robust in person, and his visage manly, though not engaging. In no instances have the prejudice and partiality of historians been more glaring than in the description of the character of this very extraordinary man. He is variously and emphatically styled, by four different writers, "a fortunate madman; a judicious villain; a brave wicked man; and a tyrant without vices:" to which an appellation of more modern date has been added, "a prince without virtues." How far any or all of these epithets are applicable, will best appear from a review of his life, which certainly exhibits the most palpable effects of wild enthusiasm and towering ambition. If he attained not to a degree of excellence in human literature, he appears to have been well acquainted with the human heart, and could so adapt his words and actions, as to gain an ascendancy over most persons whom he desired to mould to his purpose. Versed in the arts of dissimulation and insinuation, he not

only concealed his own designs; but discovered the most secret intentions of others: as to religion, if its principal characteristics are justice and benevolence, we must offer it as our candid opinion, that, though he might have much of the theory of it in his head, very little of its influence appears in his actions. As mankind may be celebrated; or distinguished however; in the annals of time for their vices as well as their virtues, so the name of Cromwell will be memorized to the latest posterity, by the extraordinary nature of the transactions he effected. Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged, that though his mode of evincing his opposition to the government, and aversion to the principles of his sovereign, cannot be justified by any law human or divine; yet as good frequently is brought about by apparent evil, he was by his proceedings accessary to the suppression of arbitrary power, and the restoration of the constitutional rights of England; so that whether he did most good or most harm to the general interests of mankind, is a problem not easily to be solved.

Oliver Cromwell was interred with great funeral pomp in the chapel of Henry VII. amongst the kings and princes of England, by command of his son Richard, who, immediately on the demise of his father, was, by the council, chosen to succeed him in the protectorship of the realm.

But neither the disposition or genius of Richard was adapted to manage the several parties with whom he had to engage in his new character, so that each one seems to have pursued their own particular interest: for a parliament for the three kingdoms being convoked in the name of the new protector, they met on the twenty-seventh of January, and began to examine the authority of the Scots and Irish in sending members to the house. After many debates, it was voted that the other house should subsist, and the Scottish and Irish members sit in parliament. They then passed an act, confirming Richard's title of protector.

A.D. 1659. The army, zealous of maintaining the power they had acquired under the government of Oliver, presented a petition to Richard, entreating that Fleetwood might be appointed generalissimo, and on their being severally repulsed by the new protector, not only reprobated his character, but usurped a claim to settle the government. On the twenty-second of April, they repaired to him, and insisted on the immediate dissolution of the parliament. Desborough, a man of a clownish disposition, endeavoured to frighten him into compliance; and the protector having neither spirit to deny, nor power to resist, the parliament was dissolved, and the protector generally considered as deposed. In a few days after, indeed, he signed his resignation in form.

The council of officers, in consequence of this resolute effort, being restored to their former elevated ranks in government, began to consider what sort of government should be established. Many of them were disposed to erect a military government, and to exercise the power of the sword in an open manner; but as it would be difficult to compel the people to the payment of the taxes imposed by arbitrary will, it was resolved to retain the appearance of civil authority, and to restore the long parliament which had been expelled by Oliver Cromwell, with this proviso, that they could not be dissolved but with their own consent.

The council then applied to Lenthall, late speaker



speaker in the long parliament, and presented him with a declaration, by which he and the other members were invited to re-assemble. Accordingly, on the eighth day of May, two and forty met in the house, and the presbyterian members, who had formerly been excluded, attempted to resume their seats, but the house refused them admission, and was supported in their rejection by the military council, in consequence of which, and several acts obnoxious to that party, they resolved to exert their utmost efforts to bring about the restoration of the royal family to the crown of England. Mordaunt, who had been concerned in the late conspiracy, rather encouraged than intimidated by his past danger, was become the chief director of all their councils.

To effect this desirable purpose they concerted a plan for rising in several counties at once, and surprizing at the same time, Gloucester, Lyme, Plymouth, Exeter, and Chester. This scheme being approved by Charles, he repaired privately to St. Malo, that he might be near at hand, in case the enterprize should succeed; but the conspiracy was defeated by the intelligence of Sir Richard Wallis, who now maintained with the parliament the same correspondence which he had formerly carried on with Cromwell. Many of the conspirators were seized and imprisoned, others abandoned their houses; a violent tempest raged during the whole time appointed for the insurrection; insomuch, that from the utter inability of some, and apprehensive fears of others, the junction of the parties was wholly frustrated.

The city of Chester, however, was surprized through the vigilance and activity of Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton; but Lambert marching against them with a superior force, after an obstinate engagement, they were totally routed. Sir George Booth escaped from the field of battle, but was afterwards discovered in a disguised habit, and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

The military council, apprehensive of the design of parliament gradually to abridge and finally annul their authority, held frequent conferences in and about London, and at length came to an unanimous resolution of presenting a petition to the following effect: that the parliament would immediately comply with the contents of a former address presented by the council of Wallingford-house; that they would establish general Fleetwood in his command, which, according to the present commission, would in a few months expire; that Lambert should be appointed lieutenant general; Desborough general of the cavalry; and Monk general of the infantry; that they would prosecute with the utmost severity those communities, who had assisted the enemy in the late insurrections; and that no person might be elected chief magistrate of any corporation, who had shewn by his conduct, that the government of the commonwealth had not met with his approbation.

But while this petition, which was dated at Derby, was left with Fleetwood for his revival and amendment, Sir Arthur Haslerig defeated their whole design, by sending intelligence to the speaker; in consequence of which, it was resolved in the house, after some debate, that a military council was not only useless, but expensive as well as dangerous to the state. The officers, incensed at this peremptory resolve that so particularly militated at their authority, determined on the dissolution, or at least the subjection of parliament, for which purpose Lambert approached London with his

brigades. Having received assurance from Monk, that he would support them, the parliament cashiered Lambert, Desborough, and some other officers, who had signed the petition, revoked Fleetwood's commission, and appointed commissioners, for a limited time, to command the army.

For their own security, two regiments commanded by officers of whose fidelity they had no doubt, were ordered to take up their quarters in Westminster, and guard the avenues to the house; but Lambert, entering London with four regiments, took possession of them all, re-conducted the speaker to his own house, and excluded the members.

Having thus paved the way for the accomplishment of their design, the officers nominated a council composed of ten members, who should take upon themselves the regulation of the concerns of the commonwealth. They then appointed a committee of safety, in which the power of the administration was vested. The chief members were Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, Ludlow, and Sir Henry Vane. The officers, at the same time, published a declaration, annulling the late orders of parliament, declaring they were so far from setting up a military government, that they had established a committee of safety, which was enjoined to deliberate and propose a form of legislature, proper to maintain the subjects liberties, and the happiness of the commonwealth; and that consequently there was no necessity for a house of peers, a protector, or a king.

In this critical situation of affairs, general Monk declared a firm resolution to espouse the cause of the parliament, and contended for their privileges thus violated by the army; though he was supposed to be actuated to this resolve not so much by an attachment to the king, as a jealousy which had long prevailed between him and Lambert, so that the reason of his thwarting the projects of that ambitious general, whose success he knew would destroy his own authority, was plain and evident.

But as the completion of his design required the utmost caution and deliberation, Monk, previously to his acting in open defiance, assembled his troops, dismissed some officers whom he knew disaffected to his purposes, imprisoned Cobbet, secured the town of Berwick, demanded an extraordinary supply from the Scots for this expedition, and having received intelligence that Lambert with his army was marching towards the north, sent Clobbery and two other commissioners to London, to assure the committee of his peaceable disposition, and to propose terms of accommodation. His chief view was to procure delay, and retard the preparations of his enemies. The committee of safety agreed to a treaty, which was at last signed by the commissioners, but Monk refused to confirm it, on pretence that his commissioners had exceeded their instructions. He desired, however, to renew the negotiation at Newcastle.

A. D. 1660. Having adjusted the necessary measures for the execution of his design, and recruited his forces by a supply to a very considerable amount from the Scots, general Monk entered England on the second day of January, and was congratulated on his arrival by two deputies commissioned by parliament for that purpose. The city of London saluted him on the same occasion by four of its principal merchants, and assured him also of the expediency of calling a free parliament, agreeable to the general voice of the people.

Thus encouraged and supported, Monk without delay sent a messenger to the parliament, desiring them



them to remove from London those regiments, who, though they now pretended to return to their allegiance, had so lately dared to expel that assembly. Though this demand increased their suspicions, yet they complied with his directions. He was introduced to the house with great solemnity, and received, from the mouth of the speaker, the public thanks for the great services which he had done his country. He then made a short speech, in which he observed, that the peaceable restoration of the parliament was not one of the smallest blessings which God had bestowed on the nation; he told them, that he had received a great number of addresses, expressing their desire of a free parliament, proposed to restore the excluded members without exacting the oaths, and recommended Scotland and Ireland to their particular care and attention.

As an evident token of their disapprobation of the then mode of administration, the common council of London refused to pay an assessment till a free and legal parliament was established. As this refusal tended to annul their authority, they were resolved to make at once a full trial of their own strength and the general's fidelity; and therefore ordered Monk to march into the city, to carry off their chains and demolish their gates, and commanded him to see these violent orders carried into immediate execution. Monk obeyed the injunction, entered the city in an hostile manner, levelled some of the gates and portcullices, and returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster, leaving the citizens equally astonished and incensed at his proceedings.

Monk had obeyed these orders in direct repugnance to his own will, but finding the necessity of throwing off the mask he had assumed, and openly avowing the cause he determined to maintain in opposition to an arbitrary and tyrannical clan, he sent a letter to the parliament, in which, after complaining of the odious task they had imposed on him, he upbraided them with the new cabals they were carrying on with Vane and Lambert, and demanded in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole community, that they should issue writs within a week for supplying the then vacancies in the house, and appoint the time for their own dissolution, and the summoning of a new parliament.

In order to conciliate the affections of the citizens, justly incensed by his late proceedings, he repaired to Sir Thomas Allen, the lord mayor, and desired him to summon a court of common council at Guildhall. He there endeavoured to apologize for the insults which he had been obliged to offer them, protested his firm adherence to the measures which he had embraced, begged that a strict union might be effected between the city and army, and represented that the national affairs could be no way so well settled as by their union.

This coalition between the city and army was matter of universal joy, and celebrated by all who wished well to their country. Former animosities between the royalists and presbyterians totally subsided, and they unanimously concurred in the prosecution of such measures as might tend to retrieve a constitutional form of government, and prevent the further effusion of the blood of their countrymen and fellow subjects.

To complete his design by one bold stroke, Monk returned with his army to Westminster, and requested the excluded members to repair to the house. They went accordingly, and forming a

majority, their first business was to annul all the orders by which they had been deprived of their seats; they restored Sir George Booth and all his party to their liberty and estates; renewed and enlarged the general's commission; voted an assessment for the maintainance of the fleet and army; and having taken these steps for promoting the peace of the nation, they dissolved themselves, and issued orders for convoking a new parliament. But while Monk was pursuing these specious measures for effecting a reformation in government, he awarded, for private reasons, all intercourse with the king; professed himself a republican in principle, and communicated his intentions but to one confidential friend, Mr. Maurice, a gentleman of Devonshire.

To enforce the authority of the parliament he was about to establish, the general directed some particular officers to present him with an address; in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by all the different regiments; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers, by whom it was rejected. In the midst of these transactions, his design was near being defeated by Lambert's escaping from the Tower; and beginning to assemble forces. As it was necessary to exert the greatest activity in suppressing so dangerous an enemy, the general detached colonel Ingoldsby with his own regiment against Lambert, who had taken possession of Daventry with four troops of horse; but Lambert himself was obliged to submit, as the greatest part of his troops deserted to Ingoldsby.

The day following the first meeting, (being the twenty-sixth of April) of the new parliament, the king presented by Sir John Granville a letter to the house, which being immediately read, a committee was nominated to draw up an answer; and, in order to propagate the joyful news throughout the kingdom, it was resolved, that the letter should be published. The king's declaration contained in it was happily adapted to flatter the people with hopes of public tranquillity. It promised a general indemnity to all persons whatsoever; and, in short, contained every concession that could tend to the happiness of the king and his subjects.

From the reception with which the measures of general Monk, and the declaration of his majesty, met from the public in general, who now became unanimous in the common cause, the peers of the realm determined to repossess themselves of their ancient authority, and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. The doors of their house they found open, and all were allowed to enter; even such as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency. The lords voted, that the government ought to be jointly in the king, lords, and commons, according to the ancient constitution of the kingdom.

The spirit of unanimity, and indeed of true patriotism, universally prevailing, the commons concurred in the votes of the upper house without a dissentient voice, and to testify their approbation of the king's letter, allotted five hundred pounds to purchase a jewel for Sir John Granville the bearer; they presented fifty thousand pounds to his majesty, ten thousand to the duke of York, and five thousand to the duke of Gloucester. Both houses then caused to be erased from their journals all



statutes and edicts, which had passed to the annulling of the royal prerogative.

A lawless junto being thus expelled the seat of government, Charles II. was proclaimed king of England on the eighth day of May, in Palace-yard, Whitehall, and at Temple-bar, the two houses attending at the ceremony.

These tokens of duty and loyalty from his subjects, naturally procured the king the homage of foreign powers. Spain, France, and the United States, sent their respective deputies with complimentary invitations to him to take shipping at any of their sea-ports; but he gave the preference to the latter.

He was attended by a multitudinous concourse amidst general acclamations, in his route from Breda to the Hague, whither on his arrival having received the congratulatory compliments of the States General, he embarked on the twenty-third, and on the twenty-sixth arrived at Dover, where he was received by general Monk, whom he embraced with the warmest affection, calling him father, guardian, and protector; and proceeding to Canterbury, conferred upon him the order of the garter. He entered London on his birth-day, the twenty-ninth of May, the anniversary of which is observed by many at the present time.

#### Remarkable Occurrences between the death of Charles I. and the restoration of Charles II.

##### A. D.

- 1650 Potatoes first cultivated in England.
- 1651 On the third of September there happened a most dreadful hurricane in England, which blew down many houses, and did other considerable damage, in various places, but more particularly in London.
- 1652 The art of roasting and making coffee brought into England by a Greek servant to Mr. Edwards, a Turkey merchant.

Many learned men flourished in England during the reign of Charles I. and the period that took place between his death and the restoration of his successor Charles II. the most remarkable among whom were the following:

Ben Johnson, poet-laureat to James I. and Charles I. was the greatest dramatic writer of his age. He was familiarly acquainted with the best antient authors, and was the first that brought critical learning into repute. Some of his plays are still acted with great applause. He died in 1637.

Edmund Waller was particularly distinguished for his poetical genius, and possessed that elegance

of expression which will ever make his memory respectable. Among others of his compositions, he wrote two poems, the one on "divine love," and the other "on the fear of God;" both of which are inimitable. He was greatly respected by Oliver Cromwell, whom he celebrated in three excellent poems. When the restoration took place he wrote a copy of verses on the occasion, which he presented to Charles II. but the king observing that they were not equal in elegance to those written on the usurper, Mr. Waller answered, "We poets never succeed so well in truth as in fiction." He retained his mental faculties to the last, and died in the year 1687, in the eighty-second year of his age.

The great poet Milton also flourished during this period. He is particularly celebrated for his excellent poem, intitled, "Paradise Lost," which exhibits such an amazing force of genius as at once confounds and transports the reader; and it is with justice considered as equal to the first epic poem of antiquity. He lived in an easy though not affluent manner, till 1674, when he died of a fit of the gout, and was interred in the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

Sir Francis Bacon (lord Verulam) was at the head of the geniusses who flourished during this period. He discovered the emptiness of the visionary system of philosophy, which had, for many ages, amused mankind, and taught the world that the only method of finding out truth was by experiment. In short, he discovered such mines of knowledge as will never be exhausted.

William Hervey, D. M. acquired immortal honour for his discovery of the circulation of the blood. He enjoyed the happiness, to find the clamours of ignorance, envy, and prejudice against his doctrine (which for some time prevailed) totally silenced, and his discovery universally established. He died in 1657.

During the reign of Charles I. the polite arts flourished in England, and more especially painting and sculpture. Charles was the patron of Rubens, Vandyke, Inigo Jones, and other eminent artists, so that, had it not been for the civil wars, he would probably have converted his court into a second Athens; and the collections he made of painting and curiosities (considering the difficulties under which he laboured) were amazing. His favourite the duke of Buckingham imitated his example, and in the like articles expended the enormous sum of £400,000.





*Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.*



*Born*  
*May 29. 1630.*

*Crowned*  
*April 13. 1661.*

*Died*  
*February 6. 1685.*



## B O O K XIII.

From the Restoration of C H A R L E S II. to the Revolution.

## C H A P. I.

## C H A R L E S II.

*Charles II. ascends the throne with éclat. Act of indemnity. Trial of the regicides. Parliamentary transactions. Dunkirk sold to France. War with Holland. Naval exploits. Plague and fire of London. Triple alliance. The cabal. Test act. Peace with Holland. Popish plot. New council. Exclusion bill. Habeas Corpus act. Trial and execution of the earl of Stafford. Parliament of Oxford. The king endeavours to become absolute. Affairs of Scotland. City of London deprived of its privileges. Rye-house plot. The conspiracy discovered. Trial of Russel. Trial of Sydney, &c. Death and character of Charles II.*

A. D. **O**N the restoration of Charles II. to the 1660. throne of his ancestors, the affairs both of church and state assumed a very different aspect from that which presented itself during the interval of the commonwealth. The first, and by far the wisest act of his reign, was the promotion of Sir Edward Hyde whom he had created earl of Clarendon, to the dignity of chancellor. Indeed he was looked upon by the whole nation as his majesty's chief counsellor, and had he been guided by the advice of that great and good man, his conduct would have more redounded to his own honor, and the happiness and glory of his subjects.

A council was prudently formed between the royalists and presbyterian parties. Of the latter the earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain, lord Say, privy seal, Annesley was created earl of Anglesey, Ashley Cowper, and Denzil Holles were advanced to the dignity of barons. Of the former the admiral Montague was created earl of Sandwich, the dukedom of Albemarle was conferred upon general Monk, and Sir Edward Nicholas, and Sir William Maurice, were appointed to be secretaries of state.

Charles during his exile had made a considerable progress in the study of history, and rendered himself acquainted with the politics and fashions of the principal courts of Europe; but mechanics had chiefly engrossed his attention, insomuch that he had great knowledge in the art of ship-building. But his other qualities were by no means correspondent. He was a latitudinarian in religion, careless, indolent, and immoderately addicted to pleasure. To the pernicious influence of his example must be ascribed that deluge of luxury and debauchery, which soon after over-ran the nation.

To add a due sanction to the parliament now convened, all judicial proceedings transacted in the name of the commonwealth or protector, were confirmed by a special statute; and both houses confessing the guilt of the former rebellion, embraced his majesty's pardon and indemnity.

Many of the peers who were particularly attached to the interest of the late king, voted that this pardon should not extend to those who had adjudged persons executed by virtue of sentences passed in

high commission courts, and this circumstance caused a general alarm; but his majesty coming to the house of peers, and most earnestly intreating them to make the indemnity general, they promised to comply with his request.

Though both houses at first seemed to concur with the king, respecting the general indemnity, they would not consent to a clause relating to nineteen of those, who had sat as judges on his father. The estates of Oliver Cromwell, Bradshaw, Pride, Phillips, and Haslerig, and one and twenty members, deceased, were confiscated, and their families subjected to such other penalties, as the king and parliament should think proper to inflict.

Vane and Lambert were exempted from the benefit of the bill of indemnity, though they did not come under censure as sitting in judgment on their late sovereign. Oliver St. John, and seventeen other persons were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they accepted or executed any office, whether ecclesiastical, civil, or military. Commissioners were now appointed to proceed upon the trials of the ninety that had been immediately concerned in the murder of the late king. Of these, twenty-five were dead, twenty-nine had escaped out of the nation, seven were deemed proper objects of mercy, twenty-nine received sentence of death, but nineteen were relieved during the king's pleasure, on account of their having surrendered themselves according to the proclamation. The ten who were to be executed were Harrison, Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel; who submitted to their fate with such fortitude and resolution, as evinced those principles for which they suffered.

The parliament, in adjusting the king's revenues, were equally attentive to the liberties and privileges of the subject, and the honour and dignity of the crown. In the time of the commonwealth, wardships and liveries had been utterly abolished, and even in the then parliament, before the king's restoration, a bill had been introduced, offering him an equivalent for these revenues. An hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum, which the parliament proposed, and the king, sensible



sensible that these imports did not yield so much profit, readily accepted the offer. Half of the excise was granted in perpetuity to the crown, as the fund for producing that revenue; but the making good these engagements was left to the parliament's future deliberation, as the produce arising from half the excise would not amount to more than two thirds of that sum.

Charles, whose volatile mind was not the most susceptible of the tender impressions of consanguinity, appeared, however, greatly affected at this time by the loss of the duke of Gloucester, who died of the small pox, in the twentieth year of his age.

To pave the way for the introduction of the hierarchy, the king, as soon as the parliament was adjourned, published a proclamation, ordering that a certain number of able divines should be chosen to review and alter the liturgy; at the same time directing the bishops to exercise their spiritual jurisdiction in the same form, as had been formerly used in the church of England. Nine of the old bishops still living were restored to their dioceses, and bishoprics offered to the most eminent presbyterians, but to the honour of their profession, they all (Reynolds who was made bishop of Norwich excepted) rejected the offer as inconsistent with their religious principles.

In the month of October, the princess dowager of Orange arrived in London, and in a short time after his majesty was visited by her mother the princess Henrietta, and Edward, prince palatine, brother to prince Rupert. The queen mother at this juncture proposed a match between her daughter Henrietta and the duke of Orleans, to which the king consented.

The subject of disbanding the army being proposed for debate in both houses of parliament, the king who had reviewed a detachment of his veteran troops, was so charmed with their expert manoeuvres and martial appearance, that he expressed an ardent desire of retaining them in his service. But the chancellor representing to him the inexpediency of such a measure, from the consequences that must inevitably ensue, all the forces were immediately disbanded, except one regiment of infantry, and another of cavalry, maintained as guards for the king's person. The two houses then caused the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride, to be taken out of their graves, and carried upon sledges to Tyburn, and buried under the gallows, after hanging a whole day.

When his majesty with the advice of his council dissolved the parliament at the close of the year, he expressed a due sense of that loyalty and affection they had shewn him upon every occasion. The chancellor in his speech recommended the settlement of the militia, and also hinted the formation of a conspiracy, for surprizing Windsor, Whitehall, and the Tower of London, affirming, that many disbanded officers and republicans were concerned in this design, and that their intention was to raise an insurrection in the west, under the command of general Ludlow.

A. D. 1661. An alarm of the most serious nature marked the commencement of this year, when a number of the fifth monarchy men, under the command of one Venner, a desperate enthusiast, issued forth into the streets of London completely armed. These violent and outrageous fanatics took possession of a house in the city, which being

attacked by the guards, they defended themselves until the greater part was killed; the few that remained being taken, were tried, condemned, and executed.

Measures had been taken in Scotland to suppress the kirk party, and this year episcopacy was restored to that kingdom, and the parliament abrogated the solemn league and covenant, under pretext of the violence which had been used, in extorting the consent of his late majesty to these statutes.

On the twenty-third of April, being St. George's day, the ceremony of his majesty's coronation was performed with great pomp in Westminster-abbey, on which occasion, honours and dignities titular and lucrative, were conferred on his favourites and adherents; and soon after the king established the Royal Society, now so well known in most parts of the world.

The parliament assembled on the 8th of May, and the commons having chosen Sir Edward Turner speaker, immediately proceeded to business; they passed an act for the security of the king's person and government, and it was made high treason to intend or devise his imprisonment or dethronement. To call him a papist or heretic, or to endeavour by speech or writing to deprive him of the affections of his subjects, was declared punishable with exclusion from all offices, ecclesiastical, civil, or military. They annulled the act for excluding bishops from sitting in parliament; declared that the power of the militia belonged to the king alone, and empowered him to dispose of all the land forces; after which both houses were adjourned to the 20th of November.

A party who were distinguished by the denomination of cavaliers, murmured greatly against the king and council for withholding from them all reparation for the losses they had sustained during the civil war, while those who had prosecuted them with the utmost severity, enjoyed, by the act of indemnity, all the wealth they had unlawfully extorted from the royalists, before the restoration. On the other hand, the ministry spread through the whole city rumours of plots and conspiracies against the king and government. This appears to have been a plausible pretence of the ministry, who together with most of the members of both houses, were desirous of humbling the presbyterians; under the general term of non-conformists; for no sooner did the act of uniformity pass both houses; than the rumour of the conspiracy immediately subsided.

These pretended plots were the foundation of the corporation act, ordaining all officers of all corporations to take the oaths as prescribed in form according to the statutes in such cases made and provided.

A. D. 1662. On the seventeenth of May his majesty gave the royal assent to an act for establishing uniformity in public worship, and in the administration of the sacrament, and on the twenty-first of May, his marriage with Catharine, infanta of Portugal, was celebrated with great magnificence. This princess, though virtuous, possessed no personal charms; her chief attraction was a portion amounting to three hundred thousand pounds, besides the fortresses of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East-Indies.

At this time several criminals were tried and executed, amongst whom were three regicides who had escaped to Holland, where they were seized; and



and brought back in chains to England. But the attention of the public was principally engrossed by the trials of Vane and Lambert; the former of whom was executed, being the last who suffered on account of the civil wars. Lambert, from his dutiful and submissive behaviour on his trial was reprieved at the bar. His sentence was afterwards mitigated to perpetual confinement in the isle of Guernsey, where he survived his condemnation thirty-six years, living in calm repose, wholly undisturbed by the noise and tumult of party or faction.

In consequence of the act of uniformity, about two thousand ministers, supposed to have been chiefly presbyterians, abandoned their livings in the church for refusing to conform to the rites and ceremonies as established by law. During these proceedings, admiral Lawson, who in the beginning of the year sailed with a squadron to the coast of Barbary, concluded a peace on the part of England with the Dey of Algiers.

A. D. 1663. The prodigality of this luxurious and dissipated monarch compelled him to a measure which contributes amongst others not a little to fully his reign. This was the sale of Dunkirk with all the ammunition and artillery in the garrison to the French, for the sum of four hundred thousand pounds, and he is said to have done this with the advice of the lord chancellor Clarendon.

On pretence of easing the protestant dissenters who complained of being much aggrieved, a plan was formed by the council for a toleration act; and the indulgence granted by it was extended to the Catholics, to whom the king, and particularly the duke of York, was supposed to be attached.

As the chancellor had opposed the plan of toleration, the earl of Bristol, who in his exile had embraced the Romish religion, now employed all his raillery in ridiculing and rendering him obnoxious to his sovereign. Nor was the earl the only person that endeavoured to traduce that faithful minister. The duchess of Cleveland, the favourite concubine of Charles, because Clarendon disdained to flatter her vanity, or gratify her ambition, used all her influence with the king to effect his ruin. Secretary Nicholas, who was Clarendon's intimate friend, was deposed, and succeeded by Sir Henry Bennet, a reputed papist.

Notwithstanding the losses sustained by the royalists from their adherence to the cause of his father, Charles was in general inattentive to their petitions. He granted indeed a few pensions, to the Penderells, Mrs. Land, and some others, who had contributed to his preservation after the battle of Worcester. But the greatest part of the royalists were still involved in poverty and distress, aggravated by the disappointment of their most sanguine hopes, and the additional mortification of seeing all places of power and profit possessed by their inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they alledged, that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

Notwithstanding the chancellor by his opposition to the plan of toleration had incurred his majesty's displeasure, from motives of policy, he continued him in his high and important office, which inflaming the malice and resentment of the earl of Bristol, he impeached Clarendon of high treason before the house of peers. In this inconsistent charge, he was accused of having endeavoured to

fix the imputation of popery upon the king; of promising to use his influence in abolishing the penal laws against the papists; of having scandalized his majesty; advised the sale of Dunkirk; reviled the parliament; embezzled the public money, and enriched himself by selling employments. The peers treated this ill founded impeachment with contempt, and lord Bristol, ashamed of his conduct, retired to the continent, and there continued some years.

A. D. 1664. The ministry from their first appointment had been continually alarmed with plots and conspiracies said to be formed by the republican party, and one was now discovered to surprise several towns in the north, and excite a general insurrection. This was nothing more than an idle scheme of some inconsiderable fanatics, and disbanded soldiers, thirty of whom were taken and executed; however, it furnished the king with a plea, to demand, in his next speech to the two houses, the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments. With this demand they also complied, in consequence of his affirming, that the kingdom was exposed to continual troubles from the suggestions of a set of wretches, who arrogated to themselves a right of meeting for a new election, under pretence that the present parliament was already dissolved by virtue of that act.

About this time a dispute arose between the English and the Dutch, in relation to commerce, the latter having opposed the African company in establishing their settlements on the coast of Guinea. This transaction, which could only be considered as a prelude to a Dutch war, was by no means displeasing to Charles, whose increasing wants, the natural consequence of excessive prodigality, prompted him to hope that he might convert to his private use some of the supplies granted for the maintenance of the war. He delighted in ship-building, and was ambitious of equipping a navy, that should maintain the superiority of the ocean; and the duke of York longed for an opportunity of signalizing his courage and power, as high admiral, against a people whom he detested, not only for their republican principles, but as one of the chief bulwarks of the protestant cause.

A rupture between England and the United States now seemed inevitable, and the design of prosecuting a war had the hearty concurrence both of the council and the parliament. Downing, the English resident in Holland, delivered a memorial to the states, containing a list of those depredations of which the English complained. Mean while, as Charles was fully determined on the war, he had secretly dispatched Sir Robert Holmes, with a fleet of two and twenty sail to the coast of Africa. Holmes not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corfe, to which the English had some plausible claim, but likewise made himself master of Cape Verde, and the isle of Goree, together with several vessels trading on that coast. When the states remonstrated against these hostilities, the king affected a total ignorance of Holmes's enterprise, and the better to carry on the deception, committed Holmes to the Tower, but restored him to liberty in a short time.

Fired with resentment at the neglect and inattention with which the English court treated their remonstrances, the States sent private orders to De Ruyter, to sail for the coast of Guinea, and make reprisals on the English. De Ruyter executed his commission with his usual vigour and success. He retook all the conquests which the English had made,



made, except Cape Corfe; expelled them from some of their old settlements, and seized all the English ships that fell into his hands. He then steered to the West-Indies, in hopes of making himself master of Barbadoes, but failed in the attempt.

The naval preparations had for some time been carried on with uncommon diligence, and as the parliament had not yet granted the king any supplies, the city of London gratified him with a loan of an hundred thousand pounds; he himself visited the docks, encouraged and rewarded the workmen, and in a short time the English navy was put in a very formidable condition.

In the month of November the parliament met, and voted his majesty two million and a half for carrying on the intended war against the Dutch, the largest supply ever before granted to any monarch of England; encouraged by which, he declared war against the United States about the middle of March, having prorogued the parliament to the following October.

A. D. 1665. The duke of York, who was appointed admiral of the English fleet, sailed on the 18th of May, with one hundred and fourteen ships of the line besides frigates and ketches; having under him prince Rupert, and the gallant earl of Sandwich. Opdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of near equal force, received positive orders to give battle to the enemy. In the heat of the action, when engaged in furious combat with the duke of York, Opdam's ship blew up, and himself perished with all his crew. This incident decided the fortune of the day, for the Dutch, dispirited by the loss of their admiral, immediately broke the line, and made toward their own coast; and Tromp, son of the admiral of that name, favoured the retreat of the Dutch by sustaining the fight alone for some time.

The English lost only four ships, but several persons of distinction were killed, whereas the Dutch had nineteen sunk or taken. It is confessed, that during the whole action, the duke discovered equal courage and conduct; he was long engaged in the heat of the battle, and kept his station, when the earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one ball at his side, and he was besmeared with the blood and brains of those three gallant officers. A day of thanksgiving was appointed in England for this victory, and medals were struck on the occasion in honour of the duke of York.

As the queen was supposed to be barren, and the duke, therefore, considered as presumptive heir to the crown, it was resolved in council that he should not be permitted to hazard another engagement; whereupon the command of the navy was given to the earl of Sandwich, of which, however, he was soon deprived, for the king having ordered him to set sail for Berghen, where a fleet of Dutch merchantmen lay at anchor, instead of obeying the command in person, he dispatched Sir Thomas Tiddeman, with part of the fleet for that service, who attacked them with great impetuosity, but met with so warm a reception that he was obliged to desist from the enterprize with great loss. Charles, incensed at the earl for omitting to go thither in person, deprived him of the command, and sent him on an embassy to Madrid.

During these transactions abroad, the city of London was groaning under a most dreadful plague, which raged with such violence, that in the space of eleven months it swept away above

100,000 persons in the city and its environs. The king retired to Hampton Court, in order to avoid the contagion, but that being thought too near the capital, he afterwards removed to Salisbury. Barnard Van Galen, bishop of Munster, at the instigation of the king of England, took up arms against the states general, in consideration of receiving a large subsidy from the British court. This turbulent prelate assembled a body of twenty thousand men, with whom he invaded the province of Overijssel, and reduced several places, but was glad to compromise matters, on finding the subsidy from England ill paid, and a large reinforcement to the Dutch being sent by the duke of Lunenburg and the king of France.

In the month of October the parliament, pursuant to prorogation, assembled at Oxford, and voted a supply of one million two hundred thousand pounds for the support of the war, and one hundred and twenty thousand to the duke of York for the signal services he had rendered his country by his late naval victory over the Dutch. The king now issued a proclamation, commanding all non-juring ministers to remove with their families to the distance of twenty miles from the places of their usual residence. These persons would have been much aggrieved by this command, had not the munificence of their friends increased in proportion to the severity of the government.

A. D. 1666. By this time Lewis the 14th of France had openly espoused the cause of the Dutch, so that war was declared against that kingdom, on the king's return to London, in February. The Dutch fleet, consisting of seventy sail, was now at sea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp. Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle commanded the English fleet, which amounted only to forty, notwithstanding which disparity, they bore down on the enemy in the morning of the first of June. The Dutch prepared for battle by cutting their cables on the approach of the English vessels.

This combat, which is one of the most famous recorded in history, began with prodigious fury on both sides. De Ruyter and Tromp were obliged to shift their flags to other ships, their own being so greatly damaged, that they were momentarily expected to sink. One of their fleet was blown up by the English, and admiral Evertzen killed by a cannon ball. Sir William Berkely, who commanded the van of the English, fell into the thickest of the enemy, and after an obstinate resistance, being over-powered by numbers, his ship was taken, and himself slain. Two English ships were also lost, notwithstanding the courage and activity of Albemarle, who, though in the decline of life, displayed amazing spirit and intrepidity till the approach of night obliged them to desist.

At day break the fight was renewed with greater fury than it had been maintained before. Van Tromp, in the utmost danger of being taken by the English, was saved by de Ruyter, who came to his assistance and brought him off. In the course of the action the Dutch were reinforced by sixteen fresh ships, so that Albemarle found himself under a necessity of retreating towards the coast of England, where he was followed by the victorious enemy. Albemarle, on the third day, having made a previous disposition, sent the disabled ships a-head, while he remained in the rear with eight and twenty sail, so as to form a line a-stern occasionally, for the reception of the pursuers.



The squadrons of Albemarle and prince Rupert having at length effected a junction, it was determined to face the enemy, and accordingly after some cannonading the ships came along side of each other, and the men fought, at close quarters, till a fog put an end to the contest, and the English fleet retired to their own harbours. The English, by their distinguished courage received the chief honour of this engagement, but the Dutch had a manifest advantage in point of the capture of ships.

Advice being now received in Holland, that the French admiral was ready to enter the channel, De Ruyter took his station at the mouth of the Thames, in order to block up the English fleet in their own harbour. Albemarle and Rupert observing de Ruyter's situation, hastened to the attack, and the fight began with great obstinacy. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, fell upon the Dutch van, which he entirely defeated, having killed the three admirals, who conducted it.

Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith, and during the heat of the action, was parted from de Ruyter and the main body, but by what means is uncertain. De Ruyter, with great courage and conduct, continued to sustain the fight against the main body of the English, till night put an end to the combat. Next day, seeing the Dutch fleet scattered and dispersed, he was obliged to retreat. For many hours the English hung upon the rear of the Dutch, who owed their safe arrival in their ports, chiefly to the courage and conduct of de Ruyter.

Albemarle, finding himself master of the sea by the retreat of the Dutch fleet, detached admiral Holmes with a squadron to take and destroy all that fell in his way belonging to the enemy. He accordingly burned in the road of Vlye, a great number of merchant ships, and two large men of war appointed for their convoy; he then made a descent upon the island of Schelling, and reduced the town of Brandaris to ashes. To prevent a junction between the French and Dutch squadrons, Holmes, on his return to England, was stationed near the Isle of Wight.

While the British navy thus rode triumphant on the ocean, a dreadful calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great consternation. On the second of September, a fire breaking out in a baker's house near the bridge, diffused itself with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it, till it reduced a considerable part of the city to ashes. Three days and nights did the fire continue to rage, and it was only by the blowing up of houses, that it was at last extinguished. Four hundred streets, including eighty-nine churches, many hospitals and public edifices, and thirteen thousand two hundred private houses, were entirely destroyed.

The extent of this amazing fire, and which covered four hundred and six acres of ground, was from the Tower along the river to the Temple church, and from the north-east gate as far as Holborn-bridge. His majesty and the duke of York personally assisted on horse-back, from its beginning till it was totally extinguished. The streets of London were extremely narrow, the houses were built entirely of timber, the season was remarkably dry, and a violent east wind happening at that time to blow, are supposed to be the causes of the surprizing damage that was done. Various however were the conjectures on the cause and au-

thors of this dreadful conflagration. Some imputed it to the resentment of the republicans, others to the malice of the catholics, though it is not probable that either party could derive any advantage from such a catastrophe. However, the latter are fixed with the crime by the inscription on the monument, which was erased by order of king James II. but after the revolution replaced. The fire of London, though at that time a great calamity, has eventually proved advantageous both to the city and kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very short time. The king regulated the plans of the new streets, so as to render them more spacious and convenient than those which had been burned; and he prohibited the use of lath and timber, as the materials for the construction of houses.

London became much more healthy in consequence of these regulations, and the plague which used to break out once or twice every century has not appeared since that misfortune. Amongst the acts passed this session, was one for rebuilding that part of the city demolished by fire. The commons also voted a supply of one million, eight hundred thousand pounds, to be raised partly by a poll-bill, and partly by assessment.

A. D. 1667. The king upon mature reflection, now became sensible that all the ends for which the war had been undertaken were likely to prove abortive. The Dutch, unconnected with any other power, had been able to contend with the whole naval force of England, and were daily improving in courage and conduct. So that Charles neither fond of action, nor animated by ambition, gladly sought for means of restoring tranquillity to his subjects, already harrassed with the complicated evils of the pestilence and the fire.

Conferences were accordingly opened at Breda the ensuing May; when Charles, by his plenipotentiaries, insisted on the restoration of the two ships taken by the Dutch from the English before the commencement of hostilities between the two nations; and they demanded the island of Pulerone in the East Indies, retaken from the Hollanders since the beginning of the war. The king, persuaded that a peace would be the certain result of the negotiation, had caused the greater part of his ships to be laid up, of which the Hollanders taking the advantage, their admiral De Ruyter sailed from the Texel with a squadron of fifty ships, on the tenth of June, entered the mouth of the river Thames, attacked the fort of Sheerness, which he took almost without opposition, and destroyed three guard ships in the mouth of the Medway, having broke the chain laid across the mouth of that river.

It was now apprehended that the enemy would sail up the river, and destroy all the merchantmen, therefore to prevent so injurious an accident, thirteen vessels were immediately sunk at Woolwich and four at Blackwall. Platforms of cannon were raised on the banks of the river, and every possible precaution was taken to prevent an assault. But De Ruyter, declining so hazardous an enterprise as an attempt to make himself master of the Thames, steered his course for Portsmouth, upon which he made an unsuccessful attempt. He then sailed to Torbay, whence he carried off several vessels; attempted Plymouth, but was repulsed with considerable loss; chased a squadron commanded by Sir Edward Sprague; once more entered the Thames, and kept all the sea ports on that side



side the island, in fear and consternation. The people, fired with indignation, loudly exclaimed against the king, for leaving the kingdom defenceless, and lavishing the money raised for the purposes of the war in idle and dissipated pursuits.

An uninterrupted scene of profligacy and obscenity now prevailed at court, and only one individual was left who had virtue enough to oppose the licentiousness of the times. This was the great earl of Clarendon, whom the king and his abandoned courtiers therefore determined to remove. His favourite mistress was continually inveighing against this faithful minister; and the duke of Buckingham, and other courtiers, ridiculed his person and character.

At the same time the king was stimulated in his resentment by his passion for Mrs. Stuart, a lady of great beauty, whose virtue he had hitherto found impregnable; but the chancellor, fearful of the consequences of a disputed title, persuaded the duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and by that means defeated the king's project, whereupon the seals were given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman; and, in short, Charles was so incensed at this action, that it is said he could never afterwards be reconciled to the earl.

The court minions had now made every preparation for commencing an attack upon Clarendon, and on the meeting of parliament, the commons sent up an impeachment against him to the upper house, of which the principal article that could admit of proof, was that of advising, or conniving at the sale of Dunkirk. But the peers, when the charge was presented, refused to commit him to custody, which occasioned great animosity between the two houses.

Clarendon, finding that the popular torrent, added to the king's inveterate hatred, ran powerfully against him, retired into Normandy. He was no sooner withdrawn, than a bill passed both houses for his banishment, which immediately received the royal sanction. The French, who were more discerning, if not more humane than his countrymen, received him with open arms, and treated him with every token of respect due to so exalted a character.

He survived his exile about six years, which he spent in reducing into order the materials he had collected for compiling the history of the civil wars, a performance which has done the greatest honour to his memory. He died at Rouen, leaving behind him an example worthy the imitation of the most dignified of human beings. The foundation of the Royal Exchange was laid at the close of this year, and that noble building was finished in a short space of time.

A. D. 1668. Lewis the XIVth was so assiduous in pursuing the extensive designs of conquest he had formed, that all Europe seemed to be alarmed, and as the Dutch, from their situation were exposed to his designs, they were desirous of uniting with the English, as the best expedient for their own defence. To retrieve his reputation with his subjects, Charles engaged in the confederacy so famous under the name of the triple alliance with the states of Holland and the king of Sweden, to stop the progress of the French king, who proposed to himself the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. This grand point was not only effected, but a peace soon happily restored between Spain and Portugal, through means of Sir William Temple and De Wit the English and Dutch mi-

nisters, who were eminent throughout Europe as the most consummate statesmen of the age.

The king by entering into this union performed a very meritorious action, and banished for a time that spirit of jealousy and discontent which had too long reigned. But the affairs of Scotland were in much confusion, great incroachments on the liberties of the people having been made by the ministers to whom the king had committed the care of the government of that kingdom.

The grand object of complaint amongst the Scots was the rigorous execution of the laws for the introduction of the episcopacy. When the severe law was made in England against conventicles, the Scottish parliament followed this violent example, by enacting a law to the same purport. Whoever refused to comply with the new model of the church government, was subjected to military force, and the soldiers were allowed to quarter themselves on those who forsook their churches.

As the sons of rapine and plunder ever avail themselves of such opportunities as now presented, a lawless banditti, under the command of Sir James Turner, were constantly quartered on those who refused to pay a severe fine which they demanded of the supposed delinquents. The inhabitants of the western counties took up arms, and surprised Dumfries, where Turner was quartered with his freebooters. At Lanerc they renewed the covenant, and published a manifesto, in which they professed their attachment to his majesty's person and government, requiring only the restoration of presbytery and their former ministers.

However, such was the severity of those who were entrusted with the execution of this oppressive and unpopular measure, that, contrary to the express mandate of the king, which enjoined this dismissal of the delinquents in promise of future obedience to the laws, forty of the unhappy people suffered death.

The conduct of the English parliament on its re-assembling after a long adjournment, afforded his majesty equal surprize and disgust. They were so piqued at his lenity towards the non-conformists, that they not only neglected to thank him for the triple alliance, but appointed commissioners to examine certain persons who were supposed to have misbehaved in the late war. The king, to obtain their favour, was obliged to issue a proclamation against conventicles, in consideration of which they voted him three hundred and ten thousand pounds, by an imposition on wine and other liquors, and were then adjourned.

The famous theatre at Oxford, erected by Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor of the university, was opened with great magnificence in the month of July.

A. D. 1669. The parliament, according to adjournment, met in October; and voted an address of thanks to the king for his proclamation against conventicles; in consequence of which, he requested a supply for the discharge of his debts, and recommended the union of the kingdom of England and Scotland to their mature deliberations. But the commons waving these articles, determined to examine into the manner in which former subsidies had been expended; and finding by enquiry, the books, kept by Sir George Carteret, in great confusion, they expelled him the house.

A violent dispute happened this session between the two houses. Skinner, an opulent merchant of London, having sustained some injury from the East



East India company, laid his grievance before the upper house, which decreed that the company should pay five thousand pounds to the complainant. The commons, in consequence of a petition from the company, committed Skinner to prison for having applied to the upper house, in an affair that related to the common law of the kingdom, and the peers insisted on the company's petition being a scandalous libel. The king, hereupon, to prevent those feuds and animosities which might result from the maintenance of this controversy, prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of February.

A. D. 1670. His majesty having in his speech to both houses on their opening, demanded a supply in the most pressing terms, the commons granted him an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each ton of Spanish wine, and eight on each ton of French. They also passed an act, authorizing his majesty to dispose of his quit-rents and fee-farms, by which expedient his necessities were supplied; though his excessive prodigality soon involved him in the greatest difficulties.

Charles, in the choice of his counsellors, had selected such persons as, either from private interest or similarity of principle, were wholly subservient to his will and pleasure. This infamous council was composed of five members, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley Cowper, afterwards earl of Shaftsbury, and Lauderdale, who from the initial letters of their respective names were termed the CABAL.

To gratify their licentious sovereign, as well as his arbitrary brother, this cabal asserted, that even this parliament, so remarkably attached to the crown, had already discovered symptoms of discontent; that they had been penurious in their temporal supplies, and kept the king's revenue in a very precarious situation; that his kinsman, the king of France, if properly applied to, would enter into such engagements with him, as would raise him above all fear of a revolt; that a war with Holland, in conjunction with Lewis, would procure him every advantage that he could wish to enjoy, and furnish him with a pretence for equipping a navy, and raising forces, with which he might retrieve the lost power of the crown, and even extend his prerogative to absolute monarchy. The dutchess of Orleans, a lady whose influence over the mind of the king her brother was well known, arrived in England about this time, and was sumptuously entertained by him at Dover, for the space of a fortnight.

The intimations of the cabal, which coincided with the disposition of the king, produced the desired effect, and Charles now sought an opportunity to break off his treaty with the states, and enter into one of an opposite tendency with the French monarch. Lewis, well knowing the prevailing foible of his volatile and dissipated neighbour, resolved to secure an alliance by administering to the novelty and variety of his sensual enjoyments. For this purpose, he sent over with the dutchess of Orleans, Mademoiselle de Querouailles, whom the king had no sooner seen, than he was captivated with her charms. She accompanied him to London, where she was created dutchess of Portsmouth, and maintained her influence over him during the whole course of his life.

But the pleasure which Charles received from this new alliance, was greatly abated by the death of his sister, and more so by the circumstances

which attended it. The death of this lady was occasioned by a malady consequent on drinking a glass of succory water. Her husband, from the jealousy of his disposition, was suspected of having caused a poisonous draught to be administered to her; and her brother for some time entertained the same opinion, but on the attestation of the faculty that the suspicion was groundless, he was, or at least pretended to be, satisfied. The king took occasion from this incident, to send the duke of Buckingham to Paris to finish the secret alliance, under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans.

During these transactions, the parliament met at Westminster, where his majesty opened the session with a very short speech, and left the business to be explained by the lord keeper. That minister represented the present exigencies of the state, and the absolute necessity of an immediate supply, the augmentation of the naval power of France, the remarkable decay of the English navy, and the several engagements into which the king had entered with the different states of Christendom.

This artifice succeeded, for apparently satisfied with the late measures, the commons voted the king two millions and a half sterling, so that having succeeded in his main and principal point, he put an end to the session. Sir William Temple, who resided at the Hague as ambassador, was recalled to England, the king and cabal knowing he had too much integrity and love for his country to be a tool to the ministry. In the winter the prince of Orange arrived in England, and was received by the king his uncle with the greatest demonstration of love and affection.

A. D. 1671. The famous statute called the Coventry act passed this session of parliament, and arose from the following circumstance. A proposal having been made in the lower assembly, of laying a tax upon the play-houses, it was opposed by the courtiers, one of whom observed, that the players were the king's servants, and contributed to his diversion. Sir John Coventry then asked, whether his majesty's pleasure lay among the male or female players? As the king kept two players, Mrs. Davis and Nell Gwin, at this time the sarcasm was pointedly personal, so that in resentment for this insult, the duke of Monmouth engaged Sands, Obrien, and several officers of the guards to set upon Coventry, as he should return to his lodgings in the evening. He made a brave and obstinate resistance, and after wounding several of the assailants, was with great difficulty overpowered. They slit his nose with a knife, in order, as they said, to teach him, for the future, to treat his majesty with greater respect. The commons, exasperated at the assault, immediately enacted a law, making the maiming any person a capital offence, and added a clause, importing, that those who had attacked Sir John Coventry should not be intitled to a pardon from the crown.

This year the dutchess of York, daughter to the great earl of Clarendon, paid the debt of nature, and died in the faith of the church of Rome. She was mother to Mary princess of Orange, and Anne, afterwards queens of England. This event put an end to the disguise which the duke had hitherto worn, and he now openly declared his attachment to the Catholic religion.

The cabal had some time since conceived a design of coming to an open rupture with the United States, and at length, as a pretence for commencing hostilities, they resolved that the captain of



the yacht employed in conveying lady Temple from Holland, should demand an obedience to be paid to the English flag, from the whole Dutch fleet, and on their refusal to fire upon them. This officer, after he had received lady temple and her children on board his vessel, sailed through a squadron commanded by Van Ghent, and as they did not strike their top-sails, discharged a broadside at them without hesitation.

When the Dutch admiral sent an officer to remonstrate with the commander of the yacht on the impropriety of his conduct, he peremptorily replied, he had acted according to orders; on which Van Ghent very justly observed, that though the states general had by treaty engaged to pay the compliment to the British flag, he could not expect that a large fleet commanded by an admiral would strike their top-sails to a single sail, which was not even a ship of war, but a private vessel for pleasure and dispatch. The cabal, however, to evince at once their malignity and presumption, imprisoned the English commander on his return, for not having attempted an act that must have produced the most destructive consequences.

About this time a private transaction happened, through which the king was much censured for a capricious lenity. Blood, one of the protector's disbanded officers, had been concerned in a plot for exciting a rebellion in Ireland, for which he himself was attainted, and some of his confederates capitally punished. While the duke of Ormond was viceroy of that kingdom, he had undertaken to surprize the castle of Dublin, but failing in his attempt, determined to attempt the life of the duke. For this purpose, he followed him into England, and one night, accompanied by eight of his confederates, he assaulted his coach in St. James's-street, and made himself master of his person.

To glut his resentment, he determined to hang his grace at Tyburn, and accordingly bound him, and mounted him on horseback behind one of his companions. They had advanced a considerable distance, when the duke endeavouring to disengage himself, fell from the horse together with the ruffian, to whom he had been fastened, and while they lay struggling on the ground together, Ormond's servants came to his assistance. Blood finding it impossible to accomplish his design, ordered his confederates to fire at the duke, in which the villains obeyed him, and then made their escape through favour of the night.

This disappointment, however, did not intimidate the daring ruffian from a more desperate attempt, even that of carrying off the crown and regalia from the Tower of London. He had actually bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel office, and got out of the Tower with his prey, but was apprehended in the streets, with some of his accomplices. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon the duke of Ormond, and Blood was supposed to be the ringleader. When questioned on the subject, he boldly acknowledged the fact, but refused to discover his confederates, declaring, "That the fear of death should never induce him either to deny a crime, or to betray a friend." The king, prompted by curiosity to see and converse with this extraordinary person, Blood was introduced to his majesty, and confessed his having once entertained a design on his life, on account of his severity towards the godly; but that his resolution failed, and he altered his intention on sight of his

majesty. He further assured the king, that though life had long been indifferent to him, the consequences of his execution might prove fatal, as his associates had bound themselves by the strictest oaths, to revenge the death of any of the confederacy; so that whether through fear, or surprize and astonishment, the king not only granted him a free pardon, but indulged him with an estate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland, and permitted him to attend his person at court.

A. D. 1672. The total destruction of the Dutch republic was now meditated, and every effort that ambition or policy could suggest was proposed by the French monarch. It was concerted, that while the combined fleets of England should attack the shipping, and interrupt the commerce of the states general, the French king, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Munster, should attack their territories by land. However, it was resolved by agreement between the councils of both nations, to seduce the prince of Orange. The sovereignty of the provinces of Holland, and the protection of England and France, were offered him against the invasions of foreign enemies, as well as in the insurrections of his own subjects. But the prince nobly spurned their proposal, declaring, "as the only way not to be a spectator of the final ruin of his country, he would die in a ditch." And so vigorous were his efforts, that Lewis gave over his project, and Charles was disposed, for the present, to lay aside his intentions.

The king of England being reduced by his extravagance to his usual necessity, gave his ministers to understand, that it would be impossible to begin the war without a further supply of five hundred thousand pounds; but as he could not think of obtaining it from parliament, proposed to confer the office of treasurer on him who should devise the means of furnishing the present demand. Shaftesbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately communicated to the king, who bestowed on him the promised reward, together with a peerage. This modest device was nothing less than keeping the money which should be paid into the exchequer and shutting it up.

This ruinous measure was attended with the most alarming consequences, particularly to the mercantile part of the nation. The bankers stopped payment; the merchants could answer no bills; diffidence and jealousy every where prevailed, so that men were universally exasperated at those mysterious councils from which the parliament and all men of honour were excluded, and which began with the destruction of public credit, and the violation of the most sacred engagements both foreign and domestic.

As a prelude to these arbitrary proceedings on which the king and the cabal seemed resolutely bent, a proclamation was published, suspending the penal laws, which had been made against non-conformists, and granting to protestant dissenters the public exercise of their religion; and to Catholics, the exercise of it in their own houses. About the same time, the act of navigation was suspended, and a proclamation issued for impressing sailors, punishing all those who should dare to arraign his majesty's measures; martial law was now established for the regulation of the army. The earl of Shaftesbury, another member of the cabal, was made lord keeper in the room of Bridgeman, who was turned out for refusing to affix the seals to the declaration for suspending the penal laws.



Nor were foreign transactions conducted with more credit or ability, for previous to the declaration of war, a perfidious attempt was made upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet. The design however was rendered abortive by the bravery of the Dutch admiral, after an engagement of three days. The states enveighed against this piratical attempt with great virulence: even Charles was ashamed of having given his assent to an outrage so dishonourable to his crown and dignity, as well as repugnant to the true interests of his subjects; however, being no longer able to conceal his real intentions, he declared war against the republic on the seventeenth of March.

The declaration of war by the English was soon followed by another on the part of France, the sovereign of which was at the head of an army consisting of one hundred and eighty thousand men, commanded by the ablest officers in Europe. His subjects were enriched by commerce, and his finances managed with the greatest œconomy, while the Dutch were distracted between two powerful factions. Filled with a general consternation, the states made the most humiliating concessions to the combined powers, but as they were wholly disregarded, or rather contemptuously treated, De Wit, their able statesman, who presided in the council, made the necessary preparations for the threatened invasion, and now resolved to make a powerful effort by sea, while the levying of troops, and improving the discipline of the army, was committed to the care of the prince of Orange.

De Ruyter stood out for sea with a formidable fleet, consisting of an hundred sail, store and fire ships included; Cornelius de Wit acting on board the admiral as deputy from the states. The combined fleets now rode in Solebay harbour, to the number of one hundred and thirty ships of the line. The duke of York commanded in chief, and the earl of Sandwich acted as admiral of the blue; mareschal d'Etrées commanded the French squadron.

Sandwich had given the duke warning of the danger, but it was then supposed (though without foundation) that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehensions, for it soon appeared that the noble earl was deficient in neither. On the approach of the enemy, every one flew to his post with the utmost precipitation, and many ships were obliged to cut their cables in order to prepare for the action. Sandwich commanded in the van, and though resolved to conquer or die, he yet behaved with so much prudence, that to him the safety of the whole fleet was visibly owing. He hurried out of the bay, and by this wise measure afforded time to the duke of York, who conducted the main body, and to mareschal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to get out to open sea. The earl sustained a most furious attack from the enemy; he repulsed the ship of Van Ghent, after that admiral had been killed in the engagement; he sunk another ship which attempted to board him, together with three fire ships which came full against him, and continued to ply his artillery, until the fourth fireship grappled him on the quarter, when that brave commander and his whole crew, amounting to one thousand men, by an explosion, perished in an instant. Thus fell as gallant an officer as ever graced the annals of England; probably stimulated to a rash conduct from the reflection of a young admiral, who though superior by birth, was inferior in point of naval skill.

De Ruyter, having attacked the duke of York, they fought with incredible fury for above two hours, in which time the Duke's ship was so shattered, that he was obliged to shift his flag to another, and his own division was in danger of being overpowered, when Sir Joseph Jordan, who succeeded Sandwich, came to his assistance. The battle continued till night, when the Dutch sheered off, but were not pursued by the enemy. As d'Etrées took no part in the action, it was generally imagined he had received private orders to avoid fighting, that the English and Dutch might mutually destroy each other.

In the interim, Lewis had subjected all the territories of the states-general on the side of Germany, and committed several depredations without opposition. In these circumstances, the magistrates of Amsterdam obliged the burgeses to keep watch and ward; the other towns followed their example, and having opened all the sluices, the whole province of Holland was laid under water; whereby a stop being put the conquests of Lewis, he left the command of the army to the duke of Luxemburg at Utrecht, and marched into Flanders, from whence he went to Paris, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the populace. The passage of the Rhine, which he effected with much ease and expedition, was celebrated by the bards of France, as an exploit equal to that of Alexander in passing the Granicus, and the surname of "Great" bestowed on him by his flattering subjects.

But while his subjects were thus perpetuating his conquests, schemes were forming in the different courts of Europe, for wresting them out of his hands. The emperor, and several of the German princes, considering the reduction of Holland as a prelude to their own subjection, determined to lend assistance to the United States.

A. D. 1673. On the meeting of parliament, Charles in his speech addressed them with the appearances of cordiality and confidence. Having enlarged on the expences inevitably incurred by the war, he proceeded to demonstrate the necessity of engaging therein, observing at the same time, that his indulgence to non-conformists had been productive of the peace of the kingdom, and concluded with assuring them, that he doubted not of their proportioning the supplies to the present exigency. Shaftesbury, as lord chancellor, expatiated on the same topics, asserting, moreover, that the states being the inveterate enemies of England, the parliament had laid it down as an invariable maxim, that this hostile government must by all means be destroyed.

The house, dissatisfied with his majesty's conduct, paid little regard to the speech of Charles or his chancellor: they disapproved of the war, and determined to insist on the immediate redress of the nation's grievances. They then presented an address against the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, beseeching that his majesty, by annulling the same, would remove the doubts and fears of his subjects, and to convince him of their affection towards his person and government, voted a tax of seventy thousand pounds per month, for eighteen months, to answer the king's urgent occasions.

The king wanting resolution to support his favourite measure, at length gave it up, assuring his parliament, he was ready to concur in any motion that might tend to advance the national interest. He then published a proclamation for the redress



redress of their grievances, but the commons were not satisfied with this, being determined to prepare a bill which should effectually prevent the evil of which they complained; and likewise to defer passing the bill for the supplies, until the declaration for liberty of conscience should be recalled.

The duke of York and major part of the cabal, advised the king to persist in the pursuit of these arbitrary measures he had adopted; while others proposed more lenient proceedings; but the French monarch recommended such a conduct as might conciliate his subjects, on whose assistance he totally depended for the carrying on of the Dutch war.

Shaftesbury finding his majesty greatly perplexed, as well as irresolute and undetermined, artfully secured his own person by espousing the interest of that party which was likely to gain the ascendancy. The country party received him with open arms, and afterwards used him as their agent in the accomplishment of their most important designs.

Apprehensive of the consequences of delaying any longer to comply with the requisition of parliament, Charles repaired to the house of peers, and sending for the declaration, broke the seal with his own hand, assuring them at the same time, that he would grant his assent to every bill constructed to redress their grievances. But the recall of the indulgence was not sufficient to satisfy the commons, nor remove those suspicions which they had conceived of the arbitrary designs of the court. They were determined to secure their religion by another act. They passed a law for imposing a test on all those who should enjoy any public employment. This act, usually called the Test Act, requires that the real presence in the Eucharist be renounced, and the sacrament received in the established church, besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.

In consequence of the test act many of the popish officers resigned their places, and among the rest the duke of York his post of lord high admiral, and Shaftesbury, whose revolt from the cabal was now universally known, being deprived of the office of chancellor, Sir Henry Finch was made keeper of the great seal. A bill passed the lower house for the benefit of the protestant non-conformists, but met with some opposition in the house of peers. The vote for a supply was carried into a law, as a reward to the king for his ready compliance. A bill of indemnity likewise passed, which secured the ministers from all farther scrutiny.

In the mean time Charles prosecuted the war against the Dutch with the utmost vigour. He appointed prince Rupert commander of the fleet in the room of the duke of York. Sir Edward Sprague, and the earl of Ossory, served under the prince, and being joined by the French fleet under the command of d'Etrées, they steered for the coast of Holland, where they found the enemy riding at anchor within the sands of Schonvelt.

An engagement accordingly began on the 28th of March, which proved very obstinate and bloody; but not being decisive, both sides claimed the victory. Another action was maintained on the fourth of June, but whether the combined fleets, or the Dutch retired first cannot be affirmed with precision.

The third engagement at the mouth of the

Texel proved more decisive. The Dutch fleet was commanded by De Ruyter and Van Tromp, a son worthy of the gallant father from whom he sprung. De Ruyter was opposed to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague, and Brankert, their rear-admiral, to d'Etrées. The English and Dutch evinced in this battle the most ardent emulation, but the French kept at a distance, leaving the English to sustain all the fury of the enemy. The Dutch rear-admiral Brankert, instead of pressing on the French, shot a-head to the assistance of De Ruyter, who was warmly engaged with prince Rupert.

Never did that prince acquire more deserved honour, his conduct and courage shining with equal lustre. Having disengaged himself from the numerous enemies with which he was encompassed, and joined his rear-admiral Sir John Chicheley, he bore down to the assistance of Sprague, who was almost overpowered by Tromp and his squadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague first engaged, was so shattered, that he was obliged to hoist his flag on board the St. George, while Van Tromp did the same from the Golden Lion to the Comet, and the action was renewed with redoubled ardor, until the St. George was likewise disabled. The admiral was drowned to the great regret of Tromp himself, who bestowed on his valour its merited applause. Prince Rupert observing the whole division in great consternation, sent three fire ships into the midst of the Dutch fleet, making at the same time a signal to the French to bear down, which if they had done, they would probably have obtained a compleat victory. But the French neglecting to obey his signal, Rupert was obliged to leave the victory undecided, by prudently steering for the coast of England, and thereby preserving his disabled ships. The victory in this as well as most other engagements fought during the war was of little advantage.

At length, through the interposition of the king of Sweden, a negotiation for peace took place at Cologne; but the kings of England and France insisted nearly on the terms which they had already imposed, and the states finding their affairs to be in a better posture than formerly, relaxed daily in their offers, and there was little probability of the parties coming to any agreement.

The duke of York, determining on a second marriage, had made choice of Mary, sister to the duke of Medina, a princess educated in the principles of the church of Rome. This alliance was warmly opposed by the parliament, who, in an address to the king, expressed their disapprobation in the strongest terms. Charles, however, told them, that their opposition came too late, and that the marriage was not only concluded, but solemnized by proxy. The commons persisted in their remonstrance, and proceeding to the scrutiny of some other parts of the government, voted the standing army a grievance, and declared, that unless it appeared that the Dutch rejected all reasonable terms of peace, they would grant no farther supplies.

To prevent the further discussion of these subjects so disagreeable to his majesty, he prorogued the parliament to the seventh of January, having in a pathetic speech, earnestly besought them to maintain that unanimity which was essentially necessary to their acting with vigour and success against their enemies.

The princess of Modena arriving in England, with



with her mother, about this time, her marriage with the duke of York was celebrated at Dover on the twenty-first of November.

A. D. 1674. Finding it impossible to continue a war so disagreeable to the nation, as well as defeated in his expectations of parliamentary aid, Charles began to listen to the proposals which the States-general had made for a separate peace. They wrote a submissive letter, empowering the marquis de Fresno, the Spanish ambassador at London, to conclude a treaty with king Charles in their name, on certain conditions which were specified therein.

Accordingly, with the consent of parliament, conferences were opened with the marquis de Fresno, and in fifteen days the treaty was concluded. It was a renewal of the peace of Breda, with these additions, that the Dutch should yield the honour of the flag to the English in the most extensive terms, and pay about three hundred thousand pounds to the king, towards defraying the expences of the war.

A. D. 1675. It was natural to imagine that Lewis would be highly incensed at the manner in which his ally, the king of England, had abandoned him; but, on the contrary, he shewed no signs of resentment, and even readily accepted his mediation.

Soon after the peace, Sir William Temple was sent ambassador to the Hague, to induce the states to come to terms of accommodation with France. But the prince of Orange, inspired with ambitious views, and the desire of military glory, shunned the English minister, and told him afterwards, that until the power of France could be farther weakened, they had nothing to expect from a negotiation.

The most rancorous animosity now broke out among the courtiers and placemen. The duke of Buckingham lost the dignity of chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and was succeeded by the duke of Monmouth, who had signalized himself in France, and was become the idol of the people. The duke of Lauderdale kept his posts, but being intimidated at a vote passed against him in the house of commons, he openly renounced the measures of the cabal, professed uncommon zeal for the protestant religion, and even advised his majesty to put the laws in execution against the Roman Catholics.

These acts, however, could not effectually obviate the displeasure of parliament. The commons, at their first meeting, presented a second address against the duke of Lauderdale, and on the king's returning an evasive answer, seemed resolved to insist on his removal, and for that purpose drew up a remonstrance couched in the most expressive terms. Finding nothing was to be expected from addresses, the commons framed a bill, declaring it treason to levy money without the authority of parliament; another for vacating the seats of those members who had accepted of posts or employments; and a third for securing the liberty of the subject, and preventing their being transported to distant islands.

Alarmed at the proceedings of the two houses, Charles, as the only method of preserving the peace of the kingdom, prorogued the parliament to the thirteenth day of October. On the opening the session, according to the time of adjournment, the king demanded a supply, as well for the building of ships, as for discharging his debts. The commons absolutely refused to pay

his debts, but granted three hundred thousand pounds for repairing and augmenting the navy. They then turned their attention to the redress of public grievances; but their deliberations were interrupted, by the insolent behaviour of father St. Germain, a French jesuit, who entered the house of one Luzancy, a convert to the protestant religion; and by threatening him with death, extorted a writing by which he renounced his recantation. Luzancy's complaint made so much disturbance in the house of commons, that Charles was obliged to offer two hundred pounds reward for the apprehension of St. Germain, who had, however, fled the kingdom previous to the offer.

The dissipation, levity and prodigality of the king now became a bye word with the people, in so much that, exasperated at the liberties taken with his person and administration, he suppressed all the coffee houses, and issued a proclamation, promising a reward to those who should discover the authors of libels and pamphlets written against the government.

A. D. 1676. Though the successes of the allies had been considerable during the last campaign, yet the Spaniards and Imperialists well knew that Lewis was not sufficiently humbled, and therefore were not willing to submit to the terms proposed by his plenipotentiaries, so that no progress was made in the conferences appointed at Nimwegen.

A. D. 1677. To raise money for present exigencies, the king on the meeting of the parliament in February declared that he was willing to grant every security in his power towards the maintenance of the protestant religion, as exercised in the established church of England, together with the liberties and properties of his loving subjects; he laid before them his wants, and desired a supply that would enable him to make a considerable addition to his navy. This was readily complied with, and every thing seemed to promise a good understanding between the king and the parliament.

But this tranquillity was soon interrupted by the intelligence received from abroad. The French monarch still supported the superiority of his arms. He had taken the field very early in the spring, invested and taken Valenciennes by storm, whilst his general the duke of Luxembourg had defeated the prince of Orange before St. Omer's, and reduced that place together with Cambray. The parliament addressed the king, representing the danger which threatened the kingdom, from the exorbitant power of Lewis, and desiring that he would concert measures for the security of his own dominions and the Spanish Netherlands, and thereby remove the fears of his people. Charles in his answer, complained of their violating his prerogative, by insisting on his engaging in alliance with any power they proposed, and then adjourned the parliament to the tenth of July.

Desirous, however, of satisfying the wishes of the people without forfeiting the friendship of Lewis, the king formed a design of marrying the young prince of Orange to the princess Mary, daughter to his brother the duke of York. The prince coming over and finding the lady entirely agreeable to him, the marriage was solemnized soon after with suitable magnificence, and the prince embarked with his royal consort for Holland.

Previous to his departure the king had entered into conferences with him on the subject of a general peace, at which were present the earl of Danby, and Sir William Danby. After some



debate, it was agreed, that Lewis should restore all he had taken from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine; that there should be mutual restitution between France and Holland, and that Spain should recover possession of the Netherlands belonging to that crown. The prince engaged to use his endeavours in persuading the states to agree to these conditions, and Charles undertook to procure the consent of the French monarch, declaring at the same time, that he would never depart from this plan.

Monsieur de Duras, a Frenchman by birth, was pitched on by Charles to notify this event to Lewis, who affected to receive it with great complacency. He said, indeed, that the king of England might always command a peace, but he deemed it hard to resign some of those towns in Flanders, on the fortifications of which he had expended large sums; he hoped his brother would not break with him for a few towns, and would commission his ambassador at London to treat of the matter.

A. D. 1678. Piqued at the insincerity of the French court, Charles determined to convince Lewis that he was not to be insulted with impunity. The parliament, which stood prorogued to May, was summoned for the 15th of January, a circumstance that greatly alarmed the French monarch. His majesty informed them on their meeting, that he had concluded an alliance with Holland, and observed at the same time, that in the present situation of affairs, the nation could not be secure, unless ninety ships of war were kept in commission, besides an army of thirty thousand men. He communicated the marriage of his niece with the prince of Orange, and desired a supply adequate to the necessities of the kingdom.

The commons having attended to his speech, entreated his majesty that he would not engage in any treaty with France, until she should be reduced to the same state in which she was at the peace of the Pyrenees, and gave him to understand, that when he should communicate to them the nature of his alliances, they would enable him to prosecute the war with vigour; or to make an honourable and advantageous peace. In the mean time, Lewis reduced Ghent, and Ypres, which so alarmed the Dutch, that they came to a resolution of making a separate peace. The king of France availing himself of the advantage he had gained over Charles, insisted on terms very different from those which he and the prince of Orange had agreed to.

As soon as intelligence of these events reached England, the chancellor was ordered to notify them in form to both houses, and request their advice in this critical juncture. The commons exhorted the king to declare war immediately against France; and voted the Dutch alliance insufficient for the security of the nation, desiring in another address, that he would pay more regard to their addresses, and remove from his councils the duke of Lauderdale. The king affected astonishment at this request, and would not at that time return the answer they desired. The levies were carried on with such surprizing diligence and success that in six weeks an army of thirty thousand men was completed. The duke of Monmouth was sent over at the head of three thousand men to garrison Ostend. A fleet was equipped with great expedition, and the court breathed nothing but defiance against the French monarch. The states general by their ambassador declared, that if the king

of England would immediately denounce war against Lewis, they would break off their negotiations with France, and act vigorously in conjunction with their allies. The king replied, that as the states were ready to accept of the conditions prescribed by France, and Lewis had offered to purchase peace with a sum of money, he thought himself justifiable in accepting his proposal.

Sir William Temple declining all concerns in this scandalous negotiation, Charles found others, who undertook the office without reluctance, and the bargain was struck for the sum of three hundred thousand pounds. The French minister then gave him to understand, that unless he would, by a secret article, engage never to keep an army exceeding eight thousand men in his three kingdoms, the money would not even then be paid.

Incensed at this humiliating intimation, the king exclaimed, "Cod's fish! does my brother of France think to serve me thus? are all his promises to make me absolute master of my people come to this? or, does he think it a thing to be done with eight thousand men?" But always wavering and irresolute, sometimes wrought on by the promises of Lewis, and sometimes by the allurements of pleasure, Charles neither answered the expectations of the English, nor the confederate powers.

The parliament re-assembled in the month of May, when his majesty assured them that a peace between France, Spain, and Holland was on the point of conclusion, from whence he inferred the necessity of keeping a good fleet at sea, as the Spaniards had declared, they could not support the expence of maintaining garrisons in Flanders, which must be left exposed, unless England would supply the fortified places with men and provisions; and recommended the safety of Ostend to their serious regard, in which place, if neglected, the French might keep a fleet of forty ships of war. He desired they would add three hundred thousand pounds to his revenue, in which case they might appropriate, yearly, fifty thousand pounds towards the maintenance of the fleet and artillery; and the prince of Orange having demanded the first moiety of his wife's fortune of forty thousand pounds, which was already due, he begged them to consider that his honour was engaged for the payment.

The commons indeed voted his majesty thanks for the gracious expressions in his speech, but refused to grant him any additional revenue. They voted him, however, six thousand pounds for the payment of the army, and enacted a statute, decreeing, that for the future the dead should be buried in flannel, for the benefit of the woollen manufactory, after which the king prorogued the parliament to the 1st of August.

The States-general, against the inclination of the prince of Orange, concluded a peace with France and Spain, and the empire accepted the conditions prescribed to them, and the treaty being filled up at Nimeguen, placed the French king on the pinnacle of glory.

This year was remarkable for the discovery of a famous conspiracy in England, known by the name of the popish plot, which, for some time, engrossed the public attention. One Kirby, at the instigation of doctor Israel Tongue, a clergyman of London, on the twelfth of August, approaching his majesty in St. James's Park, said to him: "Sir, keep within the company, your enemies have a design upon your life." The king de-  
fired.



fired Kirby to bring Tongue to him at eight o'clock that evening. He was accordingly introduced to his majesty, with a bundle of papers relating to this conspiracy, and referred to the lord treasurer Danby. He said that the papers were thrust under his door without his knowledge; but imagined it was done by a certain person, who had often entertained him with subjects of the like nature. The improbability of the story induced his majesty to look upon the whole as a fiction, and he requested it might be kept a secret, for fear of the consequences it might produce among his subjects.

One Titus Oates seems to have been the chief discoverer of this conspiracy. He had been a clergyman of the established church, but afterwards embraced the tenets of the Romish faith, at least he pretended to be a convert to that religion, and was become a member of the society of English seminaries at St. Omer's. He also went into Spain, and was admitted into the councils of the jesuits. By these means he is said to have been acquainted with all the secret designs that were carrying on in order to establish popery in England.

At length the affair becoming public, it was resolved to bring it before the council, when Oates gave evidence to the following effect: that he had been employed by several jesuits to carry letters to father Shee, an Irish jesuit at Madrid; that in the course of his journey thither, he had broke open letters, and discovered a design of exciting a rebellion in Scotland; that he saw several English students at Valadolid, who were obliged by the jesuits of the college to renounce their allegiance to the king of Great Britain; that one of them in a sermon to the students, presumed to affirm, that Charles Stuart was not a lawful king, nor the son of Charles the first, but of a black Scotchman; that upon his return to England, where he made farther discoveries, he was sent to St. Omer's with other letters to the same purport as the former; that in April 1668, he came over from St. Omer's with several jesuits, to assist at the grand council which was held by about fifty jesuits at the Whitehorse tavern in the Strand, where they signed an agreement to kill the king; that in June following he became privy to the treaty with Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison, and Grove and Pickering to shoot his majesty; that he heard a jesuit assert in a sermon, that protestant and other heretical princes, were *ipso facto* deposed, and that it was as lawful to destroy them, as Oliver Cromwell, or any other usurper.

In consequence of this deposition of Oates, corroborated by information given respecting divers particulars, through means of Tongue, both of whom had been frequently examined at the council, several persons were taken into custody, among whom were Wakeman, physician to the queen, Edward Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, and eight priests and jesuits.

In Coleman's house were found letters that seemed to confirm what Oates had advanced, which, added to an incident that occurred a few days after, fixed the public in the belief of the plot. This was the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who had taken Oates's deposition, and who, after having been missing for several days, was found dead in a ditch near Primrose-hill. The coroners inquest were of opinion that his death was occasioned by strangling and suffocation, and brought in their verdict, "wilful murder by per-

"sons unknown." Five hundred pounds and an assurance of protection were immediately offered by the king, for the discovery of Godfrey's murderers.

This affair at length gained ground so fast, that it came under the cognizance of parliament, by whom it was unanimously resolved in both houses after examination of Oates upon the subject, "that there hath been, and still is a damnable and hellish plot, contrived and carried on by popish recusants, for assassinating and murdering the king, for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the protestant religion." One Bedloe also made his appearance as an evidence for the plot, and was strictly examined by the lords. In the mean time several persons whom Oates had impeached were apprehended, and among the rest the following noblemen, all of them avowed papists. The earl of Powis, the viscount Stafford, the lords Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bellasis, who were all committed to the Tower.

The depositions of Oates and Bedloe being published, excited such a ferment in the nation, that the king was obliged to issue a proclamation, commanding all popish recusants under the severest penalties to repair to their own houses, and not to venture from thence, without a particular licence, to a greater distance than five miles. At the same time another proclamation was published, offering a reward to any one who should discover or apprehend a Romish priest or jesuit; and the royal assent was given to a bill for disqualifying papists from sitting in parliament.

Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, was tried for being engaged in the pretended conspiracy, and being found guilty was executed pursuant to his sentence. On the seventeenth of December were arraigned and tried at the Old Bailey, Ireland and Pickering, both priests, Grove, a lay brother, Whitebread, provincial of the jesuits, and Fenwick, a member of the same society. But, as in the course of the evidence, there appeared no sufficient proof against the two last, the trial was confined to the three first, who, after a long examination, were found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

A. D. 1679. Much information was obtained as to this infernal conspiracy from the following incident. One Prance having been apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and being brought before the committee of the upper house, denied the charge with the deepest imprecations; but Bedloe affirming that he was one of the men he saw in Somerset-gardens with the dead body, he was immediately conveyed to Newgate, and confined in the condemned hole. Being carried before the earl of Shaftesbury, he discovered some particulars, and promised to make a fuller confession if he could be assured of obtaining a free pardon. This being granted, he was examined before the king and council at Whitehall, where he confessed that Godfrey was murdered in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerald and Kelly, two Irish priests, Robert Green, cushion keeper to the queen's chapel, and several others.

In fact, Prance deposed upon oath, that himself, in company with Green, Berry, Hill, and some others, determining to take off Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who had been remarkably active against the papists followed the justice for some time, till he went into the court of Somerset-house, where they



they strangled him with his handkerchief; that they then conveyed the body to the house of doctor Godden, where it lay two nights, and was then removed and thrown into a ditch, near Primrose-hill, after they had thrust his own sword through it, that he might be supposed to have murdered himself. Green, Berry, and Hill, were executed for the murder, but persevered in denying the fact to the last.

It appears from the joint testimony of cotemporary writers, that the king discovered some unwillingness for the parliament to take cognizance of the fact. Indeed, there are some grounds for such an opinion, to be gathered from his observing in his speech to parliament, that he would forbear offering his sentiments on the matter, lest he should say too much or too little, and that he would leave the discussion of it entirely to the legislature. At least such were the jealousies generally entertained of the measures of the court, and the designs of the catholics, that Charles, in order to avert part of the storm that threatened him, removed the duke of York from his presence, who retired with his wife and daughter to Brussels, in obedience to a written order from the king.

But notwithstanding this popular transaction, the nation in general, and the parliament in particular, were greatly disgusted at the conduct of the king, against whom they entertained the most insurmountable prejudices from this additional circumstance. Montague the English ambassador in France, having aspired to the office of secretary of state, was greatly incensed against Danby for introducing a rival to supplant him, and having papers in his possession sufficient to ruin the earl, communicated the most striking to some leading members of the lower house, who, exasperated at this discovery, began to prepare new articles of impeachment against him. Tongue, Oates, Bedloe, and one Everard, a new witness, were summoned to the bar of the house to be examined concerning the plot. They likewise voted that a horrible conspiracy had been contrived and carried on for assassinating the king, destroying the protestant religion, and subverting the government; the peers concurred with them in this vote, and a day of fasting and humiliation was petitioned for by both houses.

Charles earnestly interceded with the the lords for the earl of Danby, who, he said, had voted in obedience to the orders he had received, but that for their satisfaction he would deprive him of his employments, and remove him from his presence. But these concessions, instead of soothing, rather encouraged them to new exertions of their power. The commons chose Edward Seymour for their speaker, a man whom they knew to be averse to the earl of Danby. The king refused his approbation, upon which a prorogation took place, but meeting again in a few days, they chose Mr. Gregory serjeant at law, of whom the king approved, and thus ended the dispute. This affair being settled, they brought in a bill, obliging Danby to surrender himself into the hands of justice by a certain day, on pain of being proceeded against by an act of attainder. This bill was sent down from the lords with some amendments; when a dispute arose, and conferences were held upon the subject. At length the peers acquiesced and the bill passed, and the earl, chusing to appear rather than submit to so rigorous a penalty, was committed to the Tower.

Alarmed at the resolute measures of the par-

liament, the king, by the advice of Sir William Temple, proposed to form a council, into which those who possessed the confidence of the people might be admitted. Charles hoped that this alteration would have brought the commons into a more compliant humour, but he found himself mistaken. Shaftesbury though made president of the council, finding that he had lost the king's confidence, adhered to the opposition, and so biased the opinion and judgment of the majority, that they proceeded to vote, that the duke of York, being a Roman catholic and the presumptive heir to the crown, was the chief encouragement to the designs and plots of the papists against the king, and the protestant religion. It was even supposed, that a bill would be soon introduced for excluding him from the throne. In order to prevent this measure, the king concerted some limitations, which he imparted to the parliament, the particulars of which were, that the death of a king, if his successor was a catholic, should not dissolve the parliament; that during the whole course of his reign he should not be allowed to confer ecclesiastical benefices or spiritual offices upon any but pious and learned protestants; that no member of the privy council, or judges, should be appointed or displaced but by the authority of parliament; that all justices of the peace should be protestants, and that with regard to the militia, no lieutenant of a county should be deprived of his office, but by order of parliament.

These limitations, though very considerable, were not sufficient to satisfy the commons, so that resolving to free themselves effectually from all their fears by such a step, as they were persuaded could alone secure the religious and civil liberties of the kingdom. A bill was brought into the lower house for the total exclusion of James duke of York and Albany, and earl of Ulster, from succeeding to the crown of England and Ireland. It was further declared, that upon the death or resignation of the king, the sovereignty of these kingdoms should devolve to the person next in succession to the duke; that all acts of royalty exercised by him should be not only void, but deemed treasonable, that if he entered any of these dominions, he should be accounted guilty of high treason, and that all who supported his title should be punished as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied banishment as well as exclusion, passed the lower house by a majority of seventy-nine voices. They then proceeded to set on foot a severe enquiry against those members who received pensions from court; and eighteen were discovered. The standing army and the guards were deemed illegal, and they brought in the bill of Habeas Corpus, that great bulwark of English freedom, obliging the judge, under severe penalties, to grant a writ at the request of every prisoner, directing the jailor to produce him in court, and certify the cause of his commitment.

These bills so salutary to the subject, if not pleasing to the sovereign, having passed by a great majority, the king went to the house of peers, and sending for the commons, prorogued the parliament from the twenty-seventh of May to the fourteenth of August; and this parliament was afterwards dissolved without the advice of council, and writs issued for new elections. From this period, Charles, finding all his attempts to oppose despotism ineffectual, became pensive and sullen, and discovered a visible change of temper throughout his conduct.



Five jesuits and Langhorne, an eminent lawyer who managed the affairs of their order, were executed on account of the popish plot. Langhorne objected to the credit of the informers, Oates and his accomplices, but without effect, as they all died protesting their innocence with their latest breath. Such were the unconquerable prejudice and unrelenting obduracy of the times.

Sir George Wakeman the queen's physician was tried. Oates prevaricated greatly in his evidence, alledging on his first examination that he could adduce no circumstance but by report, and afterwards swearing to matters frivolous and inconsistent. Wakeman refuted, by his council and evidence, the assertions of Oates and others, and was therefore acquitted, as were three benedictine monks who were tried at the same time.

The king, about the latter end of August, was seized with so violent a fever, that his physicians apprehended his life to be in imminent danger. Alarmed at this indication, Charles with the advice of his council, sent a messenger for the duke of York, but fortunately recovered before his arrival. James, fearful that the duke of Monmouth, who was favoured by the king, and much esteemed by the people, might rival him in the succession, would not return to the continent, till Monmouth was deprived of his commission, and ordered to quit the kingdom. Having gained this point, he returned again to Brussels, but soon obtained leave to reside in Scotland, that he might have an opportunity of conciliating the affections of those people, and be at hand in case of the demise of the king his brother; instead of which he made himself many enemies without gaining scarce a single friend.

The nation was now so addicted to credulity, that every necessitous villain was encouraged to alarm them by pretended and fictitious plots. One Dangerfield a notorious miscreant, was author of a new plot or incident, called, "the Meal-tub plot," from the place in which some papers regarding it were found. It is both difficult and immaterial to trace the source of this affair. It appears, however, that under pretence of betraying the conspiracies of the presbyterians, he had been countenanced by some catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the presence of the king and the duke: and that under pretence of revealing new plots, he had obtained access to Shaftesbury and some of the popular leaders. Though no weight could be laid on the testimony of a man of so infamous a character, a great clamour was raised, as if the court had, by way of retaliation, intended to load the presbyterians with the guilt of a false conspiracy.

The obstinacy of Charles in refusing to assemble the parliament lost him the support of his most able and honest counsellors. Essex resigned his treasurer's staff, which was bestowed upon Laurence Hyde; Lord Russel, a nobleman of approved integrity, quitted the council board; Sir William Temple retired into the country, and the earl of Radnor took the place of Shaftesbury, who was dismissed the council for an insult offered to the king in his absence.

The duke of Monmouth at the instigation of Shaftesbury came over to England without the king's permission, and made a triumphant progress through many parts of the kingdom, extremely caressed by the people, insomuch that a rebellion was apprehended.

The king's late indisposition had occasioned an

universal alarm, and his reason as much as the fear of seeing his brother ascend the throne, made the public regard his death (to adapt the phrase of Sir William Temple) "as the end of the world." The male-contents demanded that a parliament should be called, the court party opposed to their petitions, addresses full of duty, submission, and professions of loyalty. The Whigs and Tories were extremely animated against each other, and displayed the most unrelenting fury, malice and resentment.

A. D. 1680. Shaftesbury, at the head of the opposition to the court measures, was resolved, if possible, to ruin the duke of York, in opposition to whom he set up the duke of Monmouth. He not only conducted him in the road to popularity, but propagated a report that the king had actually been married to Mrs. Walters, the duke's mother. The king declared in council against this rumour, and ordered the author of such a malicious slander to be minutely sought after. At length he issued a declaration, that he was never married or contracted to Mrs. Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother, nor to any other person whatsoever but queen Catharine.

His majesty at length summoned a parliament, and in his speech, among other considerations, represented to them the necessity of a farther investigation of the Popish-plot, and the condign punishment of criminals as necessary to the safety of the kingdom.

He informed them that he had concluded such an alliance with Spain, as he did not doubt would be agreeable to them, assured them he would be ready to concur in all reasonable measures for the security of the protestant religion, and concluded with signifying his earnest desire that they would cordially unite in prosecuting those salutary purposes.

But these conciliatory expressions had no weight with the commons, who upbraided the court with misapplication of the supplies granted from time to time, inveighed against the prodigality of the king, and at length presented him an address that he would remove from all public employment, Sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, and first judge of Chester. They then recommended Dr. Tongue to the king, for the first good benefice in the gift of the crown that should become vacant. The lords Russel and Capel enumerated the grievances of the nation, and were seconded by a great number of members; some of whom were very severe against the duke of York, and the lord Russel, in direct terms, moved for excluding him from the succession.

The bill now moved for occasioned warm and virulent altercations in the house of commons. The speakers in favour of it were lord Russel, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Henry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hampden, and Montague. It was opposed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state; Sir John Erneley, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir William Temple, Hyde, and Seymour. The former party asserted, that the king, lords, and commons of England, had a right to alter any part of the constitution: that the lineal succession to the crown of England had been often set aside; that such an expedient was indispensably requisite at a juncture, when the duke's zeal for the Romish faith, his connections with catholic princes, and his arbitrary disposition, threatened the revival of popery, the persecution of protestants, together with



a dreadful train of miseries inevitably resulting therefrom. The latter party argued, that absolute tyranny, or successful usurpation alone, had ever set aside the right of succession; that it could never be dispensed with without introducing the most violent convulsions, unless the whole nation concurred in the change; that a legislature, which deviates from a fundamental point of the constitution, subverts that very principle of authority on which itself is founded; and that the consequence of driving the king to extremity ought to be well considered, as it was well known his majesty would never give up the right of succession.

These arguments, however, had no force, and the bill was carried by a great majority. After a long debate, however, in the upper house, where Shaftesbury's eloquence was eclipsed by that of his nephew Halifax, a zealous partizan of the court, the peers declared against the bill, and it was accordingly thrown out by a majority of thirty-three.

The loss of their favourite bill highly incensed the commons, inasmuch that they addressed the king to remove lord Halifax, and other peers who had voted against it, from his presence and councils for ever; revived the impeachment of the five catholic lords in the Tower, and determined to make the poor old viscount Stafford the first victim. Accordingly he was brought from the Tower to his trial on the thirteenth of November, and notwithstanding the strength of his defence, the simplicity of his deportment, and his pathetic protestations of innocence, he was convicted of treason upon the evidence of Dugdale, Oates, and Tuberville, who seem to have been the hireling informers of a party. He, however, received the fatal verdict with firmness and resolution, nor was the malice of his greatest enemies able to shake the steady purpose of his soul. He disavowed on the scaffold the principles for which he was sentenced to death, when the populace exclaimed, "We believe you, my lord." The very executioner was struck with sympathy, and could not perform his office without hesitation, and when he held up the head according to custom, exclaiming, "this is the head of a traitor," no clamours of assent were uttered, pity, remorse, and astonishment had taken possession of every heart, and was visible in every countenance. No more blood was shed on account of this real or supposed conspiracy, the circumstances of which afford the most striking proofs of the power of prejudice and bigotry, even over the most enlightened and liberal minds.

Not content with these marks of severity, the commons voted that a bill should be brought in for banishing the most considerable papists from the kingdom, alledging, that while the catholics retained any hopes of seeing the duke of York ascend the throne, the protestant religion, and the lives and liberties of the people, would be in imminent danger.

A. D. 1681. The flexible character of Charles and his continual exigencies arising from an unrestrained prodigality, having instigated the parliament to such violent measures as he could not but consider as a direct attack upon his dignity and prerogative, he determined to put a speedy end to their session. But the commons being apprized of this resolution, met early in the day, on which it was expected that his majesty would come to the house in order to prorogue the parliament, and passed a vote, that whoever advised

his majesty to prorogue the parliament to any other purpose than in order to the passing a bill to exclude the duke of York from the succession, was a traitor to his king and country, a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France. To this they added another vote, importing, that whoever should advance any money on those branches of the king's revenue arising from customs, excise, or hearth money, should be deemed an enemy to the parliament, and be amenable to the bar of that house.

These motions were no sooner carried, than their attendance was required in the house of peers, where the king immediately prorogued the parliament, and at the same time ordered writs to be issued, for calling another to meet at Oxford on the twenty-first of March.

The meeting of this parliament had more the resemblance of former times than the peaceable appearance of mere assemblies. Each party came armed and attended by their friends and adherents, as if confident of an immediate rupture. The members for London were surrounded by a numerous band of horsemen, distinguished by knots and ribbons, inscribed "No popery, no slavery." The king complained of the intolerable proceedings of the last house of commons, and plainly told them, that as he never intended to exercise arbitrary power over others, so he would not suffer it to be exercised over himself. He hoped the bad consequences of former animosities would dispose them to more moderation, and induce them coolly to deliberate on measures necessary to be pursued in the present situation of affairs. He expressed an anxious desire of obviating all reasonable fears arising from the possibility of a popish successor; and added, that he was willing to agree to any scheme for placing the power of governing in protestant hands, during the life of any king professing popery.

But neither the menaces, nor soothing of the king, had the least effect on the commons, who elected the same speaker, and adopted the same measures. Being determined to enquire further into the popish plot and the bill of exclusion, one of his majesty's ministers proposed that the duke of York should be banished, during life, to the distance of five hundred miles from any part of the British dominions; that the government should be vested in a regent; that this office should be conferred upon the princess of Orange, and in case of her death, devolve to her sister Anne; that should the duke of York have a son, educated in the protestant religion, the said regent should act during his minority; that though the kingdom should be governed in the name of James II. that no man should take arms for him, or by virtue of his commission, on pain of capital punishment, and that those should incur the same penalty, who should affirm, that the simple title of king takes away all defects mentioned in this act, or in any degree eludes the obligation of it; that all officers, civil and military, should bind themselves by oath to the observance of this statute; that acts of the same nature should pass in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland; that if the duke of York should enter either of the three kingdoms, he should be excluded, "*ipso facto*," and the sovereignty devolve to the regent; that all papists of any consideration should be banished by name, and their children educated in the protestant religion.

But even these expedients, which were almost equal to an exclusion, did not appear to the commons



mons as a sufficient barrier against the introduction of popery as the established religion of the realm; so that they resumed the consideration of their favourite bill, and had actually ordered it to be read a second time, when Charles, seizing the opportunity, dissolved the parliament before they were apprized of his design. He forthwith retired to Windsor, whence he next day repaired to London, where he published a declaration, containing his reasons for dissolving the two last parliaments. The king had no sooner taken this expedient, than addresses were brought him from all parts of the kingdom, containing the warmest expressions of loyalty, applauding the king's conduct in dissolving the parliament, and inveighing against the commons for encouraging sedition.

In this instance the conduct of the king admits of vindication, though he did not use this success with prudence and moderation; for, not properly distinguishing between the lawless attempts of a discontented faction, and the noble efforts of a patriotic spirit to withstand the encroachments of the crown, and assert the privileges of the subject, he determined to govern in future without the assistance of parliament, and became not only despotic, but even cruel. He immediately gratified with places or pensions all those who had occasionally appeared in, or acted for the interest of the court, and in order to convince the world of the superiority he had acquired, committed Shaftesbury to the Tower, and imprisoned, at the same time, several persons of inferior rank, who had distinguished themselves as leaders in that party. But the chief object of his resentment was the earl of Shaftesbury, to prosecute whom no sums were spared, nor no expedient left untried.

His trial was accordingly fixed, but he fortunately escaped by the grand jury's not finding the bill against him. Writers are far from agreeing with regard to the validity of the charges exhibited against the earl, which were nothing less than a design to seize the king at Oxford, and compel him to submit to the demands of parliament. The event, however, was celebrated with every demonstration of joy.

In Scotland the exercise of arbitrary power caused real evils, capable almost of driving the nation into rebellion. The parliament, being entirely at the devotion of the duke York, passed an act, acknowledging that the crown of Scotland had, by an inherent right, by the nature of the monarchy, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, always descended to the heir of blood, and that the succession could not be altered by any law or consideration whatsoever. They also passed an act for imposing on persons in office a test oath, acknowledging the king's supremacy, renouncing the covenant, and espousing the doctrine of passive obedience. The form of this statute was so ill conceived and so ill digested, that the earl of Argyll, a nobleman of unfulfilled honour, refused to take the oath without an explanation, for which he was sentenced to lose his head; but he eluded the punishment by escaping out of Edinburgh castle, and retiring to Holland. The king having thus conquered all opposition, the duke repaired to London, and acquired such an influence over his brother, that he was, in effect, king of England, Scotland and Ireland.

A. D. 1682. The mutual animosity which had long subsisted between the two parties was inflamed into rage and rancour, and the king, who ought to have conducted himself as the common

parent of his people; openly espoused a faction. The city of London had hitherto preserved its independence, and the whig interest still preponderated there. But the king found means to attach to his interest Sir John Moor, then lord mayor, and he named two persons for sheriffs, whom he knew would be dupes to the ministry; a person devoted to the king's will was also secured to succeed Moor as lord mayor.

These several circumstances so alarmed the earl of Shaftesbury, that he consulted his safety by flying into Holland, though he had before urged in parliament the ruin of that country in those remarkable words, "Delenda est Carthago." But he died in a short time after his arrival in that country.

A. D. 1683. The authority of the crown now increased most rapidly. The king violated the privileges of the city of London, and gave a stab to the constitution, by issuing a writ of quo warranto, that is, an enquiry into the validity of its charter, which it was pretended the corporation had forfeited in two instances. The first was, their imposing a toll in order to defray the expences of rebuilding their markets; the other, the presenting an address to the king, containing a scandalous reflection upon his majesty and his administration. The cause was tried in the court of king's bench, and the council for the city proved, that all corporations had a power to make bye laws; that subjects had a right to petition the king; that the reflection in the address was not levelled at the king, but his evil counsellors who had advised him to prorogue the parliament; and insisted, that if the magistrates had committed any fault they were punishable as individuals; but their conduct could be no reason for annihilating the body corporate.

But notwithstanding these conclusive arguments, the court gave judgment against the city, whose liberties were declared to be forfeited, and their charter at the king's disposal. The citizens were amazed and dismayed at this transaction, and a common council being assembled, the majority agreed to a tame submission, before the sentence should be recorded. A petition was accordingly presented to that effect, and the king offered to restore the charter on the following conditions: that no mayor or officer of the commonalty should exercise his authority, until his election should be confirmed under the king's sign manual; that if his majesty should disapprove of their choice of a mayor and sheriffs, they should proceed to a new election, and provided the second should be disagreeable to the king, he should appoint persons of his own nomination; that the mayor and court of aldermen should be empowered to divest any alderman of his office, by the king's permission; that should any alderman, after his election, be deemed incapable by the court of aldermen, the ward should be obliged to chuse another; and should he be disapproved by the court, a third should be elected by the court itself; and that the justices of the peace in London should act only by virtue of the king's commission. To these rigorous terms the common council submitted, by a majority of eighteen voices. The fate of the city of London alarmed many other corporations, who, delivering up their charters to the king, were obliged to pay large sums for the redemption of them.

This was truly the triumph of despotism. The English could not now be said to be those bold and resolute people, who had so often made an arbitrary monarch



monarch tremble on the throne, in defence of their ancient rights and privileges. They seem to have dwindled into dastardly slaves, who bowed the neck to the yoke of oppression, and offered the incense of adulation to those who trampled on their dearest rights.

Shaftesbury had before formed the scheme for an insurrection; but in order to conduct the design with more prudence and secrecy, a council of six persons was established, consisting of the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Essex, the lords Ruffel and Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson to the famous patriot who opposed the tax of ship money in the reign of Charles I. These corresponded with Argyle and the malecontents of Scotland, and still determined to prosecute the scheme of insurrection, though they were influenced by very different motives. Sidney was a republican; Howard sought the gratification of his own ambition; Essex inclined to the principles of Sidney; Ruffel and Hampden, attached to the constitution, were for excluding the duke of York and remedying all grievances, while Monmouth aspired to the crown.

During these transactions, an inferior order of conspirators abetted by colonels Rumsey and Walcot, entered into a conspiracy to assassinate the king in his way from Newmarket. Rumbald, one of their number, possessed a farm on that road, called the Rye-house, whence the conspiracy was denominated the Rye-house plot. They agreed to stop the king's coach, by overturning a cart in the highway at this place, and to shoot him from the hedges. It was likewise determined, that his guards should be engaged by forty horse under Walcot, while Rumsey should perpetrate the assassination. In the midst of their deliberations, the palace in which the king resided at Newmarket taking fire, he quitted the place sooner than he intended, so that their intentions of destroying him on his return to London were frustrated.

The plot was at length revealed by one Keeling, in order to secure a pardon for himself. Rumsey, and West, a lawyer, no sooner understood that this man had informed against them, than they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidences, and surrendered themselves accordingly. Warrants were now issued against the chiefs of the conspiracy. Monmouth concealed himself, the lords Ruffel, Grey and Howard were arrested. The last, a man divested of every principle of honour, purchased his pardon by betraying his accomplices. On his deposition, they seized the earl of Essex, the famous Algernon Sidney, together with Hampden, a name revered for the sacred stamp of liberty. Three criminals of lower rank were first executed. It appeared difficult to bring the charge home to the lords, as, according to the statute of Mary, the two principal kinds of treason compassing and intending the king's death, and the actual levying war against him must be proved by the concurring testimony of two witnesses, to some overt act tending to those purposes. However, through the refinement of the lawyers, Ruffel, the idol of the people, was condemned. Too honest a man to deny that he was engaged in the scheme of an insurrection, he only insisted that he had entertained no design against the life of the king. Several applications were made for his pardon. His father, the old earl of Bedford, offered to purchase his pardon of the dutchess of Portsmouth, with the sum of one hundred thousand pounds; Ruffel's lady, daughter of the earl of Southampton,

threw herself at the king's feet, in a flood of tears, and pleaded the merit of her father in behalf of her husband. But Charles was inexorable; he dreaded the principles and popularity of lord Ruffel, who had denied that the king had authority to remit the barbarous part of the sentence against lord Stafford, and opposed him in such a manner in the late parliaments, as to incur the king's most inveterate hatred.

Lord Cavendish, the intimate friend of Ruffel, offered to effect his escape by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a prisoner in his room, the duke of Monmouth sent a message to him, importing, that he would surrender himself, if he thought that step would contribute to his safety. But Ruffel nobly declined these generous offers, and resigned himself to his fate with admirable fortitude. His lady, that he might not be shocked in his last moments, summoned astonishing resolution, and parted from him without shedding a tear. "Now, said he, the bitterness of death is past," and afterwards behaved with the utmost serenity. Immediately before he was conveyed to the scaffold, which was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, he wound up his watch, saying with a smile. "Now I have done with time, and must henceforth think of eternity," and died without betraying the least weakness.

Algernon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester, was next brought to trial. His great genius, undaunted courage, and ardent passion for liberty, had occasioned his acting a distinguished part among the republicans. He had opposed the restoration of the monarchy with as much warmth as the usurpation of Cromwell. The only witness who deposed against him was the treacherous Howard, but as the law required two witnesses, the council had recourse to a strange expedient to supply this defect. This produced some discourses upon government found among his papers, and affirmed, that these were equivalent to another evidence. They were written in defence of liberty, maintaining the original contract upon which government was founded, and from which all power was derived; the lawfulness of resisting tyrannical and oppressive measures, and the maxim of preferring a republic to the government of an individual. There was no proof that the papers were his hand writing, or that he had ever shewn them to any person, nor did they contain any thing treasonable; and in his defence he insisted, that the law strictly required two living witnesses to support a charge of treason. All the arguments, though urged by the prisoner with great force of reasoning, had no influence; the violent and inhuman Jefferies was now chief justice, and by his direction, a partial jury was prevailed on to give a verdict against Sidney, who was convicted, and being condemned, gloried in dying for the cause in which he had been engaged from his earliest youth.

Several more of the conspirators were executed and others heavily fined. Hampden, against whom Howard was the sole evidence, was indicted for a misdemeanor, and cast for forty thousand pounds. Sir Thomas Armstrong had been outlawed for the conspiracy, and fled to Holland, where he was betrayed into the hands of Chudleigh, the English minister, who sent him over to England. He demanded a fair trial, to which he was entitled by the statute, as the time prescribed for his surrendering himself was not yet elapsed. Jefferies declared he was not entitled to the benefit



of the statute, because he did not surrender voluntarily; he insulted him from the bench; and condemned him to die the death of a traitor, which he bore with the resolution and spirit of a man.

The earl of Essex was found dead in prison, with his throat cut. A report had been spread that he had been murdered by order of the king and his brother: it appeared, however, certain, that he had been guilty of suicide. We are told indeed by Dr. Burnet, the earl had occasionally vindicated that criminal practice.

On the first discovery of the conspiracy, Monmouth had absconded, nor could the court gain any intelligence of him. He corresponded with the earl of Argyle; through whose means he hoped to be joined by the covenanters in Scotland, who were so enslaved by the government, that any hazard was preferable to that servility under which they groaned. Argyle, who then resided in Holland, undertook to supply the covenanters with arms, if the duke of Monmouth would remit eight thousand pounds for that purpose. Bailie of Jarviswood, a man of talents and integrity, conducted this affair, and was apprehended among the persons concerned in the conspiracy. As the ministry could find no evidence against him, they insisted upon his purging himself by oath, of all suspicion of having been concerned in the Rye-house plot, otherwise they would hold him guilty. To this he objected as inhuman and tyrannical, and refused to answer their questions upon oath, whereon he was committed to prison, and amerced in the sum of six thousand pounds.

But such was the rancour of their minds, that, at the instigation of the duke of York, they employed the most unjust and scandalous means to gratify their revenge. At length the earl of Taras, who had likewise been imprisoned on account of the conspiracy, and Murray of Philliphugh, were induced, by threats, to swear that Bailie had tampered with them to raise a rebellion, by which this unhappy man was convicted of treason; and as he was already reduced to the brink of the grave, by hard usage and distemper, the judge, fearing that death would disappoint the duke's inhuman desires, ordered him to be executed immediately after condemnation; and he bore his inhuman sentence with all the fortitude of conscious virtue.

Charles, having acquired some popularity, was desirous of encreasing it, and, conscious that the dread of popery was the most predominant passion in the minds of the people, he judged it proper to marry his niece the lady Anne to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark, and a protestant. In order to lessen the power of the duke of York, which was now become exorbitant, the earl of Halifax, having discovered the place of Monmouth's retreat, prevailed upon him to send two submissive letters to the king, which awakened the paternal affection of Charles, who permitted him to appear at court, endeavoured to reconcile him to the duke of York, and summoned an extraordinary council, to acquaint the members of Monmouth's sincere penitence.

But the duke in a few days repented of the step he had taken, and finding that he was intirely disgraced with his party, as his confession was now made public, he resolved at all events to retrieve his character, and entreated the king to return him the paper. Charles, provoked at this duplicity of behaviour, banished him from his presence, and after-

wards ordered him to quit the kingdom. He withdrew into Holland, where he was cordially received by the prince of Orange, and afterwards corresponded with his father; but the duke of York was never acquainted with the secrets of the correspondence.

A. D. 1684. But the king, amidst the pleasing hopes and expectations which were now presented to his view, was in reality neither happy nor satisfied. Perhaps the violent and imprudent councils of his brother were the principal source of his disquietude, as indeed may be gathered from this striking address to him, on his urging the pursuit of vehement measures, "Brother, I am too old to go again on my travels; you may, if you please."

A. D. 1685. It is supposed he was deliberating on sending him away, and rendering his government more conformable to the genius and constitution of the nation. But whatever may have been his designs they were prevented by his death, which happened on the sixth day of February, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign, and was occasioned by a kind of apoplectic fit, after which he languished only a few days.

Previous to his dissolution he received the eucharist, and passed through the other ceremonies according to the rites of the Romish church, though, if a judgment may be formed from his life, he seems to have been both in principle and conduct an absolute deist.

As exalted characters are held up to public view in the most eminent light, their vices as well as virtues are consequently rendered thereby more conspicuous and glaring. In describing the character of king Charles II. most writers have been guided by their respective religions and political principles, and have therefore as a man represented him accordingly. Indolence and the love of pleasure seem to have been his ruling passions, and diverted his mind from nobler and more worthy pursuits. He was not destitute of knowledge in speculation, though he evinced very little in practice; hence arose that pointed censure, "that he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one." That he possessed that prejudice in favour of despotism, which seemed to have been congenial with his race, is evident from his general system of government, though the dread of popular resentment frequently caused him to relax in his efforts to establish arbitrary power.

In private life he was affable, witty, and convivial, and admirably adapted to enjoy the hours as they passed. But as in the choice and pursuit of his pleasures, he was neither governed by reason nor confined by moderation, he became enslaved by his passions, and frequently derogated from the man as well as the prince.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Charles II.

A. D.

1660 General post-office in London first opened for all parts of the world.

Perukes first worn in England.

1662 A tax of two pence per annum on every fire-place or hearth throughout England.

1663 Fire-engines to raise water invented.

News papers first printed in England.

1665 The royal Gazette first published at Oxford (the court being then kept in that city) on November 7. On the removal of the court to London the title was changed to the London Gazette, which has ever since been published twice a week, namely, Tuesdays and Saturdays.

Signals at sea first used by the English.



Engraved for RAYMOND'S *History of England.*



Born:  
October 15. 1633.

Crowned  
April 23. 1685.

Died:  
August 6. 1701.



- 1666 Tea first brought into England by lord Ossory from Holland, and being admired by persons of rank, it was imported from thence, and generally sold for sixty shillings a pound, till our East India Company took up the trade.
- 1670 Muslins from India first worn in England.
- 1676 Callico-printing invented and first practised in England.
- 1680 Votes of the house of commons first published.
- Buckles first invented and worn in England.
- 1683 Penny-post office instituted.

The reign of Charles II. is celebrated for the flourishing state of the Belles letters in general, and many eminent philosophers, poets, statesmen, and divines, amongst whom were Newton, Boyle, Butler, Dryden, Otway, Stillingfleet, Lloyd; and Tillotson, names which will be perpetuated to the latest posterity.

## C H A P. II.

### J A M E S II.

*Accession of James II. Proclamation for all people in office to hold their respective posts. Parliament devoted to the king. Punishment of Oates. Rebellion and death of the duke of Monmouth. Indiscreet zeal for the popish religion. Cruelties of Kirk and his clan. The test act dispensed with. Trial of the bishops. Policy of the prince of Orange. His secret preparations. James rejects the offer of the French king. The prince of Orange sails from Helvoet-sluice with a powerful armament. Arrives in Torbay. Avows his intentions. Multitudes flock to his standard. Forlorn situation of the king. His abdication of the throne and retirement to France.*

THE love of novelty is a very prevalent passion with mankind in general, and perhaps it is the most cogent reason that can possibly be suggested, for that almost universal approbation with which potentates ascend the thrones of their progenitors. This, if we may rely on the record of historians, was the case respecting the accession of James II. though the torrent of popular odium ran so strongly against him during the greater part of the late reign, and at the demise of the late king his brother. No sooner had Charles paid the debt of nature than James was proclaimed, amidst the universal acclamations of the people.

A proclamation was immediately published, by which all those who held offices under the late king were continued in their respective posts; the popularity of which step in a new sovereign needs no comment. Rochester was lord high treasurer, his brother Clarendon keeper of the privy seal, and Halifax president of the council. James and his queen were crowned on the twenty-third day of April, when the populace observed, that the royal diadem was too large for his head, and shook from side to side, a circumstance from which they deduced a bad omen.

A little before the meeting of the parliament, Oates was tried in the court of king's bench, upon two indictments of perjury, and convicted on the evidence of above twenty witnesses. He was sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand marks, to be publicly whipped twice in three days, to stand in the pillory once every year, and be imprisoned for life. He bore his fate with great resolution, protesting his innocence in the most solemn manner: he was cherished and supported by a numerous party, and in the following reign was rewarded with a pension of four hundred pounds, and his liberty.

The duke of Monmouth, ever dear to the people, undertook to dethrone his uncle, at the very time when his throne appeared the most firmly established. Intelligence, however, being received of the design, the parliament presented an address to the king, assuring him of their zeal and assistance in quelling this rebellion, granted him a subsidy of

four hundred thousand pounds, and then adjourned.

Monmouth, it is said, would willingly have delayed making any attempts for the present, but such was the impatience of his followers, and such the ardour of the duke of Argyle, who set out from Scotland a few days before him, that all his objections were over-ruled, and this unfortunate nobleman was precipitated into destruction.

On his first landing he published a kind of manifesto, accusing the duke of York as the author of the fire of London, the French alliance, the two Dutch wars, the murder of Godfrey, the assassination of Essex, the dissolution of parliaments, the subordination of juries, and the most flagrant acts of tyranny and oppression, and invited the people to join him in his endeavours to redress the grievances of the nation.

But these declarations produced very little effect in his favour, so that his army consisted chiefly of a rude undisciplined rabble. With these he marched from Lyme to Taunton, where his army through considerable reinforcements amounting to about six thousand men, he assumed the title of king and was proclaimed in form. He then marched to Bridgewater, where he was likewise well received, and from thence advanced to the neighbourhood of Bristol, the inhabitants of which were deterred from joining him by the presence of the duke of Beaufort, their governor, or they would probably have declared in his favour.

In consequence of these proceedings of the duke of Monmouth, James ordered six regiments of British troops to be called over from Holland, the army was greatly augmented, and regular troops to the amount of three thousand men were dispatched under the command of Feversham and Churchill, in order to check the progress of the rebels. Monmouth, sensible of the temerity of his project, and that he must either conquer or perish, set forward to meet the king's forces hoping to meet them unprepared for an attack.

But the royalists being drawn up in excellent order at Sedgley-moor, near Bridgewater, the battle began at day break, and after a contest of three hours,



hours, the rebels fled, and were pursued with great slaughter. Monmouth retired from the field of battle with about fifty horse; but these being soon dispersed, he rode towards Dorsetshire, until his horse could carry him no farther. He then alighted, and exchanging dress with a shepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite spent with hunger and fatigue, they laid down in a ditch, and covered themselves with fern. The shepherd being found in his cloaths, was brought to lord Lumley, who discovered the duke in his hiding place, from whence he was conducted to London and lodged in the Tower.

On his arrival he wrote to the king humbly imploring his pardon, and James finding such impressions of despondency on the unhappy prisoner, ordered him into his presence, in hopes of drawing from him a discovery of his confederates; but Monmouth, however desirous of life, would not condescend to purchase it by an action attended with so much infamy. Finding all his intreaties vain, he assumed courage from despair, and prepared for death, with a spirit becoming his rank and character. This favourite of the people was conducted to the scaffold amidst the tears and lamentations of the spectators. When he laid his head on the block, and made the signal, the executioner struck three times ineffectually, and then threw down the ax; but the sheriff compelled him to resume the work, which, with three other strokes, he finished.

Thus fell James duke of Monmouth, whose character in many respects was truly amiable. He was brave, generous, and sincere, but too open to flattery and too warmly addicted to pleasure. At length his ambition prompted him to measures, which in the end cost him his life.

But the victory obtained by the royalists on this occasion was sullied by the cruelty of their officers. The earl of Feversham ordered twenty of the rebels to be hanged immediately after the action. Nineteen were put to death in the same manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirke, an inhuman wretch, who had served at Tangier. He continued to execute others occasionally for his diversion, with such circumstances of wanton barbarity, as are shocking to human nature: indeed, he carried his cruelty to such a savage excess, as to make a sport of the executions of his victims. One execution was attended with such circumstances of perfidy, as well as barbarity, that its equal cannot, perhaps, be found in the history of any other country. A young maid, frantic with grief, repaired to the colonel, to implore pardon for her brother. She threw herself at his feet, armed with all the charms that beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could possibly bestow. Fired with lust, rather than softened by love and clemency, he promised to grant her request, provided she, on her part, would condescend to satisfy his desires. The struggle was severe between virtue and her affection for her brother. The latter at last prevailed, and she submitted to the conditions; but after passing the night with this inhuman ruffian, he shewed her next morning, from the window of the apartment, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanging on the sign-post of an inn, which was opposite to the house where he resided. The shock was too great for human nature: rage, despair, and indignation, took at once possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses.

Jefferies, the chief justice, still more inhuman,

because his profession ought to have rendered him more merciful, now proceeded to scenes of destruction with more than brutal satisfaction. At Dorchester he ordered no less than eighty persons to be executed immediately after conviction. He prosecuted the same work of carnage at Exeter and Taunton. Two hundred and fifty persons are said to have been sacrificed, in this circuit, under colour of justice. Jefferies himself made it his boast, that he had hanged more men than all the judges in England, since the time of William the conqueror. He no sooner returned from his circuit, which the king was wont to term his campaign, than he was created a peer, and in a short time advanced to the dignity of chancellor; a circumstance that gives us a sufficient idea of the disposition of James; and accounts, in some measure, for the shortness of his reign.

The bigotted attachment of James to the popish religion appeared in the most glaring colours, and such were the instances of his cruelties and despotism, that the Spanish ambassador Ronquillo, considering the tranquillity of England as very necessary for the support of Spain, took the liberty to remonstrate on the subject, and advised the king not to follow too implicitly, the dangerous councils of his priests. "What! said James, "is not the king of Spain wont to consult with "his confessors?" "Yes, replied the ambassador, "and that is the very reason why our affairs are so "unprosperous." However, at all events, James resolved to proceed in his enterprize, previous to which he thought it necessary to render himself absolute, and then he should be able to employ the most effectual means to obtain the much desired end.

To carry the point in Ireland, the duke of Ormond was turned out of his post of lord-lieutenant, and though the primate and lord Garnard, protestants, still enjoyed the office of justices, the whole power was vested in the hands of Talbot the general, (soon after advanced to the earldom of Tyrconnel) a man who, from the bigotry of his prejudices, was actuated with the most furious zeal for the catholic cause, which he soon evinced, by placing catholics in the several offices, in the room of protestants whom he turned out.

Clarendon, who was appointed to succeed the duke of Ormond in the viceroyship, soon perceived the declension of his influence, as he was too honest a man to conciliate the favour of his sovereign by changing his religion; in fact, he possessed at length but the shadow of authority, of which he was soon deprived, on the appointment of Tyrconnel, a fit tool for the accomplishment of his master's designs.

Partiality for the catholics appeared in every department of church and state. Tyranny and oppression were exercised in every quarter of that kingdom, insomuch that a renewal of the ancient massacre was dreaded, and many, alarmed at the imminent dangers to which they were exposed, abandoned the kingdom. The more candid and sensible part of the catholics themselves were dissatisfied with these violent measures, and could easily foresee the consequences. Influenced by the advice of the queen and his confessor, Peters, a jesuit, (whom he made a privy councillor) James paid no regard to the opinions of his subjects.

A. D. 1686. The arbitrary measures of the king struck the whole nation with terror, and the protestants were alarmed more than ever with the apprehensions of the establishment of popery. To

add



add to their fears, James erected a new ecclesiastical commission court, composed of seven members, secular as well as clerical; among the former were lord chancellor Jefferies, and the earls of Rochester and Sunderland. He also sent a circular letter to the bishops, ordering them to prohibit their inferior clergy from preaching upon points of controversy. But the injunction was very little regarded by the protestant divines, who exposed the absurdities and cruelties of the catholic communion with such learning, energy, and candour, as operated powerfully on the conviction of the public, and redounded to their immortal honour. On this occasion Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison, Patrick and Sherlock, greatly distinguished themselves.

Notwithstanding the universal horror that had been spread throughout the kingdom, and the complaints of an aggrieved people, James ordered an army of fifteen thousand men to be encamped on Hounslow-heath in the time of profound peace. James became daily more ambitious of making converts. Sunderland sacrificed his religion to his interest, though he would not make a public abjuration. The earl of Rochester consented to a conference with some popish priests, but declaring himself dissatisfied with their arguments, and refusing to change, he was deprived of the office of treasurer, but gratified with a considerable pension. The king also deprived the earl of Clarendon of the privy seal, which was given to lord Arundel.

A. D. 1687. To veil, for a time, his resolution of abolishing the protestant religion, James gave repeated promises of maintaining it, a circumstance which afforded the highest satisfaction to the dissenters in general, though the most discerning part of them saw through the artful disguise. Nor was it long before the mask was thrown off; for the king dispatched the earl of Castlemain ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to make his submission to the pope, and to reconcile his three kingdoms to the holy see, from which (he said) they had unhappily fallen by heresy. Never did any man sent on so important an errand meet with so many affronts as Castlemain. Pope Innocent, who was at variance with the French king, looked upon James as the partizan. Though he granted audience to the ambassador, he always pretended to be seized with a fit of coughing, which interrupted the earl's speech, and obliged him to retire. At length he complained loudly of this contemptuous treatment, and threatened to return. The pope, with his usual indifference, advised him to travel in the cool of the morning, and to repose himself during the heat of the day, otherwise the climate of Italy might prove dangerous to his health.

Nothing now seemed wanting to the completion of the king's designs, but the admission of the catholics into the universities. Accordingly, father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the royal mandate to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of Master of Arts. They all perceived the dangerous consequences of such an admission, and presented a petition to the king, beseeching him to recall his mandate. Their petition was disregarded, and the deputies were summoned before the ecclesiastical commission to answer for this act of disobedience. The king suspended the vice chancellor, but it had no effect, as a man of spirit was chosen by the university to succeed to that office.

A second attempt was made at Oxford, and pro-

secuted with more inflexible obstinacy. The place of president of Magdalen College being vacant, the king sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, whose character lay under imputation. The fellows of the college petitioned the king to revoke his mandate, but before they received an answer, the day arrived on which, by their statutes, they were bound to proceed to an election. They chose Dr. Hough a man of learning, integrity, and resolution. The king was incensed at their disobedience, and the vice-president and fellows were summoned before the ecclesiastical court, where they proved Farmer in every shape unqualified for the office.

A new mandate was therefore issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford; but as he was as dissolute a character as the former, the fellows refused to comply with this injunction, in consequence of which, the president, and all the fellows, (except two who assented,) were expelled the college. Parker was put in possession of the office, and the places of the deprived fellows were filled by papists. This outrage was of itself sufficient to convince the nation of the king's arbitrary designs; nor can any thing be imagined more illegal and unjust than these proceedings.

James, sensible of the popularity acquired by the prince of Orange in England, and that the princess his consort was deemed presumptive heiress to the crown, was very desirous of knowing their opinions concerning the penal laws, persuaded if he could obtain their concurrence to a repeal it would have great weight with the nation. To effect this design, he employed one Stuart, who was acquainted with Fagel the pensionary, to assure this counsellor in a letter, that the interest of England, as well as that of the prince, required the abolition of the test and penal laws. Fagel, by direction of the prince, wrote an answer, importing, that the prince and princess would willingly agree to indulge the catholics with liberty of conscience, and ardently wished, that the protestant dissenters were allowed the free exercise of their religion; but they could never consent to the abolition of the test and penal laws, which were enacted to defend the protestant religion, by excluding the catholics from parliament, and from public employments. The publication of this letter produced very different effects on the king and the nation: to the former it gave the severest mortification, but to the latter it afforded the highest satisfaction.

A short time after this, a proclamation was published, declaring the pregnancy of the queen, and ordaining a day of thanksgiving on the occasion. Addresses of congratulation were immediately waited to the king from all corners of the island, as if the whole nation had thought the birth of a prince would be a public blessing; but these addresses were procured by the emissaries of the ministry. All the protestants in the kingdom were alarmed, as at the eve of a terrible calamity. A great number fondly believed that the queen's pregnancy was counterfeit, as she of late years had been in an ill state of health, and the belief that the whole was an imposture spread almost universally among the protestants.

James, however, desirous of confirming his despotic power, and inflamed by frantic zeal, seemed determined no longer to keep any measures with his subjects; and in order to shew his contempt for the malecontents, published a second declaration of indulgence, granting liberty of conscience, and abolishing the penal laws. To this he subjected an



an order, commanding the bishops to cause it to be read in all the churches of their respective dioceses. The prelates no sooner received these orders, than they repaired to Lambeth, in order to consult with the primate. Having deliberated on the subject, they unanimously agreed, that they could not obey the king's command, without betraying their consciences, and their duty to God and their country. They then drew up and signed a petition to the king, representing, that, though they were extremely desirous in any lawful way of complying with his majesty's royal will and pleasure, yet, as the declaration of indulgence was founded on an authority formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not in prudence, honour, or conscience, consent to be accessory to distributing it through the kingdom, and therefore besought his majesty to free them from the necessity of reading the declaration in public. Determined on the most rigorous proceedings against the bishops, James commanded that they should be brought before the council, where, being asked if they owned the petition, the archbishop acknowledged it was written by his own hand, and the rest declared that they had signed it. The chancellor then demanded, if they would give bail to appear in the court of king's bench, and answer the charge which should be exhibited against them; but they refused to comply, alledging their privilege in quality of peers, which they were bound to maintain, as well as the interests of the church, according to the oath they had taken to oppose all innovations in church and state.

Jeffries, enraged at this answer, told them that unless they instantly retracted their assertions, and withdrew their petition, he would send them to the Tower, upon which they said, that "having acted agreeable to the laws of their country, the dictates of their consciences, and the sacred office with which they were invested, they depended on the protection of the king of kings." An order was then drawn for their commitment to the Tower, and directions were given to the crown lawyers to prosecute them for a seditious libel.

An alarm being spread that the bishops were to be conveyed by water to the Tower, the shore was lined with innumerable spectators deploring the fate of those reverend prelates, and earnestly craving their blessings. The bishops increased the general favour by an humble and submissive deportment; and conjured the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. The respect even of the soldiers who conducted them to prison, furnished a striking proof of the sentiments of the public.

A. D. 1688. During the confinement of the bishops, the queen was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. The catholics rejoiced at the event, but the people in general were possessed with a notion, that the child was altogether supposititious in order to cut off the prince of Orange from the succession. In short, the birth of this child, which should have proved the bond of union between the king and his subjects, had the very contrary effect, both parties, protestants and catholics, labouring under such violent prejudices at this time; it is not to be wondered, if the latter strenuously asserted the legitimacy of the child, and the former insisted that the whole transaction was an imposture.

On the 29th of June came on the trial of the bishops in Westminster-hall, which was filled with

an infinite concourse of people, amongst whom were many peers, and numbers of the first personages in the kingdom. The council for the bishops defended their cause with as much success as freedom; and the jury, by pronouncing them "Not guilty," excited an universal transport. The news of the acquittal of the bishops no sooner reached Hounslow, than the soldiers expressed their joy by the loudest acclamations. James, who was then at dinner with lord Feversham in his tent, sent out an officer to enquire into the cause of this exultation; and when the officer returned and told him, it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers at the acquittal of the bishops, "Call you that nothing! (said the king) but so much the worse for them." Having fixed his chief dependance on the army, he determined to put their attachment to an infallible test, and with that view ordered lord Litchfield's regiment to be drawn up in his presence; and commanded all such officers and soldiers as would not contribute to the repeal of the test and penal laws to lay down their musquets; when he was equally surprized, and incensed, to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers and a very few soldiers. After some pause, he commanded them to take up their arms, telling them with a fullen air, "that for the future he would not do them the honour to ask their advice."

From a variety of concurring circumstances, the nation was fully convinced that the king was determined to subvert the constitution both in church and state, so that many persons of eminence and interest entered into a strict union for the security of the kingdom, and inviting over the prince of Orange to head the country party against him. Admiral Hubert, who was beloved by the seamen, resigned his commission, and retired to the Hague, where he assured the prince of a general disaffection in the navy. This assurance was confirmed by admiral Ruffel, who passed frequently between England and Holland, and served to keep up a constant correspondence between the prince and the English protestants. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, went over to the Hague, under pretext of going to the Spa for his health, and had frequent conferences with the Stadtholder. Zuy-vestein, who had been sent over to congratulate the king on the birth of his son, brought back to the prince a formal invitation from most of the great men in England. The bishop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Dorset, Devonshire, Nottingham, and Danby; the lords Lovelace, Delamere, Paulet, and Eland, many gentlemen of interest, and a great number of substantial citizens, joined in the application to the prince, engaging with their lives and fortunes to support him in his endeavours to recover their civil and religious liberties.

The prince of Orange conducted the necessary preparations with wonderful prudence and policy, and concealed their intention under such pretexts, as eluded for a time the suspicion of the English court. But the destination of a powerful armament could not long remain secret. The French ambassador acquainted his master therewith, who transmitted the information to James, and at the same time made him a most important offer; which the latter, vainly relying on the nature of his own authority, could not be persuaded to accept. Mean while he ordered his ambassador in Holland to present a memorial to the states, desiring to know the destination of their extraordinary armament.





*The BISHOPS of STASAPH-CHESTER-BATH&WELLS-ELY, and PETERBOROUGH  
presenting their Petition to KING JAMES II. before their commitment to the Tower  
( ) by Judge Tesseris. ( )*



He received for answer, that they only imitated the king of England, who had lately equipped a powerful fleet, and assembled a numerous army without explaining his intentions; and they in their turn desired to know the nature of his alliance with the king of France.

Alarmed at this extraordinary reply, James directed his fleet to be manned and prepared for sea, set on foot new levies, and sent for some regiments from Ireland; appointed the earl of Feverham general of the land forces, and conferred the command of the navy on the earl of Dartmouth. Whilst the king was distracted with fears and apprehensions, intelligence arrived from the ambassador, that the Hague was filled with English subjects, waiting to embark in the prince's expedition. In this emergency, James assembled the bishops of Winchester, Chichester, Rochester, Peterborough, Ely, Bath, and Wells. The prelates having laid the case before the primate, and held such consultation together as so weighty a matter required, attended his majesty at Whitehall with the result of their deliberations. They counselled the king to put the government of the different counties into the hands of persons distinguished by their birth, and qualified by the laws of the land, to abolish the ecclesiastical court, to recall all the dispensations, by virtue of which, disqualified persons had been admitted into civil and ecclesiastical employments; to revoke all the licences, by which catholics were permitted to open public schools; to desist from all pretensions to a dispensing power, or refer it entirely to the decision of parliament; to forbid the four apostolic vicars to continue invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which belonged to the English church; to fill up the vacant bishoprics with men of learning and piety; to restore the charters which had been taken from corporations; to assemble a free parliament; and consent that the bishops should offer such reasons as might reconcile his majesty to the church of England.

By these very popular measures, James, at this alarming crisis, endeavoured, though in vain, to regain the good will and affections of his subjects.

During these transactions, the prince of Orange applied himself with the greatest assiduity to complete his armament; which finished, he published a manifesto, explaining the motives of his expedition. At the same time, the states-general published the reasons, which had induced them to lend their ships and men to the prince of Orange; namely, the invitation which that prince had received from the nobility, gentry, and clergy of England; and the apprehension that king James, after he should have enslaved his own kingdom, would join the French monarch to root out the protestant religion, and conquer the United Provinces.

The prince's measures were so well concerted, that in three days above four hundred transports were engaged; the forces quickly embarked and fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen; the artillery, arms, stores, and horses, were put on board, and on the twenty-first of October, the prince set sail from Helvoetsluice, with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men. Admiral Hubert led the van, the rear was conducted by Evertzen, and the prince commanded in the center, with a flag displaying his own arms, circumscribed, "The protestant religion, and the liberties of England. Underneath, *Je maintien drai*, i. e., "I will

"maintain;" the device that distinguished the house of Nassau. The fleet had sailed but a few leagues when the wind suddenly shifted to the west, and blew a hurricane which lasted two whole days, and scattered the ships in such a manner, that a whole week elapsed before they could re-assemble at their rendezvous. They had sustained very little damage; but, with a view to lull James in security, orders were given to fill the Dutch gazettes with exaggerated accounts of their loss, and declarations that the expedition must be postponed till the ensuing spring.

But this loss being soon repaired, the fleet put to sea again, and stood away with a fair wind towards the west of England. The prince, after a very prosperous voyage, landed his army safely in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder treason. The Dutch army then advanced to Exeter, where the prince's declaration was instantly published. For several days not a single person joined the prince, deterred from so doing by the remembrance of the numerous executions that succeeded Monmouth's rebellion. In process of time, however, a croud of English noblemen and officers hastened to join him, and there appeared daily incontestible proofs of his subjects' aversion to the principles which had governed the unfortunate James II. as well as his immediate predecessors.

Distracted and perplexed at these alarming events, the king determined to command his army in person, and after recommending the city of London to the care of the lord mayor, he set out for Salisbury, where he arrived on the nineteenth of November, and was complimented by his officers, who expressed their attachment to him in the warmest terms, and their indignation at the desertion of lord Cornbury, who had revolted to the prince of Orange, with the greatest part of four regiments. Notwithstanding these assurances, he was exposed to the most uneasy reflections; he saw all his schemes blasted, his friends falling off, and his family in danger of immediate ruin. He was even abandoned by his own daughter, Anne, princess of Denmark, who escaped privately from Whitehall, accompanied by the bishop of London to Nottingham, from whence she repaired to Oxford, where she was joined by her husband. When the king found himself deserted by a virtuous child, he burst into a flood of tears at the unexpected event, and pathetically exclaimed, "God help me, in the extremity of my grief, my own children have forsaken me."

Every thing now seemed to threaten the most fatal consequences to James. The town of Newcastle admitted lord Lumley, and declared for the prince of Orange, and a free parliament. The duke of Norfolk espoused the same cause. The prince's declaration was read in Oxford by the duke of Ormond, and heartily approved by that university, who likewise complimented the prince with an offer of their plate. A very violent declaration was dispersed in the prince's name, but not with his consent, in which every one was commanded to apprehend and punish all papists, who, contrary to law, presumed either to carry arms, or exert any civil authority.

Thus distressed on every side, without either friend or counsellor, James proposed to call a free parliament, and the lord chancellor was accordingly directed to issue writs for that purpose. It was also agreed to send commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange, in consequence of which the king appointed



ed deputies, who delivered to the prince their masters' proposals in writing. These were, that the settlement of the nation should be left to the decision of a free parliament, which had been convoked; and that, in the mean time, the two armies should be kept at an equal distance from London. The prince, on the other hand, proposed, that all papists should be disarmed, and dispossessed of the employments they enjoyed; that all proclamations against himself should be re-called; and if any persons had been imprisoned, on account of their attachment to him, they should be instantly set at liberty; that for the greater security of the city, the government of the Tower should be committed to the lord mayor; that if the king should think proper to reside in London during the session of parliament, the prince should likewise reside in the same place with an equal number of guards, or that he and the king should reside at an equal distance from London; that the two armies should be removed thirty miles from the city; that no other forces should be brought into the kingdom; that Tilbury fort should be put into the hands of the city magistrates; that in order to prevent an invasion from abroad, the fortress of Portsmouth should be intrusted to the charge of some person equally agreeable to the king and prince; and that his serene highness's army should be supported out of the public revenue till the meeting of the parliament.

The critical situation of James induced him to admit of these proposals as moderate and candid, repugnant as they must have been to his real principles and disposition. At length he assembled the noblemen who were in London, in order to deliberate on the then state of affairs, and addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, (whose son the lord Russell he had caused to be beheaded in the late reign) "My lord, (said he) you are honest men, have great influence, and can do me signal service." Alas! replied the earl, "I am a feeble old man, incapable of performing any considerable services; but I had a son (he added with a sigh) who, if now alive, could serve your majesty in a more effectual manner." James was so struck with this answer, that he remained for some time speechless.

Alarmed every moment with fresh proofs of general disaffection, agitated by indignation and despair, and impelled by fear for his own safety, as well as that of his adherents, James precipitately embraced, at the instance of some attendants about his person, a resolution of withdrawing to France, and accordingly sent off before hand the queen and infant prince, under the conduct of count Lazun an old favourite of the French monarch. James disappeared in the night, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, and privately hastened to a ship which waited for him near the mouth of the river.

It is impossible to describe the consternation of the citizens, the court, and, indeed, the whole nation, at the king's flight; and the more to increase the confusion, James had not named any person who should direct the helm of government during his absence. He threw the great seal into the river Thames, but it was soon after found by a fisherman, who, carrying it to the lord-chancellor, he handsomely rewarded him for his trouble.

In consequence of this confused state of public

affairs, the populace of London assembled and pulled down the mass-houses, nor did the houses of the foreign ambassadors escape their fury, from a notion that many opulent catholics had deposited in them their most valuable effects. Jefferies the chancellor, who had disguised himself in the character of a sailor, in order to facilitate his escape, was discovered, seized by the mob, and treated with such severity, that he died in a short time after.

Amidst this scene of riot and confusion, news suddenly arrived that his majesty had been apprehended by the populace at Feversham, while he was making his escape in disguise; that he had been very ill treated, till he was known; but the gentry had then interposed and secured him from insult, though they would by no means consent to his leaving the kingdom. This intelligence threw all parties into confusion. The prince sent orders to the king, commanding him to approach no nearer than Rochester; but the message arrived too late. He had already returned to London, attended by a detachment of the guards, and some noblemen sent down by the peers to escort him.

Little attention, however, was paid the king during his residence at Whitehall by any person of distinction; it was therefore evident that his authority was ceased, and as he had exercised his power while possessed of it with despotic sway, he relinquished it with pusillanimous despair. Having sent lord Feversham on a message to the prince, desiring a conference for settling the affairs of the nation, that nobleman was arrested under pretext of his wanting a passport; the Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where the king then resided, and to turn out the English; and Hallifax, Shrewsbury and Dalamere were sent by the prince at midnight, to acquaint the king, that it would be proper for him to retire to Ham-house, near Richmond. He begged permission, which he easily obtained, to withdraw to Rochester, which circumstance plainly proved that the king, terrified by this harsh treatment, had renewed his former resolution of leaving the kingdom.

Though he did not intend to return to Whitehall, he continued some days at Rochester under the protection of a Dutch guard, as if hoping he might yet receive an invitation to take possession of the throne; but observing that the clergy, the nobility, the gentry, and indeed the whole nation concurred in forsaking him, he yielded to his melancholy fate; and being pressed by frequent letters from his queen, privately embarked in a frigate he had bespoke, and arrived at Ambleteuse in Picardy, from whence he repaired to St. Germain. Lewis gave him an hospitable reception; a conduct, which does some honour to his generosity, though a very inadequate return for those signal services, which himself had received from that family, who, for a number of years, had been gradually sacrificing their own interest and happiness to their attachment to the French nation.

This was the last act of a prince whose reign might have been happy and prosperous, had not his bigotry, added to arbitrary principles, hurried him into measures obnoxious to his subjects, and precipitated him into disgrace and perpetual exile. Indeed the fate of the Stuart family lives upon record, as a warning to all succeeding sovereigns of these realms.



## I N T E R - R E G N U M.

*Peers address the prince of Orange. Proclamation in favour of the Protestants. Commotions in Ireland. Debates in the convention. William and Mary proclaimed king and queen of England.*

A. D. 1688. JAMES the second had no sooner abdicated the throne and retired to the continent, than the peers, as possessed of the hereditary jurisdiction of the kingdom, came to a resolution of acting as guardians of the public, and immediately presented an address to the prince of Orange, requesting him to take the administration of government into his hands, that he would manage the revenue, and regulate the affairs of Ireland, till the states of the kingdom could be convened; and in a second address, they begged him to send orders to those places which had a right of electing members, to chuse, within ten days, representatives who might act as a parliament in settling the public affairs. But this measure being destructive of all the principles of liberty, was prudently rejected by the prince, who, depending on the favourable dispositions of a people that regarded him as their deliverer, was desirous that the laws should dispose of the government. Accordingly having summoned all the members who had served in any of the parliaments during the reign of Charles II. together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, they assembled at the appointed time, and adjourned to the house of commons, where, after some debates upon the authority by which they had been convened, they drew up and presented an address to the prince, desiring he would summon the convention to meet on the twenty-second of January, and in the mean time take charge of the government.

Thus invested with regal power, William commanded Barillon, the French ambassador, to leave the kingdom. He likewise issued a proclamation, authorizing all protestants, who had public employments to continue in the exercise of them till the meeting of the convention, dismissed all the catholic officers from the army, and at the desire of the queen dowager, released the earl of Feversham.

A. D. 1689. The abdication of James produced many changes in the affairs of Scotland as well as England; for no sooner did the news of that event reach Edinburgh, than the chancellor of the kingdom resigned the great seal and abandoned that metropolis. The populace grew outrageous, and insulted not only the catholics, but the favourers of episcopacy. They demolished chapels, and plundered houses, so that the bishops were obliged to have recourse to flight, while many noblemen and others repaired to London, to observe the progress of the prince, and conform themselves to the conduct of the English nation.

With regard to Scotland the prince pursued the most moderate and prudent conduct. He summoned an assembly at St. James's, composed of about thirty noblemen and eighty gentlemen of that kingdom, whose advice he requested in the then state of affairs. From thence they repaired to Whitehall, where they deliberated on the answer they should make to the prince of Orange; at

length, it was unanimously agreed, that the prince should assume the reins of government in Scotland, and convoke the states of that kingdom for the fourteenth day of March, and this resolution was received by the prince with the same modesty and candour, as that presented to him by the English convention.

In the mean time commotions were raised in Ireland, abetted by the earl of Tyrconnel, who commanded an army composed of papists, so that the prince wrote a letter to that nobleman, requiring him to submit to the regulations that should be made in England. Colonel Hamilton undertook to deliver this letter, and enforce it in such a manner, that the earl should be induced to submit; but instead of performing his promise, he encouraged him to set the prince at defiance.

When the convention met according to summons, and each house had chosen their respective speaker, the prince caused a letter to be presented to the following effect: that he had complied with their desires in re-establishing the peace and public safety of the kingdom, and now it was their business to secure their religion, laws, and liberties upon a certain foundation. He observed, that the situation of the protestants in Ireland required their immediate notice; that as a delay would be fatal to their foreign connections, he persuaded himself, that besides the obligation of treaties, they would be ready to assist the Dutch as protestants and friends, who had expressed such ardour for the preservation of the English constitution. The two houses immediately presented an address to the prince, in which they acknowledged, that under God, the nation was indebted to him for its deliverance. They approved of his administration, engaged to pay all possible respect to his letters, and requested him to continue in the management of affairs, till they had occasion to address him again.

The most important questions that came before the house of commons were, first, whether there was an original compact between the king and the people; and secondly, whether king James had broke that original compact? Both these, after a slight opposition, were carried in the affirmative. The lords then proceeded to take into consideration the word "abdicated," and it was carried that "deserted" was more proper. The concluding question with them was, "Whether supposing king James had violated the original contract between him and his people, and abandoned the government, the throne was thereby become vacant?" This question was debated with more warmth than any of the former, and upon a division, the Tories prevailed by eleven voices. Some of the Whig party then moved, that supposing king James virtually dead, they should acknowledge the prince and princess of Orange king and queen of England; but this proposal was rejected by a small majority. After much debate, the house of peers concurred with the vote of the commons, "That king James had abdicated the govern-





*Four Portraits of a DUKE, a MARQUIS, an EARL, and a BARON,  
in their Parliamentary Robes.*





*Engraved for* RAYMOND'S *History of England,* 2.



"government, and thereby the throne was become vacant."

During these transactions the conduct of the prince of Orange was highly meritorious. He entered into no intrigues with the leaders of parties, nor took any measures to influence an individual in his favour; but at length, sending for the marquis of Halifax, the earls of Danby, Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen, he told them he had hitherto kept silence, that he might not interrupt their deliberations. He said, he knew some persons were inclined to a regency, to which he had no objection; but, for his own part, he could not undertake the office. Others, he observed, were desirous of raising the princess to the throne, and that he should reign by courtesy. He declared a profound esteem for the princess, but objected to holding a crown dependent on any woman upon earth, nor would he have any share in the government, unless invested with it for life; nevertheless, if they disapproved of his resolution, he would give them no opposition, but return to Holland, without interfering further in their affairs, but

would agree to prefer the right of the children of the princess Anne to the throne, to any he might have by a second marriage, provided he was invested with the sovereignty for life.

The princess herself seconded these views of her husband; the princess Anne also concurred in the same plan, and at length both houses voted that the prince and princess should reign jointly as king and queen of England; and that the administration should be in the hands of the prince alone. On the twelfth day of February the princess of Orange arrived in London, next day the lords and commons went in a body to the banquetting house, where the prince and princess sat in state; and the declaration of Rights being read, the marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the upper house, made a solemn tender of the crown to them in the name of the peers and commons of England. The offer was accepted in the most obliging manner by their highnesses, and the same day they were proclaimed by the name of William and Mary, king and queen of England.

## B O O K XIV.

### From the Revolution, to the Death of Queen ANNE.

#### C H A P. I.

### W I L L I A M III. and M A R Y II.

*Accession of William and Mary. Parliament restored. Coronation of the king and queen. Civil list established. War declared against France. William acknowledged in Scotland. Conduct of James in Ireland. Siege of Londonderry. Signal valour of the inhabitants of Londonderry and Inniskilling. Affairs on the continent. Factions in the English parliament. Bill of rights. William goes over to Ireland. Battle of the Boyne. The French obtain a victory over the combined fleets of England and Holland. Further affairs of the continent. Reduction of Ireland. Parliamentary debates. Battle of La Hogue. Campaign in Flanders. William defeated at the battle of Landen. Sequel of the war. Triennial Parliament. Death of the queen. Taking of Namur. New parliament. Act respecting high treason. Conspiracy against king William, discovered. Treaty of Ryswick. Commons oppose a standing army. Society for the reformation of manners. Partition treaty. Dutch guards dismissed. Affairs of the Scottish company. Disagreement between the king and parliament. Act to limit the succession. Right of the house of Hanover. Partition treaty censured by parliament. League against Lewis XIV. who acknowledges the son of James II. king of England. The commons enter into the king's measures. Death and character of king William the III.*

A. D. 1689. **O**N the accession of William III. and his royal consort the princess Mary to the throne of England, the constitution revived, and the contests between prerogative and privilege, which had distracted former reigns, seemed entirely to subside.

The first popular act of this auspicious prince, was a proclamation, continuing all protestants in the offices which they had for some time enjoyed before his accession. The king then chose the members of his council, and appointed the officers of state. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were constituted secretaries of state; the privy seal was bestowed on the marquis of Halifax, and the earl of Danby was created president of the council. These two noblemen enjoyed the king's confidence; and Nottingham was considered as the head of the church

party; but the chief favourite was Bentinck, first commissioner on the list of privy counsellors as well as groom of the stole and privy purse. D'Auverquerque was made master of the horse; Zuylenstein of the robes, and Scomberg of the ordinance: the treasury, admiralty and chancery were put in commission; twelve able judges were chosen, and Dr. Burnet, one of the authors of the glorious revolution, obtained the see of Salisbury. Having taken refuge in Holland under the last reign, he had employed his pen and council in the interest of the Stadtholder, who was therefore greatly attached to that eminent divine.

As it appeared necessary either to assemble a parliament, or to give that title to the convention; it was determined, that rather than hazard a new election, the king should change the convention into a parliament, by going to the house of peers,



*Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.*



*Born*  
*April 30. 1662.*

*Crowned*  
*April 11. 1689.*

*Died*  
*December 28. 1694.*



with the usual state of a sovereign, and pronouncing a speech from the throne to both houses. This expedient was accordingly practised, and in a few days the king opened the session of parliament with a most gracious speech, in which he thanked them for the great confidence they had reposed in him by choosing him their sovereign; assured them it should be his study to preserve their good opinion; laid before them the critical situation of affairs in Europe, and particularly in his realms; and concluded with earnestly requesting them to concur in the most speedy and effectual measures for the welfare of the nation.

On the eleventh of April, the king and queen were solemnly crowned by the bishop of London, at his desire, the archbishop of Canterbury being of the disaffected party. Next day the commons waited on their majesties at Whitehall, with a congratulatory address; and William, in order to conciliate the esteem of his new subjects, signified, in a solemn message to the house, his readiness to acquiesce in any measure they should think proper to take for a new regulation, or total suppression of the hearth money; and this tax was afterwards abolished. He received on this occasion an address of thanks from the commons couched in the warmest expressions of duty, gratitude and affection, and declaring that they would take such measures in support of his crown, as would convince the world, that he reigned in the hearts of his people.

In consequence of their attachment to the king's person and government, he obtained supplies both to reimburse the Dutch, who had expended an immense sum on his late expedition, and also to equip a powerful armament. But he perceived with concern, that the commons, by setting bounds to their liberality, were resolved to limit his power, as well as that of his predecessors.

One of the most important and worthy objects of parliamentary attention, was the civil list revenue. Under the late reigns, the revenues assigned to this purpose had been entirely at the disposal of the sovereign; it was therefore now resolved, that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity; and the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of parliament. The commons have ever since applied certain sums to particular services, and the accounts have been submitted to the examination of both houses.

This unprecedented measure was by no means agreeable to a prince of William's liberal and refined sentiments. The Tories did not fail to foment his jealousy against their adversaries; which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the whigs, in relation to a militia. The tories had, through the communication of Nottingham, made offers of service to his majesty, but complained, at the same time, that as they were in danger both with respect to their lives and fortunes, they could take no steps in favour of the crown, without an act of indemnity.

The king, in consequence of this representation, sent a message to the house, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means of putting an end to all controversies, distinctions, and sources of discord. He desired it might be drawn up with all convenient expedition, and with such exceptions only as should appear necessary for the maintenance of public justice, the safety of him and his consort, and the settlement and welfare of the na-

tion. But the whigs proceeded so slow in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the session.

William, who was equal to most princes in political abilities, and well knew the genius of the people he was to govern, determined, as the most effectual means of preserving peace at home, to find his subjects employment abroad. The grand scheme he had formed when only Stadholder, of a confederacy against France, began about this time to take effect. The princes of the empire importuned the emperor Leopold to declare war against the French king, who had not only violated several treaties entered into with them, but indicated a design of ruling all Europe. The king of England found no difficulty in persuading his subjects to unsheath the sword against their old enemies and rivals; for on the sixteenth of August, the commons unanimously resolved, that they were ready to support his majesty in his most vigorous measures if he chose to undertake a war.

Thus encouraged by parliament, the king declared war against France on the seventh of May. It was urged as a plea for their conduct, that Lewis had encroached on the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee islands, and Hudson's bay, made captures on the English at sea, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on account of religion, and sent an armament to Ireland in support of the rebels in that kingdom, and in violation of the law of nations.

The kingdom of Scotland was at this time distracted by the rage of faction and party. The convention was appointed for the fourteenth of March, and both parties employed all their interest to influence the election of members. The duke of Hamilton, and all the presbyterians, declared for William; the duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master, but as he neglected to lay in a store of provisions, he depended entirely on the citizens for subsistence. The partizans of James were headed by the earl of Balcarras, and Graham, viscount Dundee, who exerted their utmost efforts to preserve union; confirm the duke of Gordon, who began to waver, in his attachment to their sovereign; and concert measures in such a manner, that the proceedings of the ensuing session might be productive of some benefit to their cause.

The earls of Lothian and Tweeddale were sent as deputies, to require the duke of Gordon, in the name of the states, to quit the castle in four and twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the protestant officer next in command.

Notwithstanding the natural timidity of the duke, lord Dundee prevailed, on him to demand such terms, as the convention would not grant. The negotiation proved ineffectual; the states ordered the heralds to summon him to surrender the castle immediately, on pain of incurring the penalties of high treason, and he, on refusal, was proclaimed a traitor. All persons were forbid, under the same penalties, to aid, succour, or correspond with him; and the castle was blocked up by the troops of the city. On the next day, one Crane, a domestic of the abdicated queen, brought a letter from James, and at the same time, an express arrived with another from king William, to the states of Scotland. William observed, that he had called a meeting of their states, at the desire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland assembled in London; who requested that he would take on himself the administration of their affairs. He exhorted



horted them to concert measures for settling the peace of the kingdom upon a solid foundation; and to lay aside animosities and factions, which served but to prevent their harmony and settlement. He promised them his best endeavours to promote an union between the two kingdoms, of which he professed to have the highest opinion.

King William's letter was universally approved by the states, as appeared from their appointing a committee to draw up a dutiful and affectionate reply. A debate then ensued about the letter from the late king, which they resolved to favour with a reading, after the members should have subscribed an act, declaring, that notwithstanding any thing that might be contained in the letter, for dissolving the convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the states; and would continue undissolved, until they should have settled and secured the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom.

Having adapted this necessary measure for the security of their civil and religious liberties; they proceeded to the reading of James's letter, who conjured them to support his interest as faithful subjects. He promised to afford them such powerful assistance as would enable them to defend themselves from any foreign attempt; and even assert his right against those enemies, who had loaded him with calumny and the vilest aspersions. He offered to pardon all those, who should return to their duty before the last day of the month, and threatened to punish vigorously such as should stand out in rebellion against him and his authority.

But such was the low estimation in which James was generally held, that his messenger was ordered into custody, and afterwards dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. After some debate, the convention dispatched lord Ross with an answer to king William's letter, professing their gratitude to their deliverer; congratulating him upon his success; thanking him for assuming the administration of their affairs; declaring they would take effectual and speedy methods for securing the protestant religion, as well as for establishing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom; assuring him they would studiously avoid animosities and contentions, and desiring the continuance of his majesty's care and protection.

The states then peremptorily declared, "that James being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom; and altered it from a legal monarchy to an arbitrary, despotic power; and had governed the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, subverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forfeited the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." They forbid his being acknowledged or assisted, proclaimed king William and queen Mary, and sent commissioners to present to them the act which established their authority, proposing at the same time the form of an oath, confirming, among other articles, a promise of destroying heresy. William hesitated at taking the oaths, from a plea of aversion to persecution; till the commissioners assuring his majesty that this was not their meaning, on that declaration he accepted the crown of Scotland.

The duke of Gordon still held the castle of Edinburgh, which was blockaded by the troops in the town. A regular siege reduced them to extremity, so that the general was at length obliged to capitulate. Lord Dundee, however, still zealous in the cause of James; and refusing to obey the citation of the states; was declared a fugitive; outlaw and rebel; and parties were immediately sent out in pursuit of him and Balcarrias. The latter falling into the hands of the pursuers, was committed to a common prison; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that surrounded him; and escaped to the Highlands; where having raised a considerable body of men, he soon returned at their head; attacked the regulars with an heroic ardour, defeated them on the first charge and might have gained a complete victory; had not a random shot extended him on the plain. The rebels by degrees lost their courage. Defeats destroyed their hopes; and they laid down their arms in order to obtain the indemnity offered them. James, however, did not abandon all hopes of being one day able to re-ascend the throne of his ancestors. The French king promised to assist him in the recovery of his crown, and in the mean time, supported him and his household in a proper manner at the castle of St. Germain. But James gave the strongest proofs of pusillanimity, bigotry, and superstition. Ever surrounded by jesuits, and unmindful of his own situation and affairs, he incurred the contempt of the French, insomuch that the archbishop of Rheims seeing him come from mass, said with a sneer, "There goes a pious gentleman; who has sacrificed three crowns for a mass."

Ireland was far from imitating the example of England and Scotland, in acknowledging the title of William to the crown. Tyrconnel, who commanded in that kingdom; was firmly attached to the interest of James; but he thought proper to temporize with William; until he should receive reinforcements from France; which he earnestly solicited by letter.

An army consisting of five thousand French forces, was embarked on board the fleet then lying at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, six frigates, and a proper number of transports. Lewis supplied him with arms, equipage, provisions, money, and every thing necessary for camp and household. At parting he embraced him with great affection, making use of this remarkable expression, "Farewell brother, the best thing I can wish you, is, that I may never see you again."

After a passage of eight days, James arrived at Kinsale, whence he repaired, in a short time, to Cork, where he was received by the earl of Tyrconnel, who had collected an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse for his service.

Having refreshed his forces he proceeded to Dublin, and entered that city in triumph. The popish bishops and clergy in general received him with the utmost solemnity; the people partook of their zeal, and welcomed the sovereign with the loudest acclamations. On the second day after his arrival, he issued five proclamations; the first seemingly in favour of the protestants, who had abandoned the kingdom; requiring them to return immediately on promise of his protection, and likewise commanding all persons to join him against the prince of Orange. In the second he returned his grateful acknowledgments to his catholic subjects for their vigilance and attachment, and enjoined such as were not actually in his service



vice to retain and lay up their arms until it should be found necessary to employ them for his advantage. The third contained an invitation to the subjects to supply his army with provisions. By the fourth he raised the value of coin; and by the fifth summoned a parliament to meet on the seventh day of May at Dublin. And lord Tyrconnel, for his great services, was created a duke.

These flattering prospects of success was followed by a sad and fatal reverse. Alarmed at the report of a general massacre of the protestants, the inhabitants of Londonderry shut their gates and made a gallant defence. They sent to England for assistance, and were accordingly supplied with more arms and ammunition, but did not receive any considerable reinforcements till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time James had reduced Colerain, invested Killmore, and was almost in sight of Londonderry. A protestant clergyman, named Walker, served the besieged as commandant, and animated them with that ardent zeal for religion and liberty, which braves death. He maintained his post at the long causeway a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy, until, overpowered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the field, and come to a general engagement. Lundy called a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted, and it was resolved, that, as they imagined they could not hold the place, the regiments should not be landed; but that the chief officers should retire from the town, whereby they thought the inhabitants would secure better terms.

In consequence of this resolve, a messenger was dispatched to James with proposals for opening a negotiation, and lieutenant general Hamilton, who commanded in that prince's service, undertook, that the army should not, during the continuance of the treaty, advance nearer than within four miles of the city. But James, disregarding the promises made by his general, was advancing, at the head of his troops, to the town walls. The inhabitants and soldiers in the place were so exasperated at the cowardice of their governor Lundy, and the two colonels Cunningham and Richards, that with difficulty they escaped their immediate vengeance. Lundy retired in disguise to Scotland, but was soon apprehended, conveyed to London, and ignominiously dismissed the service.

James, being obliged to be present at the meeting of the parliament in Dublin, left the command of the army to the marquis de Rosene, a man of a most haughty and cruel disposition, who, incensed at the resistance he met with from the garrison, threatened to reduce the town to ashes, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, unless they would immediately submit at discretion. The governor treated his menaces with contempt, and published an order, forbidding any person, on pain of death, to talk of a surrender. They had now consumed the last remains of their provisions, and supported life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, and salted hides, and even this loathsome food began to fail. Rosene, finding them altogether inflexible, threatened that he would starve all the protestants of the country, by driving them to perish under the walls of Londonderry.

This resolution was executed with the most brutal rigour. Upwards of four thousand protestants, almost expiring with famine and cold, were ex-

posed to the view of the besieged; but the horrid sight had a very different effect upon the garrison, from what Rosene expected. They felt the deepest compassion for the distresses of their brethren; but their compassion was mingled with indignation against the perpetrators of so infernal an action, and such apprehensions of their own fate, if they should fall into his hands, that they unanimously determined to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian.

Concluding themselves exempt from obligation to observe the articles of war, they erected a gibbet in sight of the enemy, and sent a message to the French general, importing, that they would hang all the prisoners they had taken during the siege, unless the protestants were immediately dismissed. Convinced by their general behaviour that they would carry their threats into execution, Rosene ordered the protestants to be released, after they had been detained three days without any kind of food. Some hundreds died of famine and fatigue, and those who lived to return to their own habitations found them plundered and sacked; so that the greater number perished with hunger, or were massacred by straggling parties of the enemy. It is said, that James was requested by the bishop of Meath to countermand this order, but without effect.

The intrepid garrison of Londonderry was reduced from seven thousand to five thousand five hundred men, and those were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of preying upon each other. In this emergency, Kirke ordered two ships laden with provisions to sail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of these broke the enemy's boom, with which they blocked up the channel, and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from the enemy's cannon, arrived in safety before the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants.

The army of James despairing now of succeeding in their enterprize, raised the siege that very night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men in the attempt. On the day preceding the relief of Londonderry, the brave Inniskillingers advanced with a handful of men, and at a place called Newton-Butler, defeated six thousand of James party.

Mean while the Irish parliament met at Dublin, pursuant to James's proclamation, and was opened by that prince with a speech from the throne, in which he thanked them for their zeal and loyalty; extolled the generosity of the French king, who had enabled him to visit them in person; insisting upon executing his design of establishing liberty of conscience, as the most effectual means of promoting the happiness and welfare of his people; and promised to contribute to the public peace, by his concurrence to such laws as they should enact for that purpose.

He had no sooner left the house, than an address of thanks was voted to his majesty, and a bill introduced to recognize his title, and express their abhorrence of the usurpation by the prince of Orange, as well as the defection of the English. Next day James published a declaration, complaining of the calumnies his enemies had spread to his prejudice, insisting on his great attention to the preservation of his protestant subjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redressing their grievances, and granting liberty of conscience; promising that he would take no step but with the approbation of parliament; offering a free pardon to



to all persons who should desert his enemies, and join him in four and twenty days after his landing in Ireland, and charging all the blood that might be shed upon those who should continue in rebellion. But James soon gave a convincing proof that these promises were never intended to be kept any longer than they answered his convenience; for, two days after, a bill was brought into the house of commons for repealing the act of settlement; by which two thirds of the protestants in the kingdom, who held their fortunes by virtue of that act, were dispossessed of their estates, whilst papists seized on all their properties.

At the same time, an act of attainder was passed against all those who were absent from the kingdom, refused to acknowledge the authority of king James, or had any ways assisted the prince of Orange since the first of August last. By this act no less than three thousand protestants were attainted by name, among whom were two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, twenty-eight viscounts, seven bishops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergy, all of whom were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer forfeiture and the pain of death.

During these transactions, Lewis the fourteenth, notwithstanding the alliances formed against him, pursued his ambitious schemes with great rapidity. King William had engaged in a new league with the states general, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was stipulated, that if the king of Great Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should assist him with six thousand infantry, and twenty ships of war.

In consequence of this treaty, the earl of Marlborough was sent over with ten thousand British auxiliaries to join the allied army, which he effected; and at length a smart engagement ensuing, the French, after an obstinate resistance, were put to the rout.

On the meeting of the parliament in the month of October, the king set forth the necessity of a present supply to carry on the war, and desired that they might be speedy in their determinations on this subject; as these would in a great measure influence the deliberations of the princes and states concerned in a war against France, at a general meeting appointed to be held the following month at the Hague. The houses were then prorogued for four days, when they met again, and the commons taking his majesty's speech into consideration, unanimously resolved to assist him in reducing Ireland; and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France, for which purposes they voted a subsidy of two millions.

Several motions with regard to grievances having been made in the lower house, and many instances of miscarriage and mismanagement in Ireland produced, they resolved upon a subsequent address, to explain the ill conduct and success of the army and navy; to desire his majesty would find out the authors of these miscarriages, and for the future commit the guidance of affairs to unsuspected persons. By this opposition, which originated from the whig party, they lost much of the king's favour, and he discovered great propensity to abet the Tories, especially as they made him most pompous promises of supplies and an assiduous attention to his will and pleasure, provided he would dissolve the then parliament, and call a new one. At length, however, he was so harassed between

the two factions, that he resolved to leave the government in the queen's hands and retire to Holland. But being dissuaded from this resolution by the remonstrances of several noblemen to whom he had communicated it, he determined to go over to Ireland in person to finish the war in that kingdom. This design was far from being agreeable to the parliament, his friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak constitution; both houses, therefore, began to prepare an address against this expedition. To prevent this remonstrance, the king went to the house of peers, and there formally signified his resolution. After this speech, they were prorogued to the second day of April, and on the sixth of February they were dissolved by proclamation, and a new parliament summoned to meet on the twentieth of March. During this session of parliament, the bill of rights was passed into a law, together with the act of settlement.

A. D. 1690. The new parliament met according to the time appointed, and the king opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he gave them to understand that he still persisted in his resolution of going in person to Ireland; desired they would settle the revenue, or establish it as a fund of credit, upon which the necessary sums for the public service might be immediately advanced: he signified his intention of sending to them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might demonstrate his readiness to extend his protection to all his subjects, and leave no excuse for raising disturbances in his absence, as he knew how busy some ill affected men were in their endeavours to alter the established government. He recommended an union with Scotland, the parliament of which had appointed commissioners for that purpose; he told them that he should leave the administration in the hands of the queen, and desired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: he exhorted them, for the sake of dispatch, to avoid debates, and hoped that if any business now remained unfinished, they would speedily settle it.

The parliament, sensible of the king's desire to embark for Ireland, dispatched business with the greatest facility, and the royal assent being given to several bills, and among the rest, that for investing the queen with the administration of government, during the king's absence, his majesty put an end to the session by a short speech from the throne.

The necessary preparations being made, the king embarked on the 4th of June, and landed on the fourteenth at Carrickfergus attended by prince George of Denmark, and other persons of distinction. From thence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, major-general Kirke, and other principal officers.

After refreshing his troops a few days at Belfast, William marched to Lisburne, where the duke of Schomberg had fixed his head quarters, ordering his whole army to encamp at Loughbrillen, where upon a review, he found they amounted to thirty-six thousand effective men, well armed and accoutred.

James was no sooner apprized of the arrival of William, than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia, and with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry which he had received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which almost equalled William's in number. He was very advantageously



vantageously posted, and, contrary to the advice of his generals, determined to hazard a battle. They proposed to strengthen their garrisons, retire to the Shannon, and wait the issue of the operations. They reminded him, that Lewis had promised to fit out a powerful armament against the English fleet, and to send over a great number of frigates, to destroy the English transports, as soon as their convoy had returned to England. But James, determined to decide the contest by a general battle, refused these salutary counsels, and made the necessary preparations for a vigorous engagement.

William was equally prepared to receive him, but thought proper before the battle began to reconnoitre the enemy. Accordingly he advanced to the opposite side of the river Boyne, where being singled out by the enemy, they planted two field pieces against his person. The first shot killed a man and two horses close by his side, and the second rebounding from the earth grazed his right shoulder, and produced a considerable confusion. The enemy, observing some confusion among his attendants, concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. The whole camp resounded with acclamations, and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they intended to pass it immediately, and attack the English army. The report soon reached Dublin; from whence it was carried to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to express their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

As soon as the slight wound he had received was dressed, the king returned to shew himself to his army in order to quiet their apprehensions. In the evening he called a council of war, and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed this design, but finding the king determined, he proposed, that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slanebridge, and take post between the enemy and Duleck, in order to cut off their retreat. This council being rejected, it was resolved, that early in the morning, lieutenant general Douglas, with the right wing of the infantry, and young Schomberg with the horse, should pass at Slanebridge, while the main body of foot should force their passage at Oldbridge, and the less, at certain fords, between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. Every thing being properly disposed for the attack in the morning, the king after riding through the different ranks of his army, retired to his tent.

About six the next morning, being the first of July, general Douglas, with young Schomberg, and the earl of Portland, marched to Slanebridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. On gaining the opposite bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable number of horse and foot, with a morass in their front; so that Douglas was forced to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the foot advanced to the charge through the morass, while young Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, wheeled about, and retreated with precipitation towards Duleck; notwithstanding which, Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did considerable execution. In the mean time king William's main body, composed of the Dutch guards, French refugees, and some battalions of the English, passed the river, which was breast

high, under a general discharge of artillery. They were faintly opposed by a body of musqueteers, who were posted behind some hedges; but these they soon repulsed, and several battalions landed: though before they could form, they were vigorously attacked by a squadron of the enemy's horse, and a strong body of their cavalry and foot, conducted by general Hamilton, advanced from behind an eminence to charge those who were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore. The infantry were routed on the first attack, but the cavalry advancing with great impetuosity, the dispute was, for some time very obstinate, till at length the Irish gave way, leaving their horse to sustain the whole fury of the combat.

Perceiving the furious attacks made by the enemy, and being informed that the French protestant refugees were without a commander, the duke of Schomberg instantly crossed the river, and heading those regiments, pointed to the enemy, saying, "Gentlemen, these are your persecutors." Hardly had he pronounced these words, when he sustained a violent onset from a party of king James's guards which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. The French refugees, mistaking them for a party of their own troops, suffered them to pass, when some of them riding up to the duke, surrounded him, and gave him two desperate wounds on the head. Perceiving their error, and eager to save their general, the French refugees made such an indiscreet fire, that they shot the duke dead upon the spot. The small part of the enemy's guard were immediately cut to pieces; but this was no recompence for the loss of a consummate general, who thus fell in the field of honor at the age of eighty-two, crowned with military glory.

The death of this gallant officer might have been attended with fatal consequences, had not king William arrived at the critical moment, and decided the action by obtaining a complete victory. Thus ended the famous battle of the Boyne, in which James was supposed to have sustained the loss of about fifteen hundred men, and William about one third of that number, which, considering the importance of the achievement, was very inconsiderable.

Historians in general, attribute the highest honour to king William for the extraordinary prowess he displayed on this memorable occasion. Even the Irish themselves are said to have declared, "that if the English would change kings with them, they would try the fortune of the day once more."

James, who had continued an inactive spectator of this scene in which he ought to have taken a principal part, was among the first who retired from the field. On his return to Dublin, he reproached the Irish with cowardice, signified his intention of quitting the kingdom, and after the necessary preparations, embarked for France.

The protestants, who had now assumed the government of the city of Dublin, dispatched a petition to king William, requesting him to honour the capital with his presence. The request was immediately complied with, and William entered the city in triumph, and repaired to the cathedral to return thanks to heaven for the victory.

During the absence of the king, the queen regent, though greatly embarrassed by the perpetual opposition of her councils, displayed the highest prudence, and exerted herself with uncommon spirit.



A French squadron of upwards of seventy sail, under the command of vice admiral Tourville, had defeated the combined fleets of England and Holland. Lord Torrington the English admiral incurred much disgrace by this action; however, after imprisonment, and being brought to trial, he was acquitted, though his judges were censured by the Dutch as having given a partial award.

The late naval defeat, however, did not hinder William from pursuing a war, which eventually fixed him on the throne. He published an act of indemnity in Dublin; but the Irish, animated by their catholic priests, paid little regard to it, and the success of the French fleet raised their spirits, and effaced every idea of submission. The king had returned to Dublin with a view of embarking for England; but being informed, that the designs of his domestic enemies were discovered and defeated, that the fleet was refitted, and the French retired to Brest, he altered his intention, postponing his voyage till he had finished the Irish war.

A considerable reinforcement of English troops, under the command of the earl of Marlborough, arrived in Ireland to invest the city of Cork; soon after which that general was joined by five thousand men, under the duke of Wirtemberg.

The trenches being opened, the batteries played with such fury, that a breach was soon effected, and the garrison having surrendered, on Marlborough's preparing for a general assault, he took possession, and then detached brigadier Villiers with a party of horse and dragoons, to summon the town and forts of Kinsale, and next advanced with the rest of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by storm; but Sir Edward Scot, who commanded the other, sustained a siege of ten days, and then capitulated on honourable terms. The earl of Marlborough, having accomplished this important enterprize in thirty days, returned with his prisoners to England. During these transactions the commander of the French forces in Ireland lay inactive near Galway, and sent so deplorable an account of his situation to the court of France, that transports were sent over to bring home the general and his forces. In these he embarked with his troops, and left the command of the Irish troops to the duke of Berwick. After the departure of the French general, the Irish formed themselves into separate bodies of free-booters, and plundered the country under the denomination of Rapparees, while the major part of William's troops retired to their respective quarters.

The king besieged Limerick in person, but the badness of the season, joined to the obstinate resistance of the garrison, and the slaughter of his men, induced him to quit his enterprize, and return to England.

Soon after his majesty's arrival, both houses of parliament presented separate addresses of congratulation on his successes in Ireland, and on the queen's wife and happy administration during his absence. The commons, in particular, assured him of their readiness to assist him to the utmost of their power, and, as a proof of their loyalty, voted him a supply of four millions, agreeable to an estimate of what would be wanted for the ensuing year.

A. D. 1691. Impatient of going to Holland, where the situation of affairs were of a critical nature,

the king came to the house, and having closed the session with a concise but pertinent speech from the throne, as well as adjusted the affairs of the nation, he embarked with a numerous retinue, under a convoy of twelve ships of the line commanded by admiral Rooke. Upon his arrival at the Hague, he received every testimony of regard and affection from the states-general, and every token of honour from the foreign ministers assembled in congress. On this important occasion, he signalized himself both as an orator and a warrior in exciting the allied powers to exert themselves with vigor against the efforts of Lewis, who had ambitiously meditated the subjection of all Europe. He promised them twenty thousand men for the first campaign, and sent powerful succours to the duke of Savoy, who had declared against France; but had the mortification, previous to his return, to see Mons fall into the hands of the enemy.

The king no sooner arrived in England, than he turned his attention to the plan of operations for the ensuing campaign in Ireland, where general Ginckle commanded, which being regulated, he returned to Holland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in person. The duke of Luxemburgh, with an army of forty thousand men, having passed the Scheld, took possession of Halle, and gave it up to plunder in sight of the confederates, who were obliged to throw up intrenchments for their preservation.

Such was the military skill of Luxemburgh, that William, at the head of a numerous army, could effect nothing of importance. In vain did he attempt, by divers stratagems, to bring them to an engagement; but the French marshal avoided it with such dexterity, as baffled all his endeavours. While the king lay encamped at Court-sur-heure, a foldier, corrupted by the enemy, set fire to the fuses of several bombs, by the explosion of which, the whole magazine might have been blown up, had not the mischief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery; these, even while the fuses were burning, drew out the waggons from the line, and tumbled them down the side of a hill, so that the communication was intercepted.

William, suspicious that this design was particularly levelled at him, or finding it impossible to elude the devices of Luxemburgh, who baffled all his attempts, transferred the command of the army to prince Waldec, and returned to the Hague, where he soon after embarked, and landed in England on the nineteenth day of October.

Whilst William remained with the allied army in the Low Countries, general Ginckle, aided by Mackay, a Scottish officer of rank, completed the reduction of Ireland. Athlone was carried by assault almost before the eyes of the Irish army. They were defeated at the decisive battle of Aughrim; and Tyrconnel, James's principal partizan, died with grief at the successes of the king's party.

The taking of Limerick filled up the measure of Ginckle's exploits, and his majesty determined to pay all possible regard to his continental connections, ordered that general at all events to finish the Irish war; whereupon hostages were exchanged, for the due execution of the following articles. The catholics were restored to the enjoyment of all their liberty in the exercise of their religion, which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. They were admitted to all the privileges of subjects, upon taking



king the oath of allegiance, without being compelled to that of supremacy, and passports were provided for those who chose to retire to France.

The protestants exclaimed against this treaty, but the necessity of it was obvious to the king's general, who was enjoined by his master to put a speedy end to the war. Notwithstanding the indemnity and liberty of conscience afforded by the tenour of the articles, twelve thousand Irish catholics chose rather to leave their native country, than submit to the government of king William. France was their asylum: there they were received with open arms, and gratified with thanks from James for their loyal attachment.

Ginckle was rewarded for his important services, with the title of earl of Athlone, and the thanks of the commons of England. The parliament congratulated William on his successes, and the queen on her prudent administration during his majesty's absence.

But notwithstanding these professions of loyalty and affection, a secret discontent prevailed too much throughout the kingdom. The malecontents insinuated to the people, that there was no necessity for maintaining a standing army; that instead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greatest part of the burthen, without the least share of profit. They animadverted on the king's partiality to the Dutch; his proud reserve; his imperious disposition, and particularly insisted that the earl of Marlborough's gallant behaviour in Ireland was ill requited by a dismissal from his employments. The commons, however, granted the king a liberal supply, so that the parliamentary disputes produced no effects essentially injurious to the state.

A. D. 1692. On the 24th of February his majesty closed the session of parliament with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the zeal and attachment they had shewn to his government, and the liberality and dispatch with which they had supplied the public necessities; acquainting them, at the same time, with his intention of repairing speedily to the continent.

King William having returned to Holland to direct the operations of the confederates, Lewis renewed his efforts to restore the exiled James to the throne of England. His emissaries and adherents were exceeding numerous, and laboured assiduously in his cause and interest. James published a declaration, strongly avowing an intended invasion, and other projected resolutions; notwithstanding which, the general animosity against him was much stronger than the murmurs against his rival.

Colonel Parker, with some other officers, enlisted men privately for the service of James, in the counties of York, Lancaster, and the bishopric of Durham; and at the same time Fountaine and Holman were employed in raising two regiments of horse at London, that they might join their master, who, by this time, had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army.

But the violent zeal of his agents betrayed their cause, for, having communicated the scheme to admiral Carter, on a supposition of his being disaffected to the house of Orange, he immediately divulged the important secret to the queen and council. The queen, being invested with the administration of public affairs in the king's absence, no sooner received this intelligence, than she issued a proclamation enjoining all papists to de-

part from London and Westminster; a second for assembling both houses of parliament, and a third for apprehending several persons on suspicion. The militia took arms, and admiral Russel, reinforced by the Dutch squadron, put to sea with ninety sail of the line under his command, assisted by Sir Ralph Delaval and admiral Carter.

Tourville the French admiral, though inferior in number, had positive orders to engage the enemy at all events, and therefore bore down along-side Russel's own ship, which he fought at a very small distance with great fury seven hours, when his rigging being greatly damaged, his ship, the *Rising Sun*, of an hundred and four guns, was towed out of the line in great disorder. The fleet, being at length separated by a thick fog, were compelled to lay by till it abated, when the admiral made the signal for chasing the enemy, who were discovered standing to the northward. Part of the blue squadron came up with them about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which, admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding his case desperate, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ship could swim, and expired with great composure. It must be acknowledged that the French fought valiantly on this occasion, and supported the honour of their nation; but their fleet was at length dispersed, and fourteen large ships were burnt in the road of La Hogue.

James, ready to put to sea, was an eye witness to this disaster, which affected Lewis with the deepest concern, as he had the utmost reason to apprehend an invasion of his dominions.

Sir John Ashby and Callemberg having received the admiral's orders to steer for Havre de Grace, with a view to destroy the remainder of the French fleet, Russel sailed back to St. Helens, that the damaged ships might be refitted and the fleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition. The bodies of admiral Carter and captain Hastings were interred with great pomp; medals were struck in honour of the action, and thirty thousand pounds distributed among the sailors, as proofs of the queen's approbation of their conduct.

An expedition was now projected against St. Maloe's, Rochfort and Brest, and accordingly seven thousand men were embarked under the command of the duke of Leinster; but through some neglect the whole scheme was laid aside, on a pretence of the season being too far advanced to carry it into execution. Lewis, therefore, withdrew his forces from the coast of Normandy, and James returned to St. Germain's, deprived of all hopes of effecting his restoration to the throne of England.

The French king was not a little elated by the success of his arms in the Low Countries. He took Namur, one of the strongest forts in Flanders. Luxemburg, who covered the siege, managed with such skill and ability, that William, at the head of a numerous army, could neither pass the river Meuse to attack the enemy which lay on the other side, nor relieve a place of such importance: so that the citadel being thus left exposed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withstand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by assault, and on the twentieth of May, the governor capitulated.

Luxemburg placed a strong garrison in Namur, pitched his camp in a very advantageous situation between Enghien and Steenkirk. Here William resolved to attack them, but the pass being much



much narrower than was imagined, his army was under a necessity of dividing, and began to move in two columns, on the twenty-fourth of July. The prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right wing of the enemy, at the head of the English, Danish, and Dutch infantry, and was supported by a considerable body of British horse and foot commanded by lieutenant general Mackay. Though the ground was intersected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, the prince marched with such diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with such impetuosity, that they were driven from their posts, and their whole camp was disordered. Luxemburg, however, put himself at the head of the rallied troops, and made so furious and desperate a resistance, that Wirtemberg, in danger of being over-powered by numbers, sent several messages to count Solmes, desiring a reinforcement, but that officer disregarded his request. At length, when the king sent an express order, commanding the Count to sustain the left wing, he made a motion with his horse, which could not act while his infantry kept their ground; and the British troops with a few Dutch and Danes sustained the heat of the battle. They fought with great resolution, and the event continued doubtful, until Boufflers rejoined the French army with a great body of Dragoons, which turned the fortune of the day.

The earl of Angus, general Mackay, and about three thousand officers and soldiers of the allied army, were left dead on the spot; a like number was wounded or taken, with many colours and standards, and several pieces of cannon. The French reaped no solid advantage from their victory, which cost them about three thousand men, with many officers of distinction. King William retired to his camp, and notwithstanding all his misfortunes, his genius and courage rendered him a formidable enemy to the French.

The elector of Bavaria having been appointed commander in chief, William embarked for England on the fifteenth of October, and the parliament meeting on the fourth of November, his majesty in his speech to both houses, thanked them for their last supplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained by sea; condoled with them on the bad success of the campaign by land, represented the power of the French, and the necessity of maintaining a great armament to oppose it, and demanded subsidies equal to the occasion. He intimated a design of making a descent up France; and declared that the happiness of his people was his sole aim, for which he would again willingly expose his life.

A strong party under the direction of the earl of Marlborough, was formed in the upper house, who began an enquiry into the commitment of the peers that had been lately sent to the Tower. They voted that the judges and those who had in their custody prisoners accused of treason, ought to conform to the act of *Habeas Corpus*, and admit them to bail, unless it was declared on oath that there were two witnesses against them, which could not yet be produced. But the king prevented the consequences of this affair, by ordering the prisoners to be discharged. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the journals, importing, that the house being informed of his majesty's having given orders for discharging the lords under bail in the King's bench, the debate about that matter had ceased. The resentment of

the peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his majesty's speech into consideration, and a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason was voted by the commons. They then presented addresses to the king and queen, congratulating them upon their deliverance from the wiles of their open and secret enemies, and assuring them that they would support government with their best advice and assistance. But previous to their voting any supplies, the commons insisted upon perusing the treaties, public accounts and estimates, that they might be in a condition to advise as well as assist his majesty. Some members exclaimed loudly against partiality to foreign generals; and particularly insisted on the misconduct of count Solmes, and his late behaviour in the battle of Steenkirk. After some warm altercation, they resolved, that his majesty should be petitioned, to bestow the chief command of the English forces upon an Englishman, and to fill such vacancies as should happen among the general officers, with such only as were natives of his dominions. They then voted two millions, to pay the subsidies to the electors of Hanover and Saxony, to defray the expences of the continental war, and for the subsistence of the land forces.

A. D. 1693. On the fourteenth of March, the king put an end to the session of parliament by a speech from the throne, and having settled the domestic affairs of the nation, embarked in a few days for Holland, where he arrived on the third of April. The war in Flanders was now carried on with great vigour. Luxemburg being informed of the great inferiority of the allied army, resolved to attack them in their camp, or at least to fall upon their rear, should they retreat at his approach. With this view he made a motion towards Liege, as if he intended to invest that place, and encamped at Heilistheim, about seven leagues from the allied army.

On the twenty ninth of July he began his march in four columns and passed the Sare without opposition. King William at first imagined that this motion was a feint to cover the design upon Liege, but hearing that the whole French army was advancing against him, he resolved to keep his ground, and immediately drew up his forces in order of battle. But his disposition appeared to Luxemburg so erroneous, that he exclaimed "Now I believe that Waldeck is dead," alluding to that general's known sagacity in chusing his ground for an engagement.

The French appeared on the high ground early the next morning, and soon after descended in great order into the plain, though the cannon of the allied army played on them very furiously. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden with great fury, and twice made themselves master of these posts, from whence they were as often repulsed. At length, the allies maintained their ground; and brigadier Churchill took the duke of Berwick prisoner.

The battle now increased and continued till near sun-set, when Luxemburg attacking the confederates at Landen, many of them were slain, and the rest compelled to retreat into the open plain. William who had signalized his valour during the fearing all would be lost, drew off his army, and retreated in as good order as so pressing a situation would admit. The French, however, sustained such loss in the engagement, that they either were not able, or did not think it prudent,



prudent, to pursue the confederates. The duke of Ormond was wounded in several places and taken prisoner, and the count of Solmes was mortally wounded.

Nothing remarkable happened during the remainder of this campaign, except the reduction of Charleroy, which, after being invested twenty-six days, surrendered on honourable terms.

The same ill fortune attended the English by sea this year, as the allies by land. Preparations had been made by the admiralty to protect commerce, and destroy the corsairs which infested the coasts. A fleet was fitted out to intercept the enemy's merchantmen in their outward bound passage, but they had failed before it could put to sea.

It having been intended to make a descent upon Brest, the fleet assembled at St. Helen's about the middle of May; but this design being laid aside, it was expected, that on the junction of the Dutch and English fleets, something of importance would be attempted; but the admirals were divided in opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any scheme of consequence. It was at length determined that Sir George Rooke should convoy the trade bound to the Mediterranean, but through unforeseen accidents the design failed, for they were surprized by a superior force of the enemy, and being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to submit, after sustaining the loss of nine and twenty merchantmen and an English man of war. The result was, the admiral bore away for the Madeiras, where, having supplied himself with wood, water, and other necessaries, he made for Ireland, and arrived at Cork with about fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels.

After the engagement, the French admiral stood away for Cadiz, but not succeeding in his attempts on that place, he bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands. They afterwards sailed along the coast of Spain, burnt some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga and Alicante, and at last returned to Toulon. The discontents arising from this misfortune were greatly increased by the failure of an expedition to the West Indies, which was committed to the care of Sir Francis Wheeler. He made an unsuccessful attempt upon the islands of Martinico and St. Domingo, and after a succession of ill fortune, in divers places, his designs being frustrated, and the greatest part of his men having died during the voyage, he returned with the remains of his squadron in a very shattered condition to Portsmouth.

The nation in general, in consequence of such repeated failures, exclaimed against the ministry, and the marquis of Caermarthen, with the earls of Nottingham and Rochester, (who possessed the most lucrative and important offices of the state) were pointed out as the principal defaulters.

France, in the midst of her conquests laboured under a most dreadful famine, which swept away many thousands, and reduced the nation to such distress, that Lewis attempted to conclude a separate peace with some of the allies; but as his demands were still so exorbitant as to afford no prospect of a just and honourable peace, his offers were rejected.

William returned to England the latter end of October, when his first care was that of silencing the public murmur, by changing his ministry. Nottingham was dismissed, and succeeded as secretary of state by the earl of Shrewsbury. The

command of the fleet was bestowed upon the gallant Ruffel, and the most popular measures were adopted in general.

On the meeting of parliament the king in his speech adverted to the several losses the allies had sustained, as well as the miscarriages of the English fleet in divers expeditions; promised that delinquents upon conviction should be brought to condign punishment, and requested such assistance as was essential to the safety and honour of the nation. After various debates concerning the causes of popular complaints, and the investigation of many points relative both to men and measures, they granted most liberal supplies for the ensuing year, which were to be raised by annuities, and the taxation of divers articles of commerce and convenience.

A. D. 1694. Sir Francis Wheeler, who had failed in a former expedition, met with a singular misfortune on his next appointment. He was sent out with a number of ships under his convoy, part of which were to be left in a certain latitude, and he was to proceed with the rest to the Mediterranean. He acted according to order, but on his entering the bay of Gibraltar, being overtaken by a dreadful tempest under a lee-shore, many of the ships foundered, and among the rest that of the admiral, who, together with his whole crew, were buried in the deep. Thus ended at once the transactions and life of that unfortunate commander.

Having settled the affairs of England, his majesty embarked at Margate on the sixth of May, and on the seventh in the evening arrived in Holland, where he consulted with the states general. On the third day of June he repaired to Bertherme-abbey near Louvain, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army, and where he was met by the electors of Bavaria and Cologne. In a few days a numerous army was collected, and every thing seemed to promise an active campaign.

On the third day of June the dauphin took the command of the French forces, with which Luxemburg had taken post between Mons and Maubeuge, and passing the Sambre encamped at Fleury; but on the eighteenth he removed from thence, and took up his quarters between St. Tron and Wanheim, while the confederates lay at Rosbeck.

Through an unexpected manœuvre of the French army, William's intention of passing the river Schelde was totally defeated; indeed, the only action of importance during this campaign was the reduction of Huy, which, after a siege of ten days, surrendered to the allies; and the result of all was, the return of the Dauphin and the king of England to their respective dominions.

A bill passed both houses of parliament this summer, empowering the king and queen to incorporate a number of merchants, (who had previously subscribed twelve hundred thousand pounds, as a beginning fund) by the name of the governors and company of the bank of England, under a proviso, that, at any time after the first of August 1705, upon a year's notice, and the repayment of the capital, the said corporation should cease and determine.

The king, according to custom in opening the session of parliament, represented the necessity of such supplies as would enable him to prosecute the war with vigour. They were granted without opposition, but the commons not unmindful of what



what they deemed conducive to the true interest of the nation, insisted on the triennial bill; to which his majesty, from motives of present expediency, gave the royal assent. It exacted that a new parliament should be held every third year, at the expiration of which, the king was obliged to issue writs for another.

During these transactions, Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature. Few prelates conducted more by their lives or writings to the interest of real religion. This venerable metropolitan eminently exemplified as a christian; those virtues he so forcibly recommended as a divine.

Soon after died queen Mary in the thirty-third year of her age, and the sixth of her reign. Mary upon the whole was an amiable character. In her person she was graceful and commanding, while the complacency and mildness of her aspect tempered the awfulness of majesty, and the affability of her disposition encouraged the most timid to approach her. Her treatment both of her father and sister may be deemed blameable; but these defects will be counterpoized when placed in the balance with her exalted virtues.

The king cordially regretted the loss of his royal consort, who, both in public and domestic life, had been an ornament to her eminent station. Her statue, together with that of the king, was erected in the Royal Exchange, in consequence of a resolution of the court of common council of London.

The king, as well as the queen, had been some time on ill terms with the princess Anne their presumptive heir; but on the demise of the latter, the earl of Sunderland effected a kind of reconciliation between his majesty and the princess. She was presented with great part of her sister's jewels, and assigned a residence in St. James's palace; but these were rather formal tokens of civility than real instances of esteem.

A. D. 1695. The affairs of the continent requiring his majesty's personal attendance, the lord keeper at the royal command prorogued the parliament; and the king nominated the regency that was to act in his absence. But as both the princess of Denmark and her husband were excluded, the king's disposition towards them was plain and evident.

This campaign was glorious to the allies, whose army being superior to that of the French, William determined to strike some blow of importance. The great general Luxemburg died the preceeding winter, and was succeeded by the mareschal Villeroy. On the third of July, William invested the city of Namur, the garrison of which consisted of near twenty thousand men, and the fortifications had received such additional repairs that it was deemed impregnable.

Conscious of their inferiority the French thought proper to secure their late conquests, by a new line drawn between the Lys and the Schelde, and made disposition for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur, some of which they apprehended would be attacked by the allies. Mean while the confederates formed two great armies in the Netherlands: the first, composed of seventy battalions of foot, and eighty-two squadrons of horse and dragoons, was encamped at Aerseele, Canehem, and Wanterghen, between Theildt and Deynse, and commanded by the king in person, assisted by the old prince of Vaudemont; the other, composed of sixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred and

thirty squadrons of horse, was encamped at Zellich and Ham, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, who was assisted by many experienced officers; at the head of whom were the duke of Holstein-Plön, and the earl of Athlone.

After the necessary dispositions were made, the king directed the baron Heyden, and the earl of Athlone to assist in the reduction of Namur. The plan of the siege being laid, the trenches were opened on the eleventh of July; and next day the batteries began to play with incredible fury. On the eighteenth, five battalions of Scotch and Dutch assaulted the enemy's advanced works on the counterescarp. They were sustained by six English battalions, while major Salisch, with eight foreign regiments, and nine thousand pioneers, advanced on the left. The contest was desperate and bloody, the enemy maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted resolution; but they were at last repulsed, and pursued to the very gates of the town. The king was so charmed with the gallantry of the British troops, that laying his hand on the elector of Bavaria's shoulder, he exclaimed with great transport, "See my brave English."

The siege was carried on with the utmost vigour on the part of the assailants; while the place was defended with the most heroic bravery by the garrison.

At length the besieged were summoned to surrender; but neglecting to give an immediate answer, it was determined to proceed to a general assault according to the plan previously laid down by the king. The confederates procured and maintained a lodgement near a mile long by this attempt, though it did not succeed to their wishes.

On this occasion the elector of Bavaria signalized his valour, but he acquired fame at the expence of the lives of many brave soldiers, who nobly fell in the heat of action.

The garrison had indeed made a most gallant resistance, till at length reduced from near twenty to six thousand men; and mareschal Boufflers who commanded, being cut off from all hopes of relief, was under a necessity of surrendering, and the capitulation was signed on the second of September.

According to articles the French garrison marched out on the fifth; when William caused mareschal Boufflers to be arrested by way of reprisal for the detention of the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, contrary to cartel: but on the restoration of those places, he was set at liberty.

The king now resigned the command to the elector of Bavaria, and retired to St. Loo, his usual recess; soon after which both armies went into winter quarters.

Notwithstanding the great strength of the English at sea, the enemy's privateers found means to slip out of their ports and capture a number of merchantmen. Through the neglect of the marquis of Caermarthen, who was stationed off Scilly, the Barbadoes homeward bound fleet fell a prey to the French corsairs, as did five sail of Indiamen, valued at a million sterling.

On the tenth of October the king arrived from Holland, and was hailed on his return with the triumphant acclamations of his English subjects. With the advice of council, a new parliament was summoned by proclamation to meet on the twenty-second of November. William, on his last arrival from the continent, began to assume an affability of deportment, rather repugnant to the natural reserve which had rather created disgust than con-

ciliated



ciliated esteem. He visited several noblemen at their country seats, honoured the universities with his presence, and, by his general behaviour, seemed to court popularity.

The parliament having met according to proclamation, the commons chose Foley again for their speaker. The king in his first speech, extolled the valour of the English forces; expressed his concern at being obliged to demand such large supplies from his people; observed that the funds had proved very deficient, and the civil list was in a precarious situation; recommended to their compassionate regard the miserable state of the French protestants; took notice of the bad state of the coin; desired they would form a bill for the encouragement of seamen, and contrive laws for the advancement of commerce. He expressed his satisfaction at the choice of representatives, and recommended unanimity and dispatch, as their enemies the French were making great preparations to take the field early in the spring.

The commons granted him a supply of six millions, the taxes became enormous, the nation complained of being aggrieved, yet the ministry were not less lavish of the public treasure. This parliament passed a celebrated act respecting trials for high-treason. It was enacted, that persons indicted should receive a copy of their accusation five days before the commencement of the trial; that they should be allowed council to plead in their behalf; that no person should be accused but on the deposition of two respectable witnesses; that the accused should have a list of the witnesses two days before the preparation for trial; and that no accusation should be admitted three years after the commission of the crime, except in case of an actual attempt on the life of the king. The peers added a clause, that a peer should only be judged by the whole body of peers.

The next point agitated was relative to the state of the current coin, and it appearing that it had been greatly debased by fraudulent arts, it was resolved to proceed to a new coinage, so that in less than two years the silver coin came from the Mint the finest and most beautiful in Europe.

A. D. 1696. In the beginning of this year a conspiracy was discovered against the person and government of king William, in order to restore the abdicated James. The earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery, and some other persons of distinction, were the contrivers of the project. In the beginning of February, the duke of Berwick had come privately into England, in order to hasten the preparations of the conspirators. While they were labouring to increase their party and assemble forces, James came to Calais with a view to embark; troops were brought to the sea side, and an officer was advancing with a number of ships, which were to join a considerable fleet of transports already at Dunkirk.

Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, a man of undaunted courage, cautious and circumspect, but a furious bigot to the church of Rome, came over in order to effect this horrid design. He imparted the secret to the conspirators assembled, when, after various consultations, they resolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he usually hunted on Saturdays, and the scene of the intended tragedy was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. But the plot was discovered by captain Fisher, Pendergrafs an Irish officer, and La Rue, a Frenchman. The two former gave their information to the earl of Portland, the last

to brigadier Levison. The king was at first extremely backward in believing the plot; but finding it confirmed by so many witnesses, he admitted Pendergrafs into his presence, and persuaded him to give a list of the assassins. A proclamation was issued for their immediate apprehension; in consequence of which most of them were secured, but Barclay found means to escape.

Measures were immediately taken to dispel the tempest: admiral Russel sailed to the coast of France; the enemy retired at his sudden appearance, and James, disconcerted in his projects, returned in despair to St. Germain. — The two houses of parliament being acquainted with the conspiracy by the king himself, zealously formed an association for his defence, engaging to support his government, and to revenge all attempts against his person: the king assured them he would be always ready at the hazard of his life to resist all those who should endeavour to overturn the laws, religion and liberties of the kingdom.

The methods of raising the supplies was the next business of the parliament. A new bank was established, commonly called the Land-bank, because founded upon land-securities. This scheme was generally believed to be intended to ruin the bank of England. The company of the latter petitioned against the bill, and were heard by their counsel; but their representation had no effect; and the bill, having passed both houses, at last received the royal assent. On the twenty-seventh of April the king closed the session with a short but gracious speech, and the parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth of June. During this session, Pendergrafs, Porter, and others gave evidence against several of the conspirators, who were accordingly executed.

The confederates, incensed at the French as abettors of the conspiracy against the person and government of king William, were determined on revenge. Lewis had established a vast magazine at Givet, with a view of striking some stroke of importance early in the campaign, while the allies should be weakened by the absence of the British troops. Upon this magazine the confederates determined to wreak their vengeance, and with this view, the earl of Athlone, and lieutenant-general Coehorn, set out from Namur with forty squadrons, thirty battalions, fifteen pieces of cannon, and six mortars. Athlone, with part of his body, invested Dinant, while Coehorn with the remainder, advanced to Givet. He forthwith began to bombard the town, which in three hours was on fire, and by four in the afternoon wholly destroyed, with the great magazine it contained.

On the fifth of May the king embarked for Holland, having appointed a regency previous to his departure. The French had taken the field early in the spring, but no enterprize of importance was attempted in the course of this campaign. Lewis was obliged to act on the defensive, while the active plans of William were defeated by want of money. All the funds of this year proved defective, the land bank failed, having affected the credit of the former bank, without producing any one good effect.

Lewis now thought seriously of making a peace, and with this view, sent an ambassador to the states general; but the Dutch refused to enter into any conferences on the subject, until they had obtained the consent of the allies. The French king therefore, in order to expedite this negotiation, pursued offensive measures in Catalonia, where his general,



the duke de Vendome, attacked and worsted the Spaniards in their camp near Ostalric, but he was obliged to retreat, after very strenuous efforts against their intrenchments, and the action was not decisive.

Before any treaty could be set on foot, the duke of Savoy made a separate truce with France. William, though much chagrined at the information, dissimulated his anger, and listened to the minister without the least apparent emotion. One of the conditions of this treaty imported, that within a limited time, the allies should evacuate the duke's dominions, otherwise they should be expelled by the joint forces of France and Savoy. They offered a neutrality to the confederates, but this being rejected, the contracting powers resolved to attack the Milanese. Accordingly, when the truce expired, the duke, as generalissimo of the French king, entered that duchy, and invested Valencia, so that in one campaign, he commanded two contending armies. A messenger from the king of Spain, who consented to accept of a neutrality for Italy, arrived when the garrison of Valencia was reduced to the utmost extremity.

The allies gained little advantages by land this year, but Lord Berkeley, who commanded the fleet, pillaged and burned the villages on the islands of Guoy, Horeal, and Heydic; made prizes of about twenty vessels, and bombarded St. Martin's on the isle of Rees.

Soon after, rear admiral Bembow was sent with a small squadron to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that bold adventurer found means to escape in a fog, and sailing towards the Baltic, fell in with the Dutch fleet, under convoy of six frigates. These he took, together with half the trading vessels; but meeting with the outward bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ships of the line, he was obliged to part with all his prizes except fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk, having burnt four of the frigates and turned the other two adrift.

As the season was now far advanced the hostile operations of this year were concluded, and William embarked for England to open the sessions of parliament. In the course of his speech he observed, that proposals had been made for a negotiation, but that the best way of treating with France, would be sword in hand; that he hoped they would quickly raise supplies for the service of the ensuing year; that the civil list could not be supported without their assistance; that he flattered himself they would contrive some means for the recovery of the national credit; and that the safety and welfare of the kingdom could be no way so well secured as by their unanimity and dispatch.

The commons assured his majesty in a loyal address, that they would support his person and government against all enemies foreign or domestic. They then deliberated upon the estimates, and cheerfully granted upwards of six millions for the service of the ensuing year. They passed a bill for remedying the ill state of the gold coin, and another explaining an act of the preceding session, for laying duties on low wines, and spirits of the first extraction. In order to raise the supplies of the year, they resolved to tax all persons according to the value of their real and personal estates, their stock upon land and in trade, or their income by offices, pensions, and professions. A duty of one penny per week for one year was levied upon all persons not receiving alms. Not one person able

to bear any part of the expence was excused, on this occasion, from contributing to the exigencies of the state.

The bank of England having been found of singular service to government, the commons voted another million to be raised by new subscriptions, in order to support its credit.

The case of Sir John Fenwick was now brought into the lower house, where, though his guilt was rendered manifest, he could not be convicted by common law as one positive evidence only appeared against him. A bill of attainder, however, after the most violent debates, passed both houses; and Fenwick was executed on Tower-hill.

He acknowledged his attachment to king James, but called heaven to witness, in his expiring moments, that he never harboured a design against the life of king William. On closing the session of parliament the sixteenth of April, his majesty thanked them for the liberal supplies they had granted him, and expressed his satisfaction with the measures they had taken for the retrieval of the public credit.

A. D. 1697—8. On the 26th of April the king embarked for Holland, in order to direct the negotiations for a general peace, the preliminaries of which were to the following effect: that the treaties of Westphalia, and Nimeguen, should be the basis of the present negotiation; that Stratsburgh should be restored to the emperor, and Luxembourg to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and all the places taken by the French in Catalonia, since the treaty of Nimeguen; that Dinant should be ceded to the bishop of Liege, and all re-unions since the treaty of Nimeguen be made void; that Lorraine should be restored according to the conditions of that treaty; and that Lewis should acknowledge the prince of Orange king of Great Britain without the least restriction, or reservation.

After some little altercation concerning the place for holding the general congress, the negotiations were agreed to be opened at a village called Ryfwick, a few miles distant from the Hague. The conferences began on the twenty-ninth of April, and were nearly being interrupted by the death of Charles XI. of Sweden; but as his successor was a minor, the parties resolved to prosecute the business, and the plenipotentiary appointed in behalf of the court of Sweden continued in his office. The taking of Barcelona by the duke of Vendome, and the loss sustained by the Spaniards in America, hastened the conclusion of the treaty, so far at least as it concerned their particular nation.

Several articles were objected to by the imperial plenipotentiary, which protracted the negotiation; however, it was at length resolved, that the treaty between England, Holland, Spain, and France should be signed on the 20th of September, even though the emperor should not concur. But from prudential maxims, he was induced to accede and sign, and his example was followed by all the princes of the empire. The treaty between England and France imported, that Lewis should not disturb or disquiet the king of Great Britain in the possession of his crown or government, assist his enemies, nor favour conspiracies against his person; that a free commerce should be restored between the two kingdoms; that commissioners should be appointed to meet at London, to determine the pretensions of each crown to Hudson's bay, taken by the French during the late peace,



and retaken by the English in the course of the war; and to fix the limits of places to be restored, as well as the proportion of exchanges to be made; that in case of a fresh war, six months should be allowed to the subjects of each crown for removing their effects; that the separate article of the treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, should be fully executed; and that in three weeks after the day of signing the agreement, the ratifications should be exchanged.

William, having thus firmly established himself on the throne, returned to England, and was received in London amidst the acclamations of the people. On the meeting of parliament, he mentioned among other things in his speech, the expediency of a standing army, a circumstance by no means agreeable to the commons, some of the members of which gave it as their opinion that it tended to introduce despotism. When the question came regularly before the house, it was carried in the negative; however, to compensate for this decision, in opposition to the king's opinion, they voted the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds per annum for the support of the civil list, distinct from all other services, to be paid his majesty during life; an indulgence he had often requested, but could never before obtain.

The petition of the governor and inhabitants of Londonderry in Ireland now came before the English parliament. They solicited such indemnification for the losses sustained by the siege of that place, which they had so gallantly defended, as might seem meet to the members in general. It was recommended by the commons to the consideration of his majesty, who engaged to attend to it, but the petitioners obtained no immediate relief.

A resident of Dublin having asserted in a pamphlet the independence of the Irish parliament on that of England, a committee was appointed to enquire into the nature and tendency of this performance. It being resolved, that the book tended to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England, an address was presented to his majesty, beseeching him to give effectual orders for preventing any such encroachments for the future, as well as discountenancing those who had been guilty of such pernicious attempts. His majesty promised his compliance.

A society for the reformation of manners was now begun, under the king's immediate protection. Considerable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of public worship, and administer the sacrament every Sunday.

William prorogued the parliament on the third day of July, thanking them in a short speech for the many testimonies of their favour he had received, and, in two days after the prorogation, it was dissolved.

Advice having been received in England, that the death of Charles II. of Spain was daily expected, William, under pretence of retiring from public business, embarked for Holland; but his real intention was to sound the French king as to the succession to the throne of Spain. He had appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence; and, as one of the number, nominated the earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and been appointed governor to the duke of Gloucester. His majesty at his departure left sealed orders with the ministry, directing, that sixteen thousand men should be retained in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, by

which the standing army was limited to ten thousand. He alledged, that the apprehension of fresh troubles, which might arise at the death of his catholic majesty induced him to transgress this limitation, and hoped that the new parliament would be more favourable. But they proved as averse to this measure as the former had done.

The French minister having, by order of his master attended king William at his palace near the Hague to negotiate the treaty of the Spanish succession, the particulars were transmitted to the earl of Portland, and, at the request of the king, communicated by him to the secretaries of state, who, by letter, signified to his majesty the issue of the deliberation of the regency, though it seems they had signed the first partition before the letter reached Holland.

The chief articles of the partition treaty were the following; that in case the king of Spain should die without issue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spanish monarchy, and situated on the coast of Tuscany, or the adjacent islands, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, all places on the side of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva, or Biscay, on the other side of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships, vessels, and stores, should devolve upon the dauphin, in consideration of his right to the crown of Spain, which, with all its other dependencies, should descend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, under the guardianship of his father; that the duchy of Milan should be settled on the emperor's second son the archduke Charles; that this treaty should be communicated to the emperor, and the elector of Bavaria, by the king of England, and the states general; that in case the elector of Bavaria should die before his father, then the elector and his other heir should succeed him in these dominions; and should the archduke reject the duchy of Milan, they agreed it should be sequestered, and governed by the prince of Vaudemont.

Lewis, persuaded that he should never be able to accomplish his designs upon Spain, while the king of England had it in his power to form a confederacy against him, determined to amuse that prince with a treaty in which he should seem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. The plan succeeded, and kept William in the dark as to his real intention.

When his majesty arrived from the continent he found new mortifications from the parliament he had lately ordered to be summoned. Instead of ten thousand men, the number fixed by the last parliament, and to which he had given the royal assent, he had kept on foot sixteen thousand. The commons, in token of their disapprobation of this measure, reduced the troops in pay to seven thousand, and obliged the king to dismiss his Dutch guards, of whose zeal and attachment he had instances of the fullest assurance. His remonstrances on this subject had no effect. They reminded him of his promise to dismiss all his foreign troops, and gave him to understand that the happiness and welfare of the kingdom depended on the mutual confidence between king and people, and that this confidence demanded that he should entrust to his subjects the care of his sacred person. The king complied, though with some reluctance, and passed the bill according to the desire of his faithful commons, who immediately presented an address, in which they thanked him for this fresh mark of his royal goodness, and solemnly



lemly assured him, that they would defend his person and government at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. They then voted fifteen thousand seamen, and a proportionable fleet for the security of the kingdom; and granted one million four hundred and eighty four thousand pounds for the services of the year, to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon lands, personal estates, pensioners and officers.

A. D. 1699. Notwithstanding the late appearance of affection and zeal that subsisted between the king and parliament, as instanced in their mutual compliance with the requests of each other, his majesty, from some private disgust, came to the house on the 4th of June, prorogued the parliament, and soon after embarked for Holland.

A very powerful party of malecontents prevailed at this time in Scotland. The Scots had formed a trading company, which, animated by the same prospect of gain that had transported so many Europeans into a new world established, at a great expence, a colony on the isthmus of Darien, between North and South America, to which they gave the name of Caledonia. The Spaniards exclaimed that such proceedings were infractions of the last treaty, and the English that they would ruin their commerce. William, therefore, sent orders to the English governors, forbidding all intercourse with the new colony, so that the Scots, disappointed by these means in their hopes and expectations of acquiring wealth, as well as reduced to the necessity of submitting to the Spaniards, breathed nothing but fury against king William, as the author of that destruction which inevitably resulted from his partial and illiberal conduct. Their parliament adopted the sense of the nation. All threatened a revolt, and it was only by time, address, and flattering promises, that the king prevented the most fatal consequences.

Nothing of importance transpired relative to the partition treaty, nor did any event of moment occur during his majesty's last visit to Holland, so that having settled the particular business of the States-general, he embarked for England, whither he arrived on the sixteenth of October. The parliament meeting about the middle of November, the king, in his speech to both houses, advised a further provision for the safety of the kingdom, by sea and land, and the repair of ships and fortifications, exhorted the commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, discharge the national debt, and provide the necessary supplies. He assured them of his resolution to encourage virtue and punish vice, and that he would decline no difficulties nor dangers where the happiness of his people might be concerned. He then concluded with these words: "Since, therefore, our aims are only for the general good, let us act with confidence in one another, which will not fail, with the blessing of God, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people."

The American colonies having suffered much from piratical depredations, one Kidd, a desperate adventurer, undertook to suppress them, provided he was furnished with a ship of thirty guns well manned. Being thus equipped by voluntary subscription of several noblemen and gentlemen, he set sail from Plymouth, but instead of cruising on the coast of America, and apprehending the pirates, he engaged in the same scandalous practices, and afterwards arriving on the coast of New York, was seized, together with his men, by lord Bellamont. An account was transmitted to the English

government, and a man of war dispatched to put a stop to those infamous proceedings; but being driven back by stress of weather, the design was frustrated, and the desperadoes suffered to prosecute their ravages.

The commons this session took into consideration the right of the king to dispose of the forfeited estates in Ireland; and discussed the affair in such a manner as indicated motives of caprice and resentment rather than justice and equity.

Having framed and passed a bill of resumption; they directed an account of the whole transaction to be published for their vindication; and resolved, that the procuring or passing exorbitant grants by any member then of the privy council, or by any other that had been a privy counsellor, in this or any former reign, to his own use and benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanor. As the members of the lower house were apprehensive that this bill would be strongly opposed by those of the upper; they annexed it to the money bill, so that the one could not be rejected, without defeating the other. The lords proposed some alterations, but the commons refused to give their consent, and ordered a list of the privy-council to be laid before them.

The general measures of the commons seemed at this time to have been framed in order to thwart those of the king. They enquired into the most minute circumstances of government, rigorously censured the ministry, debated on a motion to address his majesty for the dismissal of lord chancellor Somers, and evinced every principle of diffidence and disgust. William was so displeased at these instances of disaffection, that he could not dissemble his resentment, and from this circumstance his enemies employed the most inveterate malice to blacken his character.

In order to perplex and embarrass administration with fresh obstacles, the commons determined to address his majesty, that no person, who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highness prince George of Denmark, should be admitted into his majesty's councils in England or Ireland. This resolution was levelled against Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but to obviate that disagreeable business, his majesty prorogued the parliament to the 23d of May.

A. D. 1700. When the houses met according to prorogation, a bill was brought into the commons, purporting that no person born after the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing, being a papist, should be capable of inheriting any title of honour or estate within the kingdom of England, principality of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that no papist should be capable of purchasing any lands or tenements, either in his own, or in the name of any other person in trust for him. But this bill being defectively framed in many instances, though it received the royal assent, never answered its original design.

The result of the negotiation for a second partition treaty between the contracting parties on the continent was, that in case his catholic majesty should die without issue, the dauphin should possess, for himself and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the islands of St. Stephano, Porto, Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, Piombino, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, and the dutchies of Lorraine, and Barre; in exchange for which the duke of Lorraine should receive the dutchy of Milan; but that the country of Biche should remain in so-

vereignty



verignty to the prince of Vaudemont; that the archduke Charles should inherit the kingdom of Spain, and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but in case of his dying without issue, it should devolve to some other child of the emperor, excepting him who was to succeed as emperor or king of the Romans; that this monarchy should never descend to a king of France, or dauphin; and that three months should be allowed for the emperor's consideration whether he would accede to the treaty.

His majesty according to annual custom revisited his native country in the month of July, and on the nineteenth day of the same died the young duke of Gloucester, only surviving child of Anne princess of Denmark. Her death was much lamented by the greater part of the English nation, not only on account of his promising talents and affable disposition, but also as fatal disputes might happen in consequence of the succession being left doubtful.

The partizans of James considered this event as favourable to their wishes, of placing the pretended prince of Wales on that throne, which James had abdicated. But the protestants turned their eyes on the princess Sophia, electress-dowager of Hanover, and grand daughter of James the first, as nearest heir in the protestant line, after the respective descendants of the king and the princess Anne, and this lineage afterwards established the right of the house of Hanover to the crown of England.

Soon after his majesty's return from Holland, he received intelligence of the death of the king of Spain. Charles had in his last will declared the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, sole heir to the Spanish monarchy. In case this prince should die without issue, or inherit the crown of France, he ordered that Spain should devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and his children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs; in failure of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his posterity.

Lewis who had concerted and executed this politic scheme, displayed great art and finesse in bringing it to a conclusion. After the will was accepted, by the French council, he addressed the duke of Anjou in the presence of the Marquis de Rios, in the following manner, "Sir, the king of Spain has made you a king. The grandees demand you, the people wish for you, and I give my consent. Remember only, you are a prince of France. I recommend to you to love your people, to gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and render yourself worthy of the throne you are about to ascend." The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood; nevertheless, the duke of Orleans and his son protested against the will, because the archduke was placed next in succession to the duke of Berry, in bar of their right as descendants of Anne of Austria. The emperor loudly exclaimed against the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partition, and threatened to do himself justice by force of arms. The Spaniards gave themselves up to the protection of Lewis, sensible that they were incapable of defending their own dominions.

William was fired with indignation, at being thus egregiously duped by the policy of the French king, but concealed his resentment until he should have sounded the opinions of other powers in Europe, and seen how far he could rely on his new ministry. His chief favourite was the earl of Rochester, who was declared lord lieutenant of Ire-

land. A general change was made in the principal departments of state, but the new ministry, conscious that they had not interest sufficient to procure a majority in the parliament, prevailed on the king to dissolve it by proclamation; which was accordingly done, and the sixth of February was appointed for the meeting of a new parliament.

A. D. 1701. At the meeting; on the day appointed, the king in his speech to both houses, observed, that the loss of the duke of Gloucester had rendered it absolutely necessary to make some farther provision for settling the succession in the protestant line; and that the death of the late king of Spain had produced such an alteration in the affairs of Europe, as required their most serious deliberation. He then, as usual, demanded supplies for the ensuing year; reminded them of the deficiencies and public debt; recommended to their regard the strength of the nation, naval, and military; exhorted them to unanimity in their proceedings, and to employ the poor, by giving all possible encouragement to commerce.

The commons waited on his majesty with an address, in which they assured him that they would defend his person and government, and take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, and the preservation of the protestant religion.

The states general, by their ambassador, presented a memorial to king William, in which they acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain; informed him that France had agreed to a negotiation, in which they might stipulate the necessary conditions for securing the peace of Europe, and that they were firmly resolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his majesty and the other allies; the commons also desired permission to inspect the treaties between England and Holland.

The king having laid before the house the several articles of the memorial, they referred the matter to his majesty's known wisdom and policy, not doubting but he would act in such a manner as would be most conducive to promote the grand and principal objects of the negotiation. They then voted, that provision should be made from time to time for making good the principal and interest due upon all parliamentary funds; and afterwards passed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called the exchequer bills.

His majesty having recommended the establishment of the succession of the crown, that affair was brought into the house, when, after some consideration, and certain conditions being settled as preliminaries, in order to secure the privileges of the people, it was voted, "That the princess Sophia, dutchess-dowager of Hanover, be declared next in succession to the crown of England, after his majesty and the princess of Denmark, and the heirs of their bodies respectively." And, "that the further limitation of the crown be to the said princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being protestants." The earl of Macclesfield was appointed to acquaint the princess, that the act of settlement had passed in her favour.

After these transactions, the secretary of state, by order of the king, informed the house of the demands insisted on by Mr. Stanhope, his majesty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in conjunction with the state's general, from the French ambassador; namely, that for the security of England, the cities of Ostend and Nieuport should be delivered into the hands



hands of his Britannic majesty; that no kingdoms, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the crown of Spain, should ever be yielded, or transferred to the crown of France on any pretence whatever; that the subjects of his Britannic majesty should retain all the privileges, rights and immunities, with regard to navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholic majesty; as also, all such immunities, rights, and franchises, as the subjects of France or any other power, either possess for the present, or may enjoy for the future; that all treaties of peace and commerce between England and Spain should be renewed, and that a treaty formed on these demands should be guaranteed by such powers, as one or other of the contractors should solicit or persuade to undertake that office." But so extravagant were these demands in the opinion of count d'Avaux, the French ambassador, that he said, they could not have been higher, if his master had lost four successive battles. He declared, that his most Christian majesty, would withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands, as soon as the king of Spain should have forces of his own sufficient to guard the country; but with respect to the other articles, he could give no other answer, than, that he would immediately transmit them to Versailles. Lewis affected to resent the proposals, as highly arrogant, as well as a sure mark of the hostile intention of the allies, and refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryfwick.

The affairs of Spain now engaged the attention of parliament, and the partition treaty became a subject of invective. They complained that it had been made without their advice, and tended to the aggrandizement of France. One of the members called it a felony, another compared it to the distribution of a booty taken on the highway. They afterwards drew up an address, in which, among other particulars, they begged to lay before his majesty the ill consequences that must result from the treaty of partition to the interest of his kingdoms, and the peace of Europe in general. They besought his majesty to take the advice of his subjects, and believe them more worthy of confidence than foreigners; and added, moreover, that they advised him, in all his negotiations with the king of France, to take every precaution that could render them safe and useful.

Though William was greatly chagrined at these proceedings, he dissembled his resentment, and replied, that his treaty should have the honour and security of England for its basis. Lewis would recede in no point from the treaty of Ryfwick, so that the court of London and the state's general prepared for a war, which seemed inevitable. The parliament expressed their ardor to assist the Dutch, but could not stifle their resentment against those ministers to whom they attributed the negotiation of the partition treaty. Several noblemen were impeached with as much injustice as passion by the commons, and being acquitted by the upper house, animosities universally prevailed. A memorial now appeared, signed *LEGION*, in which was this forcible expression, "Englishmen are no more to be slaves to parliaments than to kings. Our name is Legion, and we are many."

So much hardness in the people was not un-  
useful to the king, for the commons promised to assist him in all his measures for setting bounds to the excessive power of France, and voted him about two millions seven hundred thousand pounds,

for defraying the expenses of the ensuing year.

Former animosities beginning to revive between the two houses, the king interrupted their disputes, by putting an end to the session on the twenty-fourth day of June, after having thanked the parliament for their zeal in the public service, and exhorted them to a discharge of their duties, in their several counties.

Though William had acknowledged the new king of Spain, he seemed, however, determined to dethrone him; his health now daily declined, but not to discourage the allies from engaging in the confederacy, he carefully concealed his indisposition. He conferred the command of the ten thousand troops destined for Holland upon the earl of Marlborough, whom he likewise appointed his plenipotentiary to the states general.

Having settled the regency, and other matters relative to domestic government, his majesty embarked for Holland in the beginning of July, and, on his arrival at the Hague, assisted at the assembly of the states-general, whom he addressed in a very affectionate speech, and was answered with great cordiality.

Soon after the arrival of William in Holland, d'Avaux, the French minister, delivered a letter to the states from his master, who complained that they had interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected; but at the same time assured them, that it wholly depended on themselves, whether they should continue to receive marks of his ancient friendship for their republic. This letter was accompanied by an insolent memorial, to which the states-general returned a very spirited answer. As they were now convinced of the hostile intentions of France, they hired auxiliaries, increased their army, repaired their fortifications, and took every necessary precaution for their defence.

Though the confederate parties in general were interested in humbling the pride of the house of Bourbon, the emperor, who was most affected at the accession of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, assembled a powerful army, the command of which he bestowed on prince Eugene, one of the greatest and most fortunate generals then in Europe. That prince began the war in Italy, and shewed himself worthy of his reputation. Towards the end of the campaign, he took possession of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itself, the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and kept the field the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks of the most undaunted courage, indefatigable vigilance, and consummate prudence. In January he had nearly surprised Cremona, by introducing a body of men through an old aqueduct: they forced one of the gates, by which the prince and his followers entered. Villeroy, the governor, being awakened by noise, ran out into the street, where he was taken, and the town must have inevitably been reduced had prince Eugene been joined by another body of troops he had ordered to advance from Parmesan, to secure the bridge; which post being previously possessed by an Irish regiment in the French service, the prince was compelled to retire, taking with him Villeroy the governor.

King William, having put his navy on the most respectable footing, the fleet under the command of Sir George Rooke, though they came to no action, kept all their neighbours in awe, during the course of this summer, while his Britannic majesty was employed in perfecting the alliances, be-



tween the emperor, England, and Holland; so that a treaty was concluded at the Hague on the seventh of September.

The death of the weak and unfortunate prince James II. who expired at St. Germain's on the 16th of September; brought affairs much sooner to crisis than was expected before that event. He was privately interred in the church of the English benedictines in that place. James possessed, from nature, many good qualities, but his bigotry was so great, and he was so governed by priests, that these qualities had no influence when the concerns of the church came under consideration.

Lewis, elated by his victories, and depending too much on his own power, seemed haughtily to brave the storm gathering against him, in giving the title of king of England to the son of the deceased James. His title was likewise recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope. William was no sooner informed of this transaction, than he dispatched a courier to the king of Sweden as guarantee of the treaty of Ryswic, to complain of this manifest violation. At the same time, even without an audience of leave, he directed the earl of Manchester to leave Paris.

In vain did Lewis disperse a manifesto throughout Europe, declaring that he had not infringed any article of the treaty, in acknowledging the prince of Wales as king of England, for the English, already disposed for war, felt themselves insulted and breathed only vengeance. One general interest now united all parties, and their resolutions became unanimous.

The city of London, and most of the counties of England, transmitted addresses to his majesty, declaring a due sense of the indignity offered him by Lewis; and promising to support his government against him and all his other enemies.

Having concluded the treaty of alliance, William proposed to return to England, but being detained by the impaired state of his health, he did not arrive till the fifth of November. The first thing that engaged his attention, was the expediency of calling a new parliament, which being determined in council, was put into execution, and a new parliament appointed to meet on the thirtieth of December.

On that day the commons having chosen Mr. Harley for their speaker, his majesty opened the session with a speech, in which he expressed his hope, that they were come together, determined to avoid disputes and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause. He said he should think it a particular blessing to England, if they were as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy animosities, which divided and weakened them, as he was disposed to make all his subjects safe and easy; even those who had committed the highest offences against his person. At the same time he conjured them to disappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. As he had always shewn, and always would shew, how desirous he was to be the common father of all his people, he desired they would lay aside all parties and divisions, so that no distinction might be known amongst them. He concluded with affirming, that by their behaviour, it would be seen whether they were really in earnest to have England hold the balance of power, and be at the head of the protestant interest.

This speech was universally applauded. The peers assured his majesty of their zeal for his person and government. The commons expressed the

same ardor, and resolved on a further address, to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to insert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing, that no peace should be made with France, until his majesty and the nation had received satisfaction for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They prepared a bill of attainder against the pretender, which being sent up to the other house, passed with an additional clause of attainder against his mother.

A. D. 1702. While William was projecting measures for asserting his own dignity, and humbling the pride of the ambitious house of Bourbon, he was seized with an indisposition that overspread the nation with a cloud of sorrow. His health had been long upon the decline, and by the advice of his physicians he had retired to Hampton-court, where, as he was one day taking the air, he fell from his horse with such violence as to break his collar bone. The bone, however, being immediately set, he returned to Kensington the same evening, and seemed to be in a fair way of recovery, till the first of March, when a defluxion fell upon his knee, attended with very alarming symptoms.

As this disorder prevented his going to the house on the second of March, the royal assent was given by commission to such bills as had passed both houses, namely, the act of attainder against the pretended prince of Wales; and another in favour of the Quakers, enacting, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted instead of an oath.

His majesty was so far recovered by the seventh day of the month, that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but sitting down on a couch and falling asleep, he was seized when he awoke with a shivering which terminated in a fever and diarrhæa. Every remedy that could be thought on by his physicians was immediately administered, but without success. He saw his last moments approach with that firmness of mind which had never left him. He thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderness, saying, "I know that you and the other learned physicians have done all that your art can do for my relief; but finding all means ineffectual, I submit." He was attended in his preparatory devotions by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Salisbury. Finding his dissolution near at hand, he enquired for the earl of Portland, who not arriving till after he was speechless, the king could only shew the warmth of his friendship by grasping his hand, and pressing it with extraordinary ardor to his heart.

His majesty then resigned his breath on the eighth of March, in the fifty-second year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign. His body was interred on the twelfth of April, in Westminster Abbey.

As it is the lot of humanity to err, and most human characters are tinged with light and shade, the mental portrait of king William has been drawn by various pens, in various colours. That prejudice and party zeal which blinded the writers of the last century, having now vanished before candour and equity, he is generally considered, upon a comparative view, equal at least to any prince that ever swayed the sceptre of England. A reserved temper, and a natural attachment to his countrymen the Dutch, frequently excited disgust, and raised jealousies in the minds of his English subjects, to the mutual prejudice of prince and people. He appears to have had little or no taste



Engraved for RAYMOND'S History of England.



Wale delin.

Grignon sculp.

Born  
Feb. 6. 1664. } Crowned  
April 23. 1702. } Died  
August 1. 1714.



taste for polite literature, nor to have been actuated by what are called the more refined sensations of the soul. But if we consider him as a king and a warrior, and survey his councils in the cabinet and achievements in the field, no trifling defects can veil such glaring merit. To maintain himself on the throne in spite of the efforts of the most powerful monarch in Europe; to discuss by the most profound policy the counsels of foreign courts; to command armies with as much ability as resolution; to be always formidable even after ill success, indefatigable under sickness and fatigue; in short, if to vindicate and assert the natural rights of mankind and become the illustrious instrument in the hands of Providence for rescuing our forefathers from popish superstition and arbitrary power; are actions worthy the veneration of the world, and the grateful acknowledgment of all Englishmen, the name of William Prince of Orange will ever be held sacred to the latest posterity.

#### Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of William III.

A. D.

1689 The first land tax in England.

1692 Bayonets invented, and first used in England:

1692 In the month of September the shock of an earthquake was felt in London, and in many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the same kind had happened some time before in Sicily and Malta. In the former no less than 100,000 persons are said to have perished on the occasion. The same year the town of Port Royal in Jamaica was almost destroyed by an earthquake, and about 1500 persons buried in the ruins.

1694 Stamp duties first imposed in England.

1695 A tax laid on Bachelors above 25 years of age. For a duke 12l. 10s. and for a common person 1s.

Another on Widowers. For a duke 12l. 10s. a common person 1s.

Another upon Births. For a duke 30l. a common person 2s.

Another upon Burials. For a duke 50l. a common person 4s.

Another on Marriages. For a duke 50l. a common person 2s. 6d.

1696 Asylums for debtors, particularly the Mint in the Borough, and White Friars in Fleet-street, abolished. Council first allowed to persons guilty of treason.

1698 Hawkers and Pedlars in England first allowed to sell commodities retail by licence.

Whitehall totally destroyed by fire.

1699 Billingsgate made a free fish-market.

1700 The first Auction in England; by Elisha Yale, governor of Fort St. George in the East-Indies; who sold the goods he brought from thence in that manner.

## CHAP. II.

## A N N E.

*Accession of queen Anne. War declared against France and Spain. State of France. Campaign in Flanders. Naval expeditions. Death of the brave Admiral Bembow. The queen gains the confidence of the parliament. Campaign of the allies. Defection of the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal from the interest of Lewis. Battle of Blenheim. Naval exploits. Siege and reduction of Gibraltar. Taking of Barcelona. The Union. Battle of Ramillies. Expedition in Spain. Treaty of Union confirmed. Fate of Sir Cloudesley Shovel and part of his fleet. Lewis attempts an invasion in Scotland in favor of the Pretender. Siege of Lisle. Capture of Minorca from the Spaniards. Death of the prince of Denmark. Lewis solicits for peace. Battle of Malplaquet. Trial of Sacheverel. Revolution in the English ministry. New parliament. The duke of Marlborough insulted. South-sea company. Preliminaries of peace. Opposition of the Allies. Treaty between the English and the States General. Treaty of Utrecht. Peace proclaimed. Party zeal maintained with great violence and animosity. The earl of Oxford disgraced. Death and character of queen Anne.*

A. D. **O**N the demise of king William, Anne Stuart, princess of Denmark, by virtue of the act of succession, ascended the throne of England, and was acknowledged by all the nation with a joy equally great and unanimous. When the news of the queen's accession reached the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland, the joy of the people appeared as sincere as that of the people of England. The parliament, which continued to sit after the king's death, met immediately and expressed the most lively zeal for her service.

Anne's first act of sovereignty was to convene the privy council, to whom she declared her concern for the loss the nation had sustained, in the death of his late majesty; her regard for the religion and liberties of her country; her desire to maintain the succession in the protestant line, and the government in church and state, as by law established; and finally, her resolution to curb the insolence of France, and pursue the true interest of England, together with that of the confederates. At the same time the queen issued a proclamation by which all magistrates and officers whether civil

or military, were continued in their respective functions till further orders.

On the eleventh of March her majesty went to the house of peers, where, after assuring her parliament that she relied entirely on their affection and zeal for the establishment of her revenues, she promised to make the public good the sole object of her administration, "As I know my heart," said she "to be entirely English, the happiness and prosperity of England shall be my grand aim, and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word." The affable manner in which she received the congratulations of her subjects increased their confidence and confirmed their loyalty.

Though the death of the late king had been a subject of rejoicing to the French, and of consternation to the Hollanders, it produced a change in the affairs of Europe. The states, animated by her majesty's assurances, at length resolved to prosecute vigorous measures, and the arrival of the earl of Marlborough strengthened their resolutions. That nobleman was sent to Holland in quality of her majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.



potentiary to the states-general. Every part of Marlborough's negotiation was attended with success, and he embarked for England on the third of April, having first laid down the plan of operations for the following campaign.

During these transactions the commons resolved to settle on her majesty for life, the same revenue as had been allowed the late king William. On the thirtieth of March the queen went to the house of lords, and gave the royal assent to several public and private bills; at the same time, she thanked the commons for continuing the same revenue to her as to the late king, told them she would assign an hundred thousand pounds thereof for the public service of the present year, and advised them to dispatch the public business as fast as possible.

After a warm debate in council, whether the English should engage in the war as principals or only as auxiliaries, the majority gave it in favour of the former, and a declaration of war was ordered to be prepared against France and Spain. The queen, however, laid the matter before the house of commons, and the comptroller, by her command, communicated to them the convention between her majesty, the emperor, and the states general. Having obtained the consent of parliament, the queen caused war to be declared against France and Spain on the 4th of May, and two days after, the lord Godolphin was appointed lord high-treasurer.

A bill having passed both houses to empower her majesty to name commissioners for treating with the Scots on the subject of an union, they were accordingly appointed, and met for the first time at the cockpit, where, after reading both commissions, the lord-keeper Wright made a short speech on the subject of their meeting, and was answered by the duke of Queensbury. Accordingly, they agreed, that the two kingdoms should be inseparably united into one monarchy, under her majesty, her heirs and successors, and under the same limitations, according to the act of settlement: but when the Scottish commissioners proposed, that the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies should be preserved and maintained, insurmountable difficulties arose, and no farther progress was then made in the affair.

The campaign in Germany was begun with the siege of Keyserwaert, which was reduced after a desperate resistance, by the prince of Nassau Sarbrugh marechal de camp to the emperor. General Coehorn, at the head of a strong detachment, had entered Flanders, demolished the French lines, between the forts of Donat and Isabella, and laid Chatellaine under contribution.

When Marlborough arrived in Holland he repaired to the army then encamped under the walls of Nimeguen, passed the Maese on the 16th of July, and encamped within two leagues and a half of the enemy. The French army, under the command of the duke of Burgundy and marechal Boufflers, being inferior to that of the allies, and determining to avoid the hazard of a battle, abandoned Spanish Guelderland, and left it intirely to their discretion, by which means Marlborough took Venlo, Ruremonde and Leige, and prepared himself for more memorable expeditions. Thus ended the first campaign equally advantageous to the allies and honorary to the earl, who now established that military fame, for which he stands so renowned in the annals of history.

The confederate army being now separated, Marlborough repaired to Maestricht, where he em-

barked that evening on the Maese for the Hague, accompanied by general Opdam, and Mynheer Guidermanfer, one of the deputies of the states, together with twenty-five soldiers, under the command of a lieutenant to serve as convoy. But the boats being separated in the night, a French partizan, with thirty-five men from Gueldres, who was lurking among the rushes on the banks of the river, observing the boat in which were the earl and his attendants, they seized the rope by which it was drawn, discharged their small arms, and then rushing into it, secured the soldiers, before they could put themselves in a posture of defence. They afterwards rifled the baggage, carried off the guard as prisoners, and allowed the boat to proceed. An account of this transaction having reached the Hague, greatly alarmed the inhabitants; but their fears were soon dispelled by the arrival of the earl, whom they now considered as their friend and deliverer.

King William, a short time before his death, had formed a design to reduce Cadiz, and this scheme queen Anne determined to put in execution. The fleet consisted of fifty sail of the line, commanded by Sir George Rooke; and the duke of Ormond was appointed general of the land forces, destined for this expedition.

They sailed from St. Helen's the latter end of June, and anchored about two leagues from Cadiz on the twelfth of August. On the fifteenth the duke of Ormond landed with his forces in the bay of Bulls, under cover of a smart fire from some frigates. He summoned the governor of St. Catherine to surrender; and received for answer, that the garrison were prepared for his reception. The allies raised a battery against Montagorda fort; but were soon obliged to reembark their troops on failure of the attempt.

While they were on their way for England, admiral Rooke, receiving advice that the West India galleons had put into Vigo under convoy of a French squadron, resolved to sail thither, and attack them in that posture. The passage into the harbour was defended by batteries, forts, and breastworks on each side; by a strong boom consisting of iron chains, topmasts, and cables, moored at each end to a seventy gun ship, and fortified within by five ships of the same strength, laying athwart the channel with their broadsides to the offing. As the first and second rates of the combined ships were too large to enter, the admirals shifted their flags to smaller vessels. In order to favour the attempt the duke of Ormond landed with twenty five hundred men, at the distance of two leagues from Vigo, and attacked a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the mouth of the harbour, of which he made himself master.

As soon as the British ensign was displayed at the top of this fort, the ships advanced to the attack. Vice admiral Hopson in the Torbay crowding all his sail, ran directly against the boom, which was shivered by the first shock; the whole squadron entered the harbour, through a terrible fire from the enemy's ships and batteries; and the French, finding themselves unequal to their antagonists, resolved, after a desperate engagement, to set fire to the galleons and ships of war, that they might not fall into the hands of the English. They accordingly burned and ran ashore eight ships and as many advice-boats; but ten French men of war and eleven galleons were taken. The value of fourteen millions of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, were lost in six galleons that perished.